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# THE CIRCLE AND THE CROSS

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# THE CIRCLE AND THE CROSS

## A STUDY IN CONTINUITY

BY

A. HADRIAN ALLCROFT, M.A.

*Author of* 'Earthwork of England'

ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε, Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν,
ἤν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλεύσωνται.
Pausanias, *Attica* xliii, 3.

*Sunt aliquid manes ; letum non omnia finit.*
Propertius V. vii, 1.

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# PREFATORY NOTE

The author of *The Circle and The Cross* did not, unhappily, live to see the publication of the second volume of his work. He passed away at his residence at Hove on December 18, 1929, being predeceased by his wife by only a few hours.

Arthur Hadrian Allcroft was born at Ashby (Lincs.) in 1865, his father, the Rev. Walter Allcroft, having been the first Rector of Gunness-with-Burringham. He was educated at the Magnus Grammar School at Newark-on-Trent, and at the Exeter Grammar School. He then became a Classical Scholar of Christ Church, Oxford, where he took a First Class in Classical Mods. and Litt. Hum., and graduated B.A. in 1887. He became a classical scholar of considerable repute, and his work from 1889 onwards as an editor of the classics made his name widely known.

Among archaeologists he is perhaps best known by his *Earthwork of England* (1908), which has come to be regarded as a standard work of reference. His *Downland Pathways* (1924) is one of the most brilliant and charming books ever written about the Sussex Downs, presenting their prehistory in a most attractive form to the general reader. His last book, *Waters of Arun*, was just completed in manuscript before his death.

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## Chapter XVI.

### THE CONVERSION OF IRELAND AND ENGLAND.

*Elements in Celtic Paganism favourable to Christianity—British Christianity in the Roman Period—Pelagius and Germanus—St. Patrick—Activity of Irish Missionaries—Scotic Christianity enters England from the North—St. Augustine—Roman versus Scotic Christianity—The Early Bishoprics—Rapid Conversion of the Saxons—Favoured by a large surviving British Element—Condition of Ireland before the fifth century—Ireland the first field for enquiry.*

Who were the first to bring Christianity to Britain,[1] and whence they came, is entirely unknown. That they came by way of Gaul would seem obvious; that they were of the Gallic Church is quite another matter, and the interest subsequently shown in the British Church by that of Gaul can be explained without assuming that the one was the daughter of the other. There is a good deal to be said for the view that the first missioners came ultimately from Africa and Carthage, rather than from Italy and Rome. Quite possibly those are right who argue that there were no other first missionaries than traders or legionaries, who brought and spread the faith by unofficial means.[2]

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[1] 'We may pass by all attempts at the discovery of an apostolic foundation for the British Church,' Bright, *Lectures on Church History*, p. 2.

[2] According to the Welsh *Triads* (18), Christianity was introduced by Bran, the father of Caradoc (Caractacus), who had been carried to Rome as a hostage with his son. Hence his was ranked as first among the 'three holy families' of Britain, the others being those of Cunedda and Brychan. There is nothing particularly improbable in the story, which is corroborated by *Triad* 35, and by *Bonedd Sant Ynys Prydain*. Tradition declares Llanilid, Glamorgan, to have been the site of the

There were Christians here in the days when Rome was still officially pagan, possibly quite early in those days, and they must have found themselves amongst a population of whom the vast majority belonged by tradition to the religion of the druidical time, just when the whole elaborate druidical system had been broken up,[1] and the newly imported Roman paganism had as yet taken no real hold upon the Britons.[2] The field was in fact cleared for the new faith, and if there is any truth in the confident assertion that Druidism taught *inter alia* the doctrine of a life after death, at the outset the new faith had in common with the old order one most important tenet of which neither the religion nor the philosophy of Rome took cognisance.[3] Origen further declares that the Celtic religion, as interpreted by the Druids, might pass for a form of monotheism.[4] Yet more important is the fact that Celtic paganism and Christianity were alike, albeit in different senses, centred in the cult of the dead ; for the earliest known 'churches' of Christianity were those hewn as mortuary chapels in the rock of the catacombs. Thus both in doctrine and in ritual the two religions had very much in common. It has even been argued that the popularity of the Pelagian heresy in Britain was due to its embodying another druidical doctrine, namely that of the freedom of the will.[5]

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first Christian 'church' in Wales. It is very near to Llanilltyd, of the antiquity of which there is no question.

[1] Religions, other than those invented by students and philosophers, die very hard, and that of the Britons, rooted in the primordial fact of death, would die as hard as any. The Romano-Britons may have lost their hierarchy and their organisation, but they would not lose all at once those fundamental ideas upon which that hierarchy had played and that organisation had been built up. Not even the Romans could make a people religious by law, and there is little evidence that they tried to do so in Britain.

[2] Roman official paganism of the first century was an eclectic and artificial religion made up of odds and ends ; much of it had no root in the Romans' past, and such part of it as had root was scarcely official, or was thrust into the background. There is little to show that the official religion ever took any hold at all upon the mass of the Britons, the *pagani*.

[3] There was neither religion nor philosophy behind this particular doctrine of Druidism. Like everything else in the system, it was purely political : it was calculated to inspire contempt of death and reckless courage in war. So says the matter-of-fact Caesar (*B.G.* vi, 14, 5), who had been seen something of its fruits. At grips with Rome, Druidism had excuse enough for a doctrine which was not even at that date extraordinary (Strabo, § 197). Fifteen hundred years later the Aztecs were teaching the same thing with exactly the same object, but with vastly less excuse.

[4] So Borlase, *Age of the Saints*, p. 30, referring to Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, p. 3.

[5] This was however a doctrine upon which Roman paganism had also a good deal to say through the lips of the Stoics. But the Druids no more 'made' the religion of the Celts than the Stoics and Epicureans made that of the Greeks and Romans. See above, ch. xiii.

Tertullian declared[1] that the faith of Christ had by his time prevailed even 'in lands of the Britons so remote as never to have yielded submission to the Romans.' Origen, Athanasius, Chrysostom and others make remarks involving the same implication. Unluckily there are no means of deciding whether these utterances express literal truths or are mere 'rhetorical flourishes.' Irenaeus, listing the various Churches of the West in 176, does not mention any Church of Britain.[2] The first event in the history of British Christianity which can possibly be dated is the martyrdom of St. Alban at Verulamium.[3] Even the alleged presence of British bishops at the Synod of Arles (314) is not above suspicion, and if it were it would not justify the picture of a Roman Britain covered at that date with churches and elaborately organised by parishes and dioceses.[4] The only concrete facts upon which to go are the discovery, amidst the ruins of Roman Silchester, of a building which was probably a Christian church of about 350; the missionary activity of Ninian in Galloway *circa* 400, and his building there, at Whithorn near Burrow Head in Wigtownshire, a church of stone[5]; the survival to Augustine's days of one, or possibly two, buildings which had been used as churches at Canterbury[6]; and the admitted fact that Christianity in Wales has enjoyed an unbroken, if precarious, continuity from Roman times. This does not mean that the whole population of Wales in the fifth century was Christian, or that even where it had maintained itself in Wales the new faith was either very deeply rooted or very sincerely practised. The Christian Welsh of that date were probably a small minority of the population, whose practice as Christians left very much to be desired. Over the greater part of England the invasions and incursions of Saxons and of Picts, which had destroyed most of the external tokens of Christianity, suppressed all public profession of that faith, and driven most of its remaining adherents into the fastnesses of Wales[1] and Cornwall and Strathclyde, led inevitably to a disastrous decline both of religion and of morals. Under the circumstances it is as certain as anything can be that the bulk of the Cymru, left 'as sheep without a shepherd,' would revert to the practices of paganism; and that that paganism, itself a discredited and shattered system, would preserve only what was most degraded and least desirable. The case of Christianity in Caledonia was at least as bad. St. Patrick indeed declared its people to be apostates.

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[1] *Adv. Iudaeos*, vii. Bright (*Lectures*, p. 4) believed the utterance to belong to the closing years of the second century (196-201). Newell (*Hist. Welsh Church*, p. 7) accepts it as a statement of fact, and dates it not later than 208.

[2] Dafen Jones, *Early Cymru and their Church*, p. 36.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, i, 6) put it in 306. The *A.-S. Chronicle* and *Book of Llandaff* put it 20 years earlier (286). There does not seem to be any good reason to doubt the fact of the martyrdom, but there are good reasons to question the later date (McClure, *British Place-Names*, p. 70).

[4] Professor Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, ch. i) was undoubtedly too sweeping in his assertion that 'By the close of the fourth century Christianity must have prevailed universally among the British Celts.'

[5] Bede, *H.E.* iii, iv, § 158, and below, ch. xxii.

[6] Below, ch. xxii.

In 431 the Council of Ephesus, confirming the verdicts of earlier synods, gave the evil eminence of a first-class heresy to the doctrines of Pelagius, and their much persecuted author disappears from history. He was a Celt,[2] and although he seems to have spent small part of his active life in Britain, it was but natural that his countrymen should be drawn towards the views of that 'great fat hound from Albion,' even had not the Church at large, and St. Jerome in particular, been at such pains to advertise him. 'Persecution is ever an ill way to plant a religion.' This suspicion of Pelagianism was however a reason the more for the sending of a revivalist mission to Britain, whither accordingly came from Gaul the famous bishop Germanus[3] and his less illustrious colleague Lupus of Troyes (429). In the following year these militant prelates, who had already gained an easy victory over the advocates of Pelagianism, gained one much more sensational over a pagan force, Saxons and Picts combined, who were raiding into northern Wales. This was the famous 'Alleluia Victory' (430), of which the scene is usually laid in Flintshire at or near Maesgarmon.[4]

---

[1] Chaucer, *Man of Law's Tale*, *vv.* 544-546,

'To Walys fledde the Cristyanytee
Of olde Britons dwellynge in this ile;
Ther was hir refut for the meene while.'

[2] Pelagius is said to be a Greek echo of his native name, which was either Morgan or Morien (*mor* = *pelagus*). St. Jerome says he was an Irish Celt: habet progeniem Scoticae gentis, de Britannorum vicinia (*Praef. ad. Comment. in Jerem.* lib. iii).

[3] Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. His name reappears in Wales as Garmon (Armon) in such forms as Maesgarmon and Llanarmon.

[4] 'The Field of Germanus.' It is a mile from Mold, and close to the borders of the parish of Llanarmon, 'The monastery of St. Germanus.'

Two years later (432) landed Patrick[1] in Ireland to commence the conversion of its people, and so successful was he that the foundations which he laid have never been uprooted. A son of the sister of St. Martin of Tours, he had been trained at Lérins and Tours for his life-work. The part taken by the Church of Gaul in safe-guarding or furthering the faith in Britain and Ireland—and even in Scotland, for Ninian dedicated his church at Whithorn to St. Martin of Tours—must be emphasised as possibly explaining some peculiarities of British and Irish usage. Whence the Gallic Church itself derived its own peculiarities of use need not be discussed here. Monasticism is the point chiefly concerned.

Tradition declares that the first Christian church in Ireland was that consecrated by Patrick near Armagh, and from that day to this called *Sabhall*,[2] 'the Barn.' His greatest day was when he met and discomfited the Druids of all the tribes of Ireland in their national assembly on the hill of Tara. He died[3] at Sabhall at a date unknown, having founded, so it is said, as many churches as there are days in the year, and consecrated no less than 450 bishops.[4]

Within a century from his demise the Irish Christians were sending missionaries of their own to Friesland, to Burgundy, and to Switzerland, and in 563[5] landed Columba at Hy (Icolumkil, Iona) to essay the conversion of the

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[1] There are vague legends that Patrick was preceded by other missionaries, of whom nothing is known historically. The student has his choice between two extremes, one of which declares that there was no such person as St. Patrick, while the other avers that there were at least ten persons of that name. According to one view he represents a Euhemerised pagan god; according to another he was a converted Druid. There is as much difference of opinion regarding his birthplace. See J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*; Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick;* and W. C. Borlase, *Age of the Saints*.

[2] Pronounced *Saul*.

[3] Even in the ninth century (Nennius, § 55) the place of his burial was unknown (cf. *Three Middle Irish Homilies*, p. 37: 'Moses and St. Patrick were very much alike in other matters,' and also in that 'the burial-places of both are uncertain'). Legend says it was at Downpatrick—St. Patrick's *dun*—but Prof. Bury sets this aside and leaves the choice between Sabhall and Armagh. If so important a fact as this be in doubt, it is clear that other so-called facts of his life must be very dubious. According to St. Bernard his relics were at Armagh in the twelfth century, and his tomb (*lipsana Patricii; ferta*) is frequently mentioned.

[4] In the Celtic Church only a bishop could celebrate the Eucharist, and there were no parishes and no territorial dioceses. The priest corresponded rather to what we call a deacon, the bishop to what we call a priest. The abbat of a monastery was commonly (not necessarily) a bishop, and every Christian settlement in the Ireland of St. Patrick's time was a monastic settlement.

[5] The date commonly received. Bede however puts it at 565, and so does the *A.-S. Chronicle*.

Scots of Dalriada, themselves immigrants from Ireland. In the same century Irish missionaries were very active also in Cornwall and in South Wales. In Wales and Cornwall they were perhaps revivalists only; in Scotland they came into a region where Christianity, if it had ever reached so far, was absolutely lost. Yet their success was surprising, and within a few years they had extended their activities beyond the Lowlands into Northumbria, where the work was carried on by Aidan (d. 651), Chad (d. 672) and Cuthbert (d. 687). The Britons of Wales, unable to forget and forgive, would have no dealings even as missionaries with the race which had driven them west of the Severn,[1] and it was from Ireland that the faith first came to the Saxons. It came first to those of the north (Bernicia and Deira), some of whom had assuredly seen Christianity, or heard of it, before the Roman Paulinus came to York (627) and even before St. Augustine landed in Thanet (597). That Frankish princess who became the queen of Ethelbert of Kent was herself a Christian, and for her own use as a church had restored a building which had been so used before the Romans abandoned Britain.

Landed in Kent, Augustine, if he had not known it before, speedily found that there was a vigorous, if self-centred, Christianity on the western side of the island. He made overtures to its prelates at once, only to find that there were wide differences of usage between the Roman and the Celtic Churches, and that the Welsh bishops had no intention of submitting tamely to Roman interference. It may be doubted whether there was not something strongly resembling a political motive present to the mind of pope Gregory when he resolved to send a Roman mission to England with the ostensible object of turning the *Angli* into *angeli*. Such at any rate was the suspicion of the Welsh, and Augustine's overtures were fruitless. Whether he would have been more successful had he addressed himself to the Irish or Columban missionaries, it is impossible to say. He does not seem to have attempted it. He founded his own bishopric in Canterbury, and two others in London and Rochester, all three, be it noticed, upon the sites of Roman towns once great. There his work came to a standstill, and he himself died in 604, Twenty-three years passed before another Roman missionary. Paulinus, aroused probably by the rapid success of the Celtic missionaries in the north, came to York and there (627) baptised king Edwin of Northumbria in a little round church[1] built hurriedly of wood for the occasion. The event was acclaimed as a notable victory for Paulinus and Roman orthodoxy, but it is not by any means certain that it was so.[2] It is certain that the Celtic Church went on steadily and successfully with the work which Paulinus failed to follow up,[3] the rival 'uses' breeding constant friction until the decisions of the Synod of Whitby (664) in effect declared all England to be an ecclesiastical province of the Church of Rome. Ireland, Iona and Wales[4] successively came into line within a century or so, but Dyfnaint (Devon and Cornwall) submitted only in 936.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* ii, 20, § 147.

The see of Canterbury had been founded in 602, those of London and Rochester in 604. The contiguity of these three, and their close sequence in date, as contrasted with the wider interval of space and time which separated the remainder, suggest that the Saxons too, like others before them, had made their most numerous and most progressive settlements thereabouts; and archaeology shows that, so far at any rate as concerns Kent, this was the fact.[5] York became a see in 627, Dunwich in 631,[6] Dorchester (Oxon.)

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[1] It was a baptistery only, and probably, had Paulinus not been a Roman, he would have dispensed with any building at all. The Celtic way was to baptise *al fresco*, and Paulinus himself was forced presently to fall in with it (Bede *H.E.* ii, xiv, § 133).

[2] Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* § 63) is emphatic in declaring that the actual baptism of king Edwin was the act of a Celtic ecclesiastic, whose name he expressly gives as Rum ap Urgen (Rhun ap Urien). So *Annales Cambriae*, *sub anno* clxxxii (626). By way of reconciling the contradictory statements of the Celtic authorities and the Latin Bede, it has been maintained that Paulinus was in reality a Briton who had been trained at Rome, or even that he was himself Rhun ap Urien. But Bede is at pains to describe his personal appearance, which was as little Celtic as were his views. See *Dict. Christian Biography*.

[3] Paulinus withdrew in 633, after only seven years of work.

[4] The actual dates are: South Ireland (Council of the White Field), 634 (?); North Ireland (Scoti), 704; Iona, 716; Wales, between 755-777. 'Seven hundred and seventy was the year of Christ when the Easter of the Britons was altered by Elbot, a man of God' (*Brut y Twysogion*).

[5] Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeology of the A.-S. Settlements*. He takes the view that Essex was politically subordinate to Kent at the time, and further maintains the survival of a large Romano-British element among the population. The number of churches in Essex which are built largely of Roman materials is remarkable, and the same applies to Kent; Worley's *Essex*; *Arch. Cant.* xxi (1895), p. 301.

[6] The second East Anglian see of Elmham, founded 673, seems to have subsisted for a generation only (to 706).

and Lindisfarne in 635. Lichfield, symbolising the conversion of Mercia, belongs to 656. Hereford (676) marks the advance of Christianity to the Severn; Hexham belongs to 678, as does also Lindsey in Lincolnshire; Worcester and Leicester to 680; Selsey to 681. That the six sees last named were all founded within as many years indicates that by that time the resistance of Saxon paganism was completely broken. With later sees we are not concerned, for Wilfrid's conversion of Sussex completed the nominal christianisation of all England. Nor is it needful to recount the ups and downs of the new faith. It had its reverses, as when Redwald of East Anglia (? 593-617) lapsed, and when Penda of Mercia (626-655) lived and died for the old gods of his race. But on the whole it must be admitted that the conversion of England was a surprisingly rapid matter. There has from that day to this been no such complete and speedy conversion of the nation upon any single point of religion large or small. It is clear that there was in Saxon paganism nothing at all analogous to the highly developed and highly organised system of the Celts, and the history of the internecine struggles of the Heptarchy proves the same thing. So rapid a conversion was necessarily but a superficial one. Religions die hard, and that of Woden was no exception. Some of its traces still survive, thirteen centuries of Christianity notwithstanding: many of its god-names go to make those of our familiar villages, and it would be hard to prove that in no case does a Christian church stand upon the site of a *locus consecratus* of Woden or of Freya.

As Christianity first approached England from Ireland by way of Iona and the north, it is in the north that we must look for its earliest vestiges. There we should reasonably expect to find some traces of those outward forms which are known to be the marks of Celtic Christianity—the monastic foundation with its circular *cashel* and clustered huts and diminutive non-chancelled rectangular oratories. They are still traceable. Here too we should expect to find the inevitable circular *limes*. We do—in numbers. And here finally, we might hope to find the oldest form of the very name 'church.' And again it is even so.

At what precise date the first Columban missionaries appeared in northern England we do not know, but it cannot well have been later than 600, and was probably some years earlier; for at the close of the sixth century the Saxons would seem to have penetrated not at all into the Lowlands and only very slightly into the interior of Northumbria.[1] The population here was therefore almost exclusively Celtic, and so far likely to be receptive. Sussex, the last area to resist the Cross, was converted in 681. Thus the conversion of Saxondom was a matter of less than a hundred years. When one recalls with what obstinacy the kindred of these Saxons—the so-called Danes and the Normans—withstood all attempts to convert them, and how long was the struggle with paganism in Frisia, the speedy success of Christianity in England becomes still more a matter for wonder. Other contributory causes may be suggested, but it is scarcely to be doubted that the chief cause was the presence of a large British element in the population of many parts of the country. Strathclyde and Cumbria and Cornwall, like Wales, were British (Brythonic) until long after their conversion, and in those regions Christianity—a revivalist Christianity perhaps—was without question vigorously active long before it reached the Mercian midlands; and the fervid Christianity of these Celts was not wholly due to the exhortations of men like Gildas and a true repentance of previous laxity. The attitude of the Welsh towards the Saxons as expressed by the Welsh bishops at Augustine's Oak[2] proves that a great part of its strength sprang from mere contrariety: they were the more stubbornly Christian because their natural enemies were otherwise. The old view of the 'cataclysmic historians' that the Saxons systematically extirpated the Celts in England is now altogether exploded.[3] Within certain very limited areas it was so, as in Sussex, where at the storming of Anderida (491) 'there was not one

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[1] Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeol. of the A.-S. Settlements*, p. 73; cf. also pp. 44, 52-53. Dr. Beddoe drew the same inference from the evidence of craniology.

[2] Bede, *H.E.* ii, 2, § 91.

[3] The old view is that of Milman (*Hist. Latin Christianity*, 4th ed. ii, 227): 'The re-occupation of the island by paganism is a strong confirmation of the complete expulsion of the Britons.' The evidence of craniology and of archaeology emphatically contradicts any such 'complete expulsion.' See also Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, pp. 38-42. When Alfred made his will he could still speak of the SW. counties—Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset—as Wealhcynne, 'lands of the Britons' (Thorpe *Diplomatarium*, p. 488).

Briton left alive,'[1] and this explains why the Irish missioner Dicul and his companions made no headway amongst the South Saxons, whose ultimate conversion came from another Saxon, the Northumbrian Wilfrid.[2] Elsewhere, and especially in East Anglia and in the eastern midlands, there would seem to have survived a large Celtic population amongst its Saxon conquerors, whether as serfs[3] or as refugees in the less accessible parts of the country such as the Fens. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth[4] it was not until the days of Careticus, fifth in succession from Arthur, and only a short time before the coming of Augustine, that Theon, bishop of London, and archbishop Thadioc of York, at last abandoned their sees and fled into Wales, 'carrying with them the relics of the saints, for fear the sacred bones of so many holy men of old might be destroyed by the barbarians.' In spite of all efforts to prove the contrary,[5] there is small ground for believing that London was ever forcibly reduced by the Saxons, while certain facts in its history point very clearly to its having maintained a continuous existence throughout the dark centuries.[6] Excepting a narrow strip along the coast, the Saxon Deira, the whole of the northern counties were still British[7] in the year 600, and so also was a vast area of western Yorkshire. The rapidity with which Christianity—Scotic Christianity—overran the whole of that county and thence passed into Lincolnshire and East Anglia, is most easily explained by the presence, amid the population of those regions, of a large element which, because it was

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[1] *A.-S. Chronicle.* This express statement is borne out by the place-names and the folk-lore of the county.

[2] It is remarkable that there is not in all Sussex a village-name embodying the word 'church,' or any certain trace of its Celtic precursor *cruc*.

[3] The fact that a king of Wessex in Bede's time (685-8) bore the purely British name of Ceadwalla, suggests that some at least of the conquered people rose to more distinguished positions. Many critics maintain that 'Saxon Cerdic' himself bears a British name. There is a doubt whether again the name of Coifi, the pagan high priest of the Northumbrian king Edwin in 627, be Saxon or rather Celtic.

[4] *Hist.* xi, 10. The truth of this statement (which Geoffrey took from the *Brut Tysilio*) has been accepted by some writers of authority, such as Raine.

[5] For example, J. R. Green and Sir Walter Besant, who have each his own theory of its desolation, and more recently Major Godsal (*The Storm of London*).

[6] So in particular Sir L. Gomme. One very remarkable fact is that the city, albeit situated on the confines of the three great Saxon kingdoms of Kent, Essex and Mercia, never belonged to one or other of them, but remained a separate entity. Augustine's action in early appointing a bishop of London points in the same direction.

[7] A Welsh *Triad* (no. 7) explicitly says that, when all the rest of Lloegria had become Saxon, Cornwall, Bernicia (Bryneich), and Deira (Deivyr) remained British.

Celtic, was well disposed towards the Celtic missionaries and to the Celtic form of Christianity as opposed to that offered by Paulinus.[1] The assertion of Nennius[2] that there were Celtic missionaries in York at Paulinus' coming is in no way unlikely, and there is probably much more than a poet's imagination in the statement of Chaucer that certain of the lower class in king Aella's Northumbria (560-588) were secretly Christians and even possessed of Christian books.[3] The evidence of place-names[4] establishes the fact that in various localities there long survived considerable bodies of Celtic people. The monkish tale of St. Guthlac at Crowland, that he mistook for actual Britons the creatures who disturbed his peace, and was greatly relieved to find that they were 'only' devils, has its value: there is a large mass of evidence that there did survive in the Fens a considerable British population. The tough Celt had outlived the brief three hundred and fifty years of the Roman occupation. His blood has survived also the 1500 years of Saxon rule, and he is a rash Englishman who would maintain that in his own veins is no admixture of Celtic blood.

Mercia's obstinate resistance to Christianity is quite understandable, for the Saxons of Mercia were those whose relations with the Britons were naturally the most embittered. The Saxons here were late comers but aggressive ones, and the struggle between the two races, face to face with each other along the Severn, was necessarily incessant. Here in the nature of things the British element among the Saxons would be but small, for it was easy for it to make its escape across the boundary into Wales. So Mercia made an obstinate resistance. But the most obstinate of all was that of the South Saxons, where it would seem there remained no British blood at all.

It is doubtless true that Augustine and Paulinus in

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[1] His assumed 'success' has actually been taken as an additional argument that he was identical with Rhun ap Urien. Whether the facts, as recorded by the partial Bede (our sole authority), justify this being called a 'success,' must be matter of opinion; and if one is to assume a British parentage for Paulinus to account for his 'success' in the north, by what assumption are we to account for that of Augustine in the south?

[2] *Brit. Hist.* § 63.

[3] *Man of Law's Tale*, *vv.* 541-550: cp. *v.* 666, 'a Briton boke writen with Evangiles.' For further evidence of this survival, see Johnson, *Folk-Memory*, chap. v, and cf. G. H.Moberly's edition of Bede's *History*, (Oxford, 1869), introd. p. vi.

[4] Ekwall, *Place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 224-237. So also Prof. F. M. Stenton in *Introd. to Study of Eng. Place-Names*, p. 181, and W. J. Sedgefield, ibid. p. 13.

Saxondom, like Patrick in Ireland and Columba in Dalriada, advisedly addressed themselves first to the ruling class. It is equally true that in Rome itself the conversion came rather through the lower classes. The conversion of the Saxons was twice as rapid as that of Rome, and this rapidity may well be due in large measure to the fact that while paganism was attacked on the one hand through the persons of its kings and thanes, the lower classes on the other hand were already in varying measure predisposed to welcome the faith of their forefathers. And here too may be part of the explanation of the stubbornness with which, as the sequel will show, certain peculiar features of the Celtic as distinct from the Latin Christianity have survived in the English Church of to-day.

The Romans never attempted the occupation of Ireland, where the old order went its downhill way without interference from the outer world.[1] If Druidism had ever boasted in Ireland any such predominance as in Gaul, no trace of the fact is discoverable. In Gaul it had made for internal peace and national unity; it was in fact the only formula for the expression of Gallic nationalism. In Ireland there appears never to have been any national unity or any abiding peace; the nearest approach thereto was perhaps a kind of 'truce of God' for the duration of such meetings as that of the national assembly at the hill of Tara. What evidence we have reveals only the decay of Druidism. When Christianity entered the field there was no organisation and no faith to withstand it: the ruins of the older organisation were everywhere, and Christianity repaired them, reconstructed them, and entered into possession. Of continuity there was no break at all. If therefore it is possible anywhere to catch sight of any traces of the fusion of the new with the old order, it should be in Ireland. Wales will rank as a good second. In Scotland we have evidence in abundance for the introduction and spread of the new faith and its outward forms, but little for the pre-existing order of things. In England itself the continuity will be the hardest to trace, and the harder as one travels further away from the Celtic regions.

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[1] See F. Haverfield in *English Historical Review*, vol. xxviii, pp. 1-12. Elsewhere he himself sums up his consideration of the relations of Ireland with the Roman empire in the words 'these relations were few and unimportant' (*Roman Britain*, 1913, p. 53). Another opinion is argued by e.g. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, c. 1.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### IRELAND.

*Ethnology of Ireland—Irish Druidism—Irish Barrows and ritual of Burial—Sepulchral origin of Irish 'Fairs'—The Eight Royal Cemeteries—Similarity of Pagan and Early Christian Grave-Monuments—Ring-Barrows, Dolmens, and Pillar-Stones—Continuity of Christian with Pagan customs—'Lis,' 'Rath,' 'Dun,' 'Cashel,' and Grave, all Circular—Christian Burial-Grounds still Circular—St. Patrick a Brython—Story of his 'Easter-Fires'—St. Bridgit of Kildare—The Burial of Ethne and Feidelm—St. Patrick's Monastic Norm—The first monasteries circular—And established on Graves—Churches within 'Raths'—Monasteries within 'cashels'—Killeens—Keeills of the Isle of Man.*

The exaggerated importance attached by the Irish to death and burial is familiar to every one. This would suggest that in earlier times the feeling was even stronger, and archaeology amply corroborates this view: the sepulchral remains of Ireland are more numerous and more varied than are those of any portion of Britain; they are better preserved, not so much because of the backwardness of agriculture as because of the persistence of the feeling that such remains are sacred and inviolable; and there survives a mass of documentary evidence connected with them, much of it preserving the traditions, beliefs and practices of pre-Christian times.

There is still a very large Iberian element in the Irish race. Upon this were imposed successive Celtic strata immigrant from the Continent and Britain. The Celtic inflow began long before the appearance of the Romans in the west; the Brythonic inflow, if not actually caused, was greatly stimulated by that event, and probably went on long after it. In Ptolemy's time (*c.* 250) the Brythonic Manapii were settled in or near Wicklow. Later immigrants, landing at the mouth of the Boyne, passed up the valley of that river and made their capital at Tara, whence they extended their power over most of the island (fourth century). Tara remained thereafter the traditional seat of the kings of All Ireland, the older kingdoms continuing or disappearing, coalescing or dividing, as fate might have it. Emain Macha, the earlier capital of Ulster, was superseded by Crinan Ailech in co. Derry; that of Connaught was fixed at Cruachan in Roscommon. Cashel (*Castell*) was the newer capital of Munster, the earlier capital being altogether forgotten. In Tara did Niall of the Nine Hostages, possibly the captor of the young St. Patrick, keep his throne (358-366), and after him continuously others of his house down to 1002. To this Brythonic royal line belonged St. Columba.

These invading Brythons were the Milesians and Firbolgs of Irish tradition. The name of the Firbolgs explicitly declares them Belgae.[1] Whence did they come into Ireland? From the mention of Irish Brigantes it has been surmised that they came from Britain; but there was a Brigantium in Spain, which lends colour to the Irish tradition that the Milesians came thence. On the other hand the name of the Firbolgs points directly to Belgica or its vicinity, for a tribe which came thence to Ireland by way of Spain or of Britain would scarcely retain the name of its original home. As classical literature has nothing to suggest any considerable emigration from Gaul, Spain, or Britain, between the second and fifth centuries A.D. or the passage through Belgica Romana of any further swarms from beyond the Rhine, the probability is that they came direct from the vicinity of the Cimbric Chersonese and Frisia, avoiding both Belgica and southern Britain because these were too strongly held by the Romans. This view is supported by the archaeological evidence of the distribution of the *lunulae*, the similarity between the flint implements of Ireland and of Denmark, the distribution of the stone circles, and other facts.

The Brythonic Milesians are said to have been attacked by the Tuatha Dé Danann, mighty wizards who all but overcame the Milesians by their spells, withdrawing after their ultimate defeat to the mounds of the good people (fairies), where Irish belief has it that they still abide. It is not unlikely that the Tuatha Dé Danann were merely another swarm of invaders from the same quarter, and even of the same blood.[1] The story of their occult powers seems to mean that they belonged to the number of those with whom Druidism was a force. But amongst the Irish Druidism was never the force into which it had been moulded by the Cimbric tribes in Gaul and in Britain.

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[1] Intermediate forms of the name are provided by (*a*) that of Bolgius, who led the Tectosages into Greece in 280 B.C. and (*b*) that of Blatum Bulgium, in Annandale, the northernmost Roman station in the *Antonine Itinerary* (*Iter* ii). With Fir-bolg cf. Fir-domnann, another Irish tribal name (= Damnonii ?).

Irish Druidism, little concerned with politics, was free to give the more attention to other forms of activity, to divination and magic and the cultivation of poetry. It still boasted itself immune from taxation, and its leaders still prided themselves upon their large trains of disciples,[2] who moved about the country with their master, or dwelt in *clochauns* clustered about his *dun.*[3] But morally and intellectually the system continued to decline, so that the diviner sank to be a mere vulgar juggler,[4] and the poet used his gifts chiefly as a means of extorting money by abuse or by the threat of it. Cursing was Druidism's last prerogative.[5] But it held stubbornly by forms and ceremonies. The Druid was distinguished by a special tonsure. Irish kings maintained each his own company of court Druids, and as the king of Tara was overlord of all other kings, so the Druids of Tara were paramount amongst all Druids of Ireland.

Some allowance must be made for the animosity of Christian writers, who remembered Druidism chiefly as the most stubborn opponent of the new faith; but with a handsome discount on this score, it is plain that the Druidism of Ireland in the fifth century was an entirely different thing from that which Caesar had seen in Gaul. The very word *drui* had come to be merely the equivalent of *magus*, 'wizard,' and the Arch-Druid of Tara 'prides himself mostly upon his talent as a juggler.'

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[1] Above, ch. xiv.

[2] The law prescribed the number of pupils or disciples which each Druid or Bard might take with him from place to place. In the reign of Conor MacNess, king of Ulster, the number of those who frequented the schools of Bards and Druids, and so avoided taxation, was one third of the whole population, and led to violent outbreaks against the system. There were similar movements of protest both before and after. One is reminded immediately of later revolts against clerical privileges and exemptions, mortmain, etc. in England. See Baring Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii( 1900).

[3] Below, p. 25.

[4] There is a curiously close analogy in the story of the decline of the troubadour to the mountebank (*joglar*, *jongleur*, juggler).

[5] Gildas (*Praefat.*) speaks of Balaam as the 'tiared magician (i.e. druid) who was going to curse God's people.' This 'cursing' was a decadent survival of the 'excommunication' of which Caesar speaks (*B.G.* vi, 13). Ceremonial cursing is not yet altogether dead in Ireland. It was associated with the practice of passing round and round a *locus consecratus*—altar or holy stone or burial-place—in the fashion called 'widdershins,' i.e. in the direction contrary to the sun's movement, registering each circuit with a pebble laid upon the central spot. For such *bullans* in Inismurray, see Wakeman, *Survey of Inismurray*, pp. 59-68, and for a unique example in south Wales see G. G. T. Treherne in *Arch. Cambr.* 6th ser. vii (1907), pp. 268-276.

Irish barrows show most of the various forms described in an earlier chapter. The circular form prevailed here as completely as in Britain: there is in Irish barrows a very pronounced tendency towards the oval plan, but long barrows are singularly scarce, whereas of circular sepulchral works of various kinds the country has uncounted thousands. In Irish mythology circles and barrows of every form are closely identified with god-names: the great chambered bowl-barrow at Newgrange was sacred to the god Aengus, that of Knowth to Boadan. 'There is little doubt that in the three rings of Dunainey, on the Knockainey Hill, the triad of gods Eogabal, Feri and Aine were supposed to dwell; and they had also their cairns. . . . A disc-barrow at Tara, a flat ring with small central mound, was aptly known as the Shield of Cuchulain.'[1]

Amongst the more remarkable groups of Irish megalithic monuments are those of North Moytura or Carrowmore, co. Mayo, and of South Moytura, near Cong on Lough Corrib. Petrie estimated those at Carrowmore as upwards of two hundred. They lie—or lay—within an area of about half a square mile, and amongst them 'are stone cairns with dolmens in their interiors; dolmens standing alone, but which have been evidently always exposed; dolmens with single circles, others with two or three circles of stones around them; and circles without dolmens or anything else in the centre.'[2] They appear almost without exception to have been sepulchral monuments. The group at South Moytura also included a number of simple cromlechs without visible trace of any central dolmen. One of these had a diameter of 54 feet, and there used to be at least one that was even larger.

The theory that the introduction of cremation led to the building of smaller and still smaller barrows, until at last no barrow at all was thought needful, may find some support from the facts in Ireland: cremation seems to have made small progress there,[1] whereas the making of sepulchral mounds, rings, and cromlechs went on with unimpaired vigour to the last days of paganism. The immense mounds of Newgrange and Dowth are amongst the largest of their kind.

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[1] T. J. Westropp, in *Proc. R. I. Academy*, vol. xxiv (1917).

[2] Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 181. See also Wood-Martin, *Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland* (1888), who gives particulars of sixty-three monuments at Carrowmore.

Two passages are here quoted from O'Curry which give details of the sepulture of two heroes, viz. the Irish Fiachra and the Greek Patroclus.

> 'Fiachra then brought fifty hostages with him from Munster, and he brought a great *cain* [i.e. booty levied as a legal fine], and he went forth then on his way to Temar. When however he reached Forud in Ui Mac Uais in Meath, Fiachra died of his wounds there. His *leacht* was made and his *fert* was raised, and his *cluiche caintech* was ignited, and his ogam-name was written, and the [fifty] hostages which he brought from the south were buried alive around the *fert* of Fiachra, that it might be a reproach to the Momonians for ever, and that it might be a trophy over them.'[2]

> 'Aicil (Achilles) buried Petrocul (Patroclus), and he made his *fert* and he planted his *lic*, and he wrote his name, and he proclaimed him at his burial-place, and he made his *cluiche cainte*, and after this the *cuitech fuait*. The reason they used to make the *cuitech fuait* was for the good of the souls of their friends, for it was a tradition among the gentiles (i.e. pagans) that the soul for which the *cuitech fuait* was not made should spend one hundred years in hell.'[3]

In the one case we have an Irish chief buried by his own people according to their national customs; in the other case we have an Irish bard interpreting in the light of the customs of his own people the details of the burial of the Greek Patroclus; and as we are able to check the latter by the text of Homer, it becomes certain that the bard was no slavish translator,[4] but accurately reflects the Irish way.

The essential features in the two accounts are

1. The *fert*, or circular fosse.
2. The gravestone or monument (*lic*, *leacht*).
3. The funeral fire (*cluiche cainte*).

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[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, p. 505; O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Irish*, vol. i, cccxix, cccxxv.

[2] ibid. i, cccxxi, translating from the *Book of Ballymote*.

[3] O'Curry, op. cit. vol. i, p. cccxxv, note, from *Book of Ballymote* (R.I.A.), fol. 241 *aa*.

[4] He does not, for example, mention the sacrifice of twelve Trojans at Patroclus' grave (parallel with the sacrifice of the fifty hostages of Fiachra). On the other hand he inserts into the Homeric account of the burial of Patroclus the detail that the mourners 'wrote his name.'

4. The panegyric.
5. The ogamic inscription.
6. The sacrifice and burial of victims.
7. The celebration of the funeral games (*cuitech fuait*).

The word *fert* (*feurt*, pl. *ferta*) seems to denote a circular fosse surrounding a place of burial[1]; but as the digging of a fosse entails the upcast of the soil, it was naturally extended to include the suggestion of a vallum also. O'Curry's editor[2] quotes from Dr. Keating without understanding what was meant, yet the meaning is clear enough; 'small *raths*' he calls them, and a *rath* was a circular enclosure surrounded by fosse and wall. Moreover Dr. Keating goes on to speak of *ferts* 'with one or two doors,' and others with no doors at all. The 'doors' in question are the breaks in the circular ring; and if the *Book of Lecan* is to be believed (fol. 258 *a*, *b*) the immature of either sex were buried in *ferts* which were not penannular, while the burial-place of a 'man of science' should have one door, and that of a woman two. A *fert* surrounded also the spots where fairs were held, for these were invariably sepulchral spots; and the word might, says O'Curry, be used of the circular defences of a camp, a house, or a church. This is certainly true of churches, simply because those were invariably built on spots hallowed by burial, and therefore commonly showing the circular *limes* which was the mark of hallowed ground.

The 'stone' set up over the pagan hero's grave survives in the tombstone of to-day, and the legend upon the headstone perpetuates 'the writing of his name.' The funeral fire—used it would seem even at inhumations symbolically, or possibly as the vehicle for sending the dead man's belongings after him—is represented by the candles which burn around the corpse when 'lying in state'; and of the old-time victims,[3] themselves parcel of the general grave-furniture of paganism, we retain to-day little but the symbolical wreaths of flowers. The panegyric—the modern funeral sermon and press-notice combined—has left a greater mark; in Ireland it keeps a more immediate and personal form in the 'keening' at the wake. Most important of all in regard to its later developments was the *cuitech fuait*, the funeral 'games' so-called, a term not nearly comprehensive enough, although it happily emphasises the original feature upon which so many and so varied growths were later grafted.

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[1] *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*: 'Fossam rotundam in similitudine fertae.' The use of *rotundus* for *circularis* is common.

[2] *Manners and Customs*, vol. i, cccxxix, cccxxx.

[3] It is to be noticed that the fifty victims sacrificed at Fiachra's grave were buried outside the *limes*. Their fate was to be 'a reproach to the Momonians for ever,' inasmuch as they were sent out of this world without the proper passports to the next one. Buried outside the *fert* they had no share in its sanctity to safeguard their bones from desecration, and not having passed through the fire their spirits could not reach the place whither went that of Fiachra himself. See Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, i, p. 505.

Dolmens and cairns and circles, says Borlase,[1] 'were not mere sepulchres of the dead, but places set apart for the *sacrificia mortuorum*, for pilgrimages, for the periodical assembling of the tribe or tribes for religious or social purposes, for the holding of fairs, for the contracting of marriages, and for unrestricted feasting and revel.' At certain of these *loca sacra* more notable than the rest, gathered and grew the heterogeneous happenings known as *aenachs*, 'fairs.' 'Fairs[2] appear to have originated in funeral games celebrated in honour of some distinguished chief or warrior, and in pagan, *even in early Christian times*, were always celebrated in cemeteries. The chieftain's judges and notables sat upon or beside the mounds raised over the renowned dead.'[3] But though in the course of time, as the name 'fair' now implies, buying and selling became the principal items in the programme, such matters were originally no part of it at all. The *aenach* was in the first instance a memorial service to the dead, celebrated at intervals of time varying in the particular case: it might be annual, or triennial as in the case of the famous fair of Carman. In the second place the gathering was utilised as a convenient occasion for a good deal of legal and administrative business. 'In addition to the promulgation of new laws, and the proclamation of peace, the old laws were rehearsed. . . . An ancient fair performed three functions: in the first place it was the great school where the people learned to know their rights and duties, the special laws under which they lived, the history of the country, the warlike deeds performed by the illustrious dead, and the genealogies of the families entitled to rule them. In the second place a fair was the occasion of enjoyment to the people—dancing, music, recitation of poetry, feats of arms, athletic sports, horse-racing and juggling formed part of the essential business of it. And lastly it was a great market for all kinds of wares and produce.'[1] Such fairs were 'organised assemblies regulated by strict bye-laws, a breach of which was punished by death';[2] each was a general assembly of the entire people of the province, or even of the nation, and its president was the king of the province or the king of All Ireland.

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[1] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 476.

[2] The derivation of 'fair' is from Latin *feriae*, 'holiday,' and a 'holiday' is literally a 'holy day.'

[3] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, i, p. cclv; cf. pp. cccxvii, cccxxviii.

There were[3] eight chief royal cemeteries of the Irish kings 'before the (Christian) faith,' viz. Cruachan[4] in Roscommon, the burial-place of the kings of Connaught; Brough on Boyne, where were laid the notables of the Tuatha Dé Danann; Tailten (Teltown) for Ulster; Luachair Ailbe for Leinster; Aenach Culé, Aenach Colman, and Aenach Ailbe, all in Munster; and for the supreme sovereignty of All Ireland, Temhair Erann or Tara.[5]

It will be noticed that so intimate, and indeed essential, was the connexion between the fair and the grave, that three out of the eight cemeteries are actually called by the name of Aenach. Sir William Ridgeway[6] gives a striking example of the abiding reality of the bond between the two; 'In a lonely spot in county Cork there is a little ancient *liss* or fort with a single circular rampart in perfect preservation; just outside the entrance stands a barrow known through endless generations as the "hillock of the fair." Here until some forty years ago there was an annual gathering of the country folk for a fair, and foot-races were run alongside of the mound. Then the landlord had the fair transferred to a village some four miles distant, but, though the fair was moved from a desolate spot to a thriving village, it has practically died out. Then came a road-contractor who thought that the barrow, which was made of pieces of the local limestone, would supply good cheap material for the roads. He laid ruthless hands upon the ancient mound, and soon brought to light a fine cromlech [i.e. dolmen] of four upright stones, supporting as usual a great flat capstone. In the cist thus formed were found a bronze sword, human bones and other objects. Now it is clear why the foot-races had been held there year by year from the Bronze Age down to our own time. The old chief delighted in manhood when in life, so in death his spirit was honoured by the enactment of manly sports as the seasons revolved.'

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[1] O'Curry, op. cit. p. ccv.

[2] ibid. p. cclvi; cp. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 67-68.

[3] *Commentary on the Poem on the Cemeteries.*

[4] Above, ch. x, *fin.* 'There are fifty hills (i.e. barrows) at Cruachan.'

[5] The chief portions of the Irish literature bearing on this matter are printed by Petrie in his *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (Dublin, 1845) and in Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*), viz. the *Senchas na Relic* (*History of the Cemeteries*) of the *Leabhar na h'Uidhre*; the *Dinsenchus* of the *Book of Ballymote*; and the *Poem on the Cemeteries* and its *Commentary*. For the topographical importance of Tara, whence radiated five great roads throughout the island, see Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 80, 191-197.

[6] *The Origin of Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 35. In his *Early Age of Greece*, p. 545, he adds that the spot was Cnocan near Mallow, the 'thriving village' being Ballyclough. *Cnoc* (a mutated form of *cruc*, *cruach*) is the usual Irish term for a bowl-barrow.

So long as the fair maintained its original association with the grave of the nameless subject of veneration, so long did it thrive. Separated therefrom, it faded and failed. The fact is typical of all Celtic religion ancient and modern alike.

The fair of Tailten was continuously celebrated down to the middle of the tenth century or even later, while as to its beginnings, the *Annals of the Four Masters* modestly place it in the year 3370 (*anno mundi*).[1] The fair of Carman, held at the Curragh of Kildare,[2] ceased only in 1033. Christianity, hopeless of abolishing out of hand institutions so deeply rooted in pagan ancestor-worship, was fain to tolerate them for centuries, and to incorporate these *fêtes*, like so many other pagan festivals, in the Christian calendar.

In their character as national or tribal assemblies, their recurrence at various yet regular periods, the presence of the king as president, the peculiar character of much of the business transacted, and their special sanctity (which was guaranteed by a formal and forceful 'truce of God'), these fairs correspond exactly with all that we know of the grand assize of Gallic Druidism and of ancient *gorseddau* in general. Their analogy with the great periodical games of ancient Greece—Olympic, Delphic, Isthmian, Nemean—

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[1] O'Curry, op. cit. p. cccxxvii. John Donovan, writing in *Nineteenth Cent. and After*, could say 'the traditions of it are still so vivid, that Telltown was till recently resorted to by the men of Meath for hurling, wrestling, and manly sports.'

[2] So W. M. Hennessy. O'Curry put it at Wexford.

is also most striking, and suggests that the latter owed at least some part of their scheme and their importance to the influence of the Celtic Acheans.[1]

The great 300-foot burial-ring—Reilig na Riogh ('Cemetery of the kings')—of Cruachan, was, with few exceptions, the burial-place of the pagan kings of All Ireland of the race of Heremon, i.e. the Milesians, 'until the coming of the Firbolgs,' who preferred to be buried at Tara or at Brough. One of the exceptions was Cormac MacAirt (218-254), who, whatever his real creed, was an apostate from the faith of his times.[2] The monument[3] of the last pagan king of All Ireland, Dathi, still stands at Cruachan, where he was buried in 428. The Milesians were Brythons; so too the Firbolgs, the 'Belgic men.' As Milesians and Firbolgs would seem both to have made their way to Tara along the Boyne, their choice of Brough as a burial-place was natural. St. Patrick likewise worked up the Boyne, and began his missionary work by displaying his qualities at Brough, thence proceeding to the Belgic headquarters at Tara. The position of Brough and Tara in relation to the Boyne would seem to have a close analogy with that of Stonehenge in relation to the landing-places upon the south coast of Britain, the Solent, Poole harbour and Weymouth.

Petrie remarked[4] upon the similarity of the grave-monuments of the earliest Christian period to those of paganism. The graves of the first converts, he observed, are in fact the connecting link between the old faith and the new. 'The tombs of the early saints present a variety of forms, as in those of Aran, which are often rude sarcophagi somewhat similar to pagan cromlechs [i.e. dolmens] and kistvaens, while at other times they are small cairns enclosed by a circular or quadrangular wall.' The similarity goes vastly further than he remarked, but his notices of Christian graves beneath cairns, beneath 'sarcophagi like dolmens,' and within circular enclosures, are all very pertinent.

The most characteristic forms of pagan sepulchral monuments in Ireland are the cromlech or other form of ring-barrow, the dolmen, and the pillar-stone; and it can be shown that every one of these forms was used to mark Christian graves also.

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[1] cf. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 62, who compares the great meetings of the Celtic Galatians at Ancyra.

[2] He was therefore buried apart from others, at Ross-na-Righ, on the Boyne, but on the side of the river opposite to Brough.

[3] A pillar-stone, the 'Red Pillar.'

[4] *Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 450; cf. Wood-Martin, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 127.

Of dolmens Ireland has hundreds. Borlase enumerates a total of 898 examples, of which 780 are beyond dispute. They are most abundant in Sligo, which has 163. But it is by no means certain that any individual dolmen is pre-Christian. At Ardnaree, Ballina, co. Mayo, is a considerable example, the capstone measuring 9 by 7 feet, which there is reason to believe was erected over the bodies of the four Maols who were executed for the murder of bishop Ceallach. Ceallach was a great-grandson of Dathi, and died not earlier than 537. The monument therefore cannot be earlier than that date.[1] Nevertheless, as Christianity tried to enforce earth-to-earth burial, the building of dolmens probably died out very speedily.[2]

Commoner than the dolmen is the pillar-stone. The Red Pillar of the pagan king Dathi at Cruachan has been mentioned. Within one grave-yard at Inismore, Isle of Aran, stands a group of four such pillars marking the graves of the 'four beautiful saints,' Brendan, Fursey, Conall and Berchan. Wrote Wakeman,[3] 'That pillar-stones, in character not to be distinguished from those of an undoubtedly pagan age, were occasionally erected over the graves of a number of our earliest ecclesiastics, is a fact which cannot be denied'

When such a pillar-stone bears a Christian symbol, it is probably the monument of a Christian, though even this is dubious if, as commonly assumed, the early missioners were in the habit of cutting the Christian symbol upon pagan stones.[1] But there is no ground for the sweeping statement, repeated or implied by many who mention the subject, that a pillar-stone without ogam or symbol is necessarily a pagan monument. There are scores of such stones of the rudest type standing in the churchyards of Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and even England, and it is a common argument that these at any rate must be Christian because they stand beside a church, i.e. it is assumed that the ' church ' was there before the monolith. The precise reverse is the truth : these stones were there before any ' church ' was thought of, and just as they had been used to mark pagan graves, so they continued to be used to mark Christian burial-places for long years before any church was built. There is nothing whatever in a pillar-stone as such to declare whether it be Christian or pagan.[2] W. C. Borlase[3] saw an example of ' a pillar-stone with an encircled cross of most primitive form ' at Cahirbarool, co. Cork. It stood a quarter-mile north of a dolmen (Lackparknalicka) and close to another dolmen-like grave'; and he remarks that there seemed to be in the locality many such monuments transitional between paganism and Christianity.

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[1] Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 233; Wakeman, *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, p. 59. It is argued in reply that the dolmen may have been already standing there when the Maols were executed. To this it may be retorted that, if it was used as their monument, the fact proves that to the Irish of that date dolmens were places of burial.

[2] In a few cases (e.g. at Kilcornan, co. Clare) Christian symbols are carved upon the stones of the dolmen, which lends support to the view that even dolmens were constructed over Christian graves. 'Ryland in his *History of Waterford*, mentions a cromleac [i.e. dolmen] which stands in the churchyard near the sugar-loaf hill in the barony of Gualteir. W. F. Wakeman has recently discovered a cromleac [dolmen]-like grave in a Christian burying-place in county Wicklow' (W. G. Wood-Martin, *Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland*, p. 27). Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*, pp. 196-197) describes and figures two cases in which it is difficult to decide whether the monument is a true dolmen or an altar tomb. Both are in Roscommon, one in Churchacres, parish of Kilronan, the other in the townland and parish of Tumna. The former is marked 'altar' on the ordnance map; the latter is known as 'St. Eidin's grave. Both are certainly regarded as altars by the peasantry, and are covered with the round pebbles used by votaries in recording their prayers (cf. the 'cursing stones,' p. 15 above). The one is 'near the church,' the other 'close to the church.'

[3] *Survey of Inismurray*, p. 75.

' At a little distance to the east ' of the site of the church of Kilcoo, Fermanagh, is a sepulchral monument which W. F. Wakeman calls one of the most singular he had seen in Ireland. 'It seems indeed in a most remarkable degree to combine the pagan idea of a monumental *leact* with that by which our earliest Christians were moved. . . It is a mound composed of earth and small boulders, with a circle of ten stones enclosing a space four yards in diameter, in the centre of which stand the relics of what has been a well-fashioned cross.'[1] It is, in fact, a combination of the simplest form of bowl-barrow with the cromlech, and in the centre, in lieu of the unhewn 'pagan' pillar-stone, is an elaborately carven cross. Were the latter absent, or but a little more mutilated than it is, few probably would hesitate to pronounce the whole a purely pagan monument.

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[1] In the *Life of St. Sampson* (seventh cent.) the writer asserts that he had personally seen the cross carved by the saint upon a menhir in Wales, around which he had found dancing a number of British heathens.

[2] Examples of such stones marking Christian places of burial in Wales will be cited in due course. Tradition declares that a pillar-stone—the saint's pillow-stone—was set up over St. Columba's grave in Iona. St. Cadoc set up another over the grave of his murdered architect Liugwri (*Vita S. Cadoci*, c. 17). Under the tower of the church at Constantine was a massive megalith; are we to believe that it was brought and set there after the church was built? So with that which once carried the pulpit at Llandyssilio Gogo (p. 124). For a number of other examples, see Johnson, *Byways*, pp. 38-42. Three enormous megaliths (respectively 29, 18 and 14 feet in height, and covering a space of ground measuring 110 (Span.) feet in circumference, are actually included within the nave of the church of the hermitage of St. Miguel de Arrechinaga, in Basque-land, 25 miles from Bilbao (see Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 648). There is no particular reason why even the 29-foot menhir at Rudstone, Yorks, should not have been erected by Christians over another Christian. It may have been a pagan 'idol,' but the presence of the church close beside it is, so far as it goes, evidence that the stone marked (*a*) a place of sepulture and (*b*) a Christian grave.

[3] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 33. J. P. Condon, writing in 1916 (*Journ. R.A.S.I.* vol. xlvi, pt. 2, p. 159), says that he could not find it.

Nor is the cist more reliable as a proof of pre-Christian sepulture. 'Stone-lined graves would probably be found in every ancient cemetery in the diocese of Down,' wrote Rev. Jas. O'Laverty in 1879, who mentions fifteen Christian cemeteries in which he knew that they had been found, and adds that such graves had been found also at nearly all the ancient churches in the diocese.[2] Even the rounded pebbles or *echini* which the pagan laid in the graves of his dead have their counterpart in Christian Ireland, where a white pebble not seldom accompanies each burial, even within unquestioned Christian graveyards.[3]

There was thus continuity between paganism and Christianity in every single one of the points thus far considered. The one point remaining is the *fert* or precinct, and least of all was there any lack of continuity here. The pagan burial-place was circular; circular was the Christian graveyard also.

In pagan Ireland indeed, and for a thousand years longer, the circular figure was universal, alike where men lived and where they were buried. *Lis* and *rath*, *dun* and *cashel* and *cathair*[4] were all invariably of this plan, and of this plan only, by law: the chief's residence[1] and the commoner's hut were round; graves and cemeteries were round; so were places of assembly and courts of law; and so we may suppose were all other *loca consecrata* of paganism.

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[1] *Journ. R.S.A. (Ireland)* 1879, p. 32, where is a woodcut.

[2] *Journ. R.S.A. Ireland* (1879), p. 105. In Ireland, it will be understood, cemeteries are much more numerous than churches.

[3] ibid. p. 107.

[4] *Rath* is the generic term including all the rest, and it seems impossible to establish any hard and fast line between one and another of these terms. The Celtic *dun* is the A.-S. *tun*, Germ. *zaun*, 'a fenced enclosure.' It is usual to apply *cathair* and *cashel* to the larger stone-built defensive enclosures, *lis* and *rath* to the smaller. According to Whitley Stokes the radical meaning of *rath* is simply 'earth-rampart' or 'earth-bank.' It appears in Wales as *rhath*, in Scotland as *rath*, in Roman Britain as *Ratae* (Leicester; cf. Ratumagus, Rouen), in modern England in the name of

When the Irish became Christians, their burial-places—'churchyards'—were still round; and as the circle had been the symbol of sanctity in pagan times, so the symbol of the new faith became in Ireland less the cross than the circle charged with the cross. With the pagan Irish as with the Celts of Britain and Gaul, the presence of the circle in some form or other, actual or symbolical, was essential to the peace of the dead. Christianity could not shake that prejudice. Christianity did not even try to shake it.

St. Patrick was a Brython.[2] He had therefore the more reason to address his first efforts to the Brythonic Irish, to those of the Wicklow coast[3] first of all, and next to the Brython chief-paramount Leoghaire[4] in Tara. Being a Brython, he had too intimate a knowledge of Brythonic burial-customs to make unnecessary and tactless difficulties. His policy was that of compromise.

*The Life of St. Patrick* tells how the saint, on his way to Tara, came on Easter eve to the vicinity of the great Brython cemetery at Brough, and proceeded to prepare for the Pasch by 'lighting a sacred and blessed fire, as the custom was.' Now it was the druidical custom at this

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Ratby. In modern Ireland it forms the first element in more than 700 names of town-lands (Joyce), and reduced to *-ra* is the final element in such names as Moira (= Moyrath). See McClure, *British Place-names*, p. 265, n. The origin of the word is unknown: the *N.E.D.* offers no derivation. It was Latinised by monastic writers as *atrium*. For these works in general see Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*; Westropp, *Early Forts of Ireland*; Stokes, *Life of George Petrie*, p. 235; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 77, note. *Raths*, *duns*, etc. continued to be built through the middle ages; for examples as late as middle of thirteenth cent. see Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 6; ibid. p. 12, 'the type is ancient though examples may be modern.'

[1] By the Brehon laws the proper residence of a king was the *dun* with a triple *enceinte*. Mrs. Armitage points out (*Engl. Hist. Review*, xix, p. 451) that this is identical with the *Castellatio trium scannorum* [*scamnorum*] which is declared by the *Leges Henrici Primi* (x. § 1) to be the right of a king. This is yet another example of the tacit adoption of ancient Celtic usage by a later age and race.

[2] His native name was Succath or Sucat, said to be identical with the modern Welsh *bygad* 'warlike.' Patricius, his Latin (monastic) name, became, on the lips of the Goidelic Irish, Cothrige.

[3] The territory of Ptolemy's Manapii.

[4] He was brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

period of the year to order the formal extinction of all fires, which were presently rekindled from a ritual flame lit by the Arch-Druid in Tara; and any one failing to conform to the custom was liable to excommunication. The saint's fire naturally attracted instant attention, and Leoghaire forthwith set off to find and punish the offender. 'The magicians (i.e. Druids) advised the king not to enter the circle of St. Patrick's fires, lest their magic influence should overcome him, but to remain outside the circle.' From this one may perhaps infer that the sacred fire, druidical or otherwise, was conceived of as lit within a circular *limes*: had it been literally a ring of fire the king would not have needed his magicians to warn him against passing through it. The tale at any rate shows that the circle had a religious significance. Further it plainly suggests that the Irish custom previously referred to,[1] of rekindling all domestic fires from that of the parish priest on 1st May,[2] is itself an inheritance from paganism. St. Patrick's Easter-fire, it seems, coincided with the May-fire of the Druids, and one may guess that one reason for subsequent efforts to enforce upon the Celtic Church the Roman date of Easter, was the wish to dissociate wholly the Christian from the pagan act of ritual.

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[1] Above, ch. viii.

[2] The Beltane fire; *Beltine* was an Irish name for the month of May, and 1st May was called *La-Beltine*, Beltane day (Polwhele, *Hist. Corn.* i, p. 49).

In Wakeman's *Survey of Inismurray*, pp. 54-56, is described the *leac-na-teinidh* ('stone of fire'), a quadrangular cist with sides of 3 ft. 3 ins. orientated exactly east and west, and therefore not coincident with the *teampull-na-teinidh* ('church of fire'), the Christian oratory enclosing the cist. The tradition of the island is, that upon a certain day of the year, from the fire burning in this cist used to be rekindled all other fires in the island. This looks like a survival from paganism, and suggests that the *cashel* of Inismurray was once a druidical settlement; see below, p. 60. The sacred fire played a particularly prominent part in connexion with a divinity called Brigit. She was goddess of poetry, healing and mechanical skill, but also the Gaelic Vesta. Her great sanctuary was at Kildare, 'the *kil* of the oak-tree,' and here the sacred fire was kept perpetually burning by her nineteen priestesses. Christianity usurped the *kil* and adopted Brigit as a saint, the favourite companion of St. Patrick; but it dared not quench the fire; so her *kil* became the site of a Christian monastery, wherein the sacred flame still burned without intermission until the days of the Reformation. She is the St. Bride of England; see Macbain, *Celtic Mythology and Religion*, pp. 128-130. Willis Bund (*Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 442) suggests a more prosaic explanation for the perpetual fire of Kildare.

A similar story about a perpetual Easter-fire, from which others must be kindled, is told of St. Kieran (Piran). It may be added that the sanctuary at Kildare was of a circular plan ('Sepe virgeo et orbiculari. Girald. Cambr. *Topog. Hibern.* ii, 34).

This transformation of the Celtic fire-goddess into a Christian saint scarcely distinguishable from the Mother of God—she is actually so spoken of in old Irish writings—is a vivid example of the way in which paganism and Christianity passed one into the other; see Herbert, *Cyclops Christianus*, pp. 110, *sqq*.

The saint came to Rathcroghan,[1] the royal residence on the plain of Roscommon. Here at the well of Clebach he baptised the two daughters, Ethne and Feidelm, of king Leoghaire, and administered the Eucharist; and the princesses dying very shortly after, were buried together in one grave near the well. Their relatives, after the customary mourning, 'buried them near the well and made a circular ditch in the fashion of a *fert*, because this was the manner of the Scoti and (other) heathen. With us it is called *relic*[2] or *fert*. It was dedicated, together with the bones of the holy women, to God and St. Patrick and his heirs for ever; and on that spot he built a church of sods.'[3]

These daughters of the Brython king of Tara were buried, therefore, in the fashion of their race and faith before them, within a ring-barrow.[4] This, as has been shown, was the final form of the pagan Celtic barrow; and the story implies that the details of the burial were left to the princesses' people, the Druids of Cruachan and others.[5] All that Patrick could do was to claim this particular barrow for the God of that faith in which the princesses had died, in token whereof he built there a church of sods. This, if historically true, was an unmistakable distinction; but of this alleged 'church' more anon. Meantime it is clear that in every other external feature, this, the first of all Christian graves in Ireland to be described, was exactly like a pagan barrow, in fact was a pagan barrow with a Christian interment. And we are further told why: these things were of the *mos gentilium*, and as such Patrick had to accept them. He could not do away with them, so he compromised, and 'built a church.'

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[1] It was an ancient fort of the Gamanradii, a tribe of the Firbolgs or Belgae (Todd, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 451). It was also a famous druidical establishment, and the king had sent his daughters there for education (Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 86).

[2] i.e. *Reliquiae*. The word occurs frequently on the map of Ireland meaning 'cemetery,' e.g. Relickmurray near Cashel. It followed the Celtic missioners to Man, to Scotland, and even to Steepholm in the Severn sea.

[3] *Tripartite Life* (ed. Stokes, ii, 317).

[4] Todd (*St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 456) notices this point, but fails to see its value. Leoghaire himself long withstood St. Patrick's efforts, and although ostensibly converted at last, died a pagan still. He caused himself to be buried 'after the manner of his forefathers,' looking towards the land of his hereditary enemies, the men of Leinster. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 77-78; Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 130.

[5] The narrative implies that the conversion of the two princesses was fiercely resented by their people, for there was 'great wrath' against St. Patrick 'because the girls had received the faith and gone to Heaven.' Their two guardian-Druids, Mael and Caplit, both became converts to Christianity, which possibly means that they forthwith put themselves under the protection of St. Patrick, in a natural fear of the manner in which king Leoghaire might avenge the death of his daughters, their charges.

Here is documentary evidence, such as it is, that Christian churches in Ireland were built upon barrows. 'Under the floor of the little church in Monasterboice in Louth, a cist was discovered containing fragments of pottery of the usual sepulchral type, together with a celt of polished stone.'[1] This also was a church on a barrow. Other examples will be forthcoming later from Wales and Cornwall, Scotland and England. It would seem then that an original 'church' might be merely a burial-place.

Again the *Life*, in reference to the foundation of a monastery, tells us that 'In this wise did St. Patrick measure out the *fert*, viz. seven score feet in the *lis*[2] (enclosure), twenty-seven feet in the great house,[3] seventeen feet in the kitchen, and seven feet in the oratory. So it was ever his usage to found a monastery.'[4] According to the Brehon laws seven score feet was also the standard diameter of a royal *dun*, i.e. it must not be less, though it might be very much larger; and according to the same laws the 'great house' of a *brughfer*—the highest grade in the social scale—likewise measured twenty-seven feet, his kitchen seventeen feet. St. Patrick's monasteries therefore were planned and built upon a scale to bring them within the measure of settlements of the first rank. The extreme exiguity of the oratory is noteworthy.

The *fert* was something circular, girt by a fosse and vallum. So were *cashel* and *dun* and *lis*. This may be the reason why St. Patrick is said to have 'measured out the *fert*' for a monastery. But as the *fert* was primarily a place of burial, there is reason to suspect that the use of this word for the monastic enclosure points to the essential presence of a burial within it, i.e. a consecration grave; and that just as the *fert* as barrow was made a *locus consecratus* by the grave within it, so the *fert* as monastery was consecrated by a burial. Baring Gould has concluded that a burial was an essential preliminary for the foundation of a monastery.[1] The term *fert* however, being a direct loan from paganism, was distasteful to Christians of a later time, who did their best to replace it by some other word. Dr. Reeves cites nineteen place-names still in use which embody the term, but of these three only attach to Christian sites.[2]

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[1] Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 789. It is usually laid down that Christian burials may be distinguished from pagan by the absence of all grave-furniture, excepting such insignia of rank as belonged to bishops, kings and such. This is undoubtedly true of later periods; it is not likely that it was true of the earlier time, and some years would elapse before the new Christian rule could supersede the pagan tradition. The king's daughters at Clebach would be buried with the insignia of their rank, and the unknown person beneath the church at Monasterboice, the celt notwithstanding, was probably a Christian and a 'saint.'

[2] This term is possibly used as expressive of the simplest form of defensive enclosure, with one fosse and one vallum only.

[3] Usually explained as the refectory.

[4] *Tripartite Life*, i, 237. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Saxon England*, i, 197; Romilly Allen, *Monumental Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 47.

The primitive monastery in Ireland was circular because it was a settlement, and all settlements were circular. The circular form was further, as in the *fert*, the mark of sacred ground. But it did not *make* the ground sacred. This required a burial. If the burial was that of a *gentilis* the spot was thereby consecrated to paganism; but if the burial was that of a baptised Christian, the spot became then—and not till then—consecrated to Christianity. The graves of the king's daughters at Clebach were in fact the consecration-graves of a new *locus consecratus*.

There are in Ireland numbers of circular churchyards and burial-grounds. Very many of these are within actual *raths*, with one or two or three lines of defence. Many others have neither fosse nor vallum, yet are still circular.

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[1] 'In order to secure a site for a monastery some one must be buried in it'; Baring Gould, *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii (1900), p. 256. Compare Columba's procedure at Hy, ch. xxii. In Whitley Stokes, *Three Middle Irish Homilies*, are passages about Columba's church-building activities which seem to be covert allusions to the same grim truth, as when (p. 113) the saint 'shewed Boite's grave and marked out his church'; cf. ibid. p. 35—'Daire gave a site for a high church (*ardeclaise*) to St. Patrick in the stead where the *ferta* is to-day, when the building of the close [i.e. the surrounding *casbel*] was finished.' Both passages support the view that barrow and church were the same thing.

[2] See the list in *Churches of Armagh.* The modern forms vary considerably, e.g. Ardfert and Clonfert, side by side with Farta, Fartagh and Fertagh. In the middle ages the word *fert* came to have the meaning of *miracula*. Near Ardmachae (Armagh), says *The Book of Armagh*, was a spot named *Fertae Martyrum*, where for a time St. Patrick dwelt with his followers. *Fertae Martyrum* means simply 'graves of the holy men,' the word *Martyr* having lost all connotation of martyrdom, as happened also with Welsh *Merthyr* ('place of demise'). See also Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hibern.* The same word reappears in the same sense in the French Montmartre and Martres-les-Veyre, a spot near Clermont Ferrand in Auvergne, famous for the finds made in a Gallo-Roman cemetery there.

Writers of various degrees of credibility furnish many examples of kings giving such and such enclosures to this or that saint, and this explains some at any rate of the large number of ancient Irish churches planted within *raths*. The *rath*, although built as a domestic enclosure only, was uniformly circular. It was therefore already a *locus consecratus*, although not in the same sense as was the barrow.[1] All that was needed was the burial of a *fidelis* within its circular *enceinte*, and therewith the erstwhile *rath* became a Christian burial-place, in no respect different from a barrow save in the larger proportions and perhaps greater complexity of its enclosing earthworks.

The church of Donaghpatrick was built within the royal *rath*, quadruply ramparted and ditched, of Conall MacNeill, brother of Leoghaire, king of Meath, close to Tailten, the royal cemetery and scene of the famous fair of Teltown. Within another *rath* stood St. Patrick's church of Armagh, though the earthwork has wholly vanished. St. Bennan's church of Kilbannon was set within the *dun* of Leoghaidh, the local chief; and Aodh Finn, chieftain of Breifny, made over his *cathair* to St. Caillen for a monastery.[2] The church of Dundesert, co. Antrim, stood within a *dun*: 'the outer ditch was of the breadth of a moderate roadway, and the earth excavated from it had been heaped up inside to form a rampart carrying up the slope to about the height of sixteen or twenty feet from the bottom. The whole face of the slope was covered with large stones embedded in the earth. Concentric with this enclosure, and about seven yards within it, was another ditch with a rampart on the inner side similarly constructed, and in the space enclosed by this stood the church. The ditches and ramparts were nearly circular, and there were two level entrances paved with stones, one at the north-west and the other at the south-east side.'[3] The monastery of Nendrum, founded in the fifth century by St. Machaoi, a convert of St. Patrick, stands within the inmost ring (diam. 70 yds.) of a fort covered by two outer circumvallations with an interval of thirty yards.[1]

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[1] It is more than possible that every *rath* of pagan date had its own consecration grave. It would seem that the Irish dwelling-place, no less than the Roman, was in a special sense a sacred place.

[2] Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* pp. 47-48, where see references.

[3] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 79; Reeves, *Antiqs.* of *Down, Connor and Dromore*, pp. 181-196.

In the Ireland of those days every dwelling-place was of necessity fortified, as it was for centuries afterwards; and when no longer needed for defence, the same vallum was naturally retained for the sake of seclusion as well as from conservative sentiment. 'A.D. 1162. The separation of the houses from the church of Derry was made by the *comharba* of Columcille . . . they removed eighty houses, and Caiseal an Urlair was erected by the *comharba* of Columcille; and he pronounced a curse upon the person who should come over it.'[2] Even as late as 1266 a broad and deep trench was cut round the church of the Franciscan monastery founded in that year at Armagh.[3]

Unquestionably many of the earliest Irish monasteries had their origin in the grant of pre-existing earthworks, but as time went on and the new faith attained greater security, the monks built similar enclosures, earthen *raths* and stone *cashels*, for themselves. A stone found at Termonfeckin, co. Louth, bears the legend 'Pray for Ultan and Dubthach, who made this *cashel*.'[4] T. J. Westropp cites further the cases of Skellig on Caher island, of Magharees on Glendalough, and of Sier Kieran; while as examples of *cashels* taken over by the monks from secular owners he cites Cashel in Cork, Temple-na-Raha near Ruan in Clare, the Rock of Cashel, Inismurray, and possibly Rath-Michael in Dublin.[5] According to Wakeman the secular enclosure may be distinguished from the ecclesiastical by its greater strength, and he very pertinently asks how any Irish saint of the sixth century could undertake the construction of such a work as the *cashel* of Inismurray: 'How many masons and other artificers, and what time, would it take to collect the necessary material and complete such a structure? What would be the use of a fortress to men untrained to martial exercises, even if their number was sufficient to watch and guard the gates and defend the wall?'[6] One may remark that they had the greater need for elaborate defences if they were indeed 'untrained to martial exercises,' which is perhaps by no means true.

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[1] See Lawlor, *The Monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum* (1925).

[2] *Annals of the Four Masters.*

[3] ibid.

[4] Westropp, *Stone Forts of Ireland*, p. 59.

[5] ibid.

[6] *Survey of Inismurray*, p. 25.

To the saint Aed MacBric there came a professional 'builder of raths,' offering to construct one for him. The saint sent him on to a friend who required one. The builder 'dug deep moats and threw up banks forming three concentric rings, and this was called Rath Balbh. The payment was as many sheep as the builder could drive away.'[1] So there were professional builders of such works, and the requirements of a saint in this kind were understood to be very much those of a chief or other great layman.

There is no doubt that the success of Patrick's mission in Ireland was largely due to policy. He brought his first efforts to bear on kings and chieftains, confident that, if these were converted, the masses would quickly follow their lead. In no other way could he have hoped to combat so powerful a combination as was offered by the organisation of Druidism and the superstition of the people; whereas a converted king was in a position not only to protect the new faith, but also to endow it generously from the number of his many fortresses. When the missioners entered into possession of such a fortress it became a monastic settlement[2]; and as has been seen it was invariably circular. So also was the burial-place pagan or Christian, barrow or churchyard. The circular figure was the outward and visible sign of Celtic religion whether pagan or Christian, and Celtic missionaries carried that sign abroad wherever they travelled. As time went on the defences of the monastery might sometimes become less formidable; a time might come when they would be formal only. But always, so long as Celtic Christianity went its own way as distinct from that of Rome, the circle was there; and the least formidable settlement, demarcated perhaps by the shallowest of fosses and ramparts, or by a mere retaining wall of stone, brought one back again to the primitive barrow and the *fert*.

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[1] Cited by Baring Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii (1900), from *Vitae SS. Hibern.* p. 340.

[2] All early Christian settlements in Ireland were monastic, i.e. some one lived there apart from the world without, whether alone or with companions.

Cannon Island abbey, co. Clare, was built about 1190 and on the Roman plan. It occupies the centre of a circular *cashel* of which about one-third remains. The rest was pulled down, it would seem, to provide building material for the abbey. But the circular precinct remains unaltered.[1]

Bishop Mochulla and seven converted soldiers built (*c.* 620) a church at Tulla in Clare. It stands within an oval ring. When it was desired to enlarge the precinct (before 1087), a second ring was constructed concentric with the first, but with double the diameter.[2]

The Irish *kil* or *killeen*[3] provides the connecting-link between the pagan and the Christian place of burial. This is commonly a flat platform of earth, always circular or oval, rising some four feet or so above the surrounding ground and generally girt by a revetment of dry stone, or by a low earthen rampart with or without revetment. Some examples have or have had also a peristalith.[4] They have one entrance only. They are in fact nothing but barrows, some of the simplest 'bowl' type very greatly spread by time, others of the 'ring' type, and some few again shewing traces of the fosse which characterises the 'bell' barrow. A typical example near Bunratty Upper at Kylebay has traces of a possible outer fosse, 'but otherwise it is a ring-mound 9 to 12 feet thick and usually 5 ft. high,' enclosing an area 75 ft. in diameter.[5]

The number of these *killeens* is very great, in Kerry especially, where the ordnance map marks 217 or more. In the northern counties they are fewer, because many have

[1] Information of the late T. J. Westropp.

[2] *Idem.* Father Smiddy cites (*Essay on the Druids*, p. 174) an old description of Clonagh, co. Kildare : In it was a piece of ground surrounded by a ditch, and in the centre of the circle was a stone cross, a church, and two yew trees, from one of which hung a bell.' So here again the enclosure was a circle.

[3] Otherwise *keel*, *killena*, *kealuragh*, *cilura*, *caltragh*. These are described by Rolt Brash, *Oghamic Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil* (1879). See also Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* pp. 77-79 ; and R. Macalister in *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* xxxvii.

[4] 'I cannot decide whether this was an original feature, or built in between the blocks of an older circle,' writes T. J. Westropp of the dry-stone wall of a *kil* at Caugher, Bunratty Upper, co. Clare (*Journal R.S.A.I.* xlvii, pt. i, p. 8). And again of a *killeen* near Kilquane,' co. Clare, the same writer says it lies 'on a rising ground near a marsh. . . The enclosure is a low mound with a few blocks set in it.' cf. on Yspytty Cynfin, below, p. 125. Rolt Brash (p. 88) cites examples at Killacloyne, Caskan, and Mitchelstown, in co. Cork ; and at Derrygurrane, co. Kerry, and explains as signifying 'Cemetery of the pillar-stones' the names of Killgullane and Kealagowlane (co. Cork) and Gullaun-na-Killeen (co. Kerry).

[5] Westropp, loc. cit.

been destroyed by an intrusive population which was and is regardless of the sanctity in which the native Irish still hold them. To the true Irish they are *loca consecrata* still, and no one ventures to disturb them unless it be for the burial of suicides or of unbaptised children. The names by which they are known are indifferently Christian and pagan, they are mostly remote from any church, and excepting a few instances where there has arisen a Christian chapel on the spot,[1] there is no discoverable trace of any building. Excavation shews that some of them contain cremated burials,[2] which apparently means that such *killeens* are pre-Christian; yet their sanctity has never been forgotten, and Christian burials are still made in such of them as have been re-consecrated by the erection of chapels within them. W. G. Wood-Martin describes[3] such a *caltragh* standing amongst the multitude of pagan burial monuments of all types at Carrowmore as 'a bare circular enclosure 92 paces in diameter, originally surrounded by a circle of large stones, most of which have been cleared.' Rolt Brash unhesitatingly pronounces them pagan, and Wood-Martin suggests that this example at Carrowmore was 'probably the burying-ground of the commonalty of the district,' as distinguished from the invididual sepulchres within stone circles covering the soil in the vicinity, 'which would appear to be those of a family or a chief.'[4]

Killeen Cormaic, co. Kildare, reputed to be the burial-place of a king Cormac of Munster, is of oval shape, about 230 paces in circumference, 'It is enclosed by a boundary wall about 5 ft. in height, and the level of the ground within the precinct is flush with the top of the wall. It contains no trace of any buildings.'[5]

This description applies *verbatim* to any one of a multitude of Christian churchyards in Wales, Cornwall, and elsewhere in England, save that usually there is a church within these. On the other hand the description of the *caltragh* at Carrowmore is precisely that of scores of anhistoric circles in these islands. It is not straining probability to suggest that while some of these *killeens* are pre-Christian, others belong to the period of transition, and others actually to Christian times, the peasantry adhering stubbornly to the *mos gentilium*, as happened at the well of Clebach, while accepting a new consecration. A large proportion of the Irish ogams have come from these *killeens*.[1]

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[1] Whence such names as Temple-na-Killa, co. Kerry, and Kil-templa, co. Limerick. So perhaps also Kealkill and Kilkilleen (co. Cork), 'where we have *keal* and *killeen* applied to the cemetery, *kill* to the church' (Rolt Brash, p. 90).

[2] Rolt Brash, p. 90. He cites the name of Tinnekilla, co. Limerick, 'the cemetery of the Fire,' as 'evidently indicative of cremation having been practised there.' Possibly it has reference rather to a sacred fire like that of St. Brigit at Kildare (p. 170, n.).

[3] *Rude Stone Monts. of Ireland.*

[4] ibid.

[5] R. Macalister in *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* xxxvii (1896), p. 140.

The practice of using them as burial-grounds for suicides and the unbaptised is itself an admission that, though *loca consecrata*, they are not all of exactly Christian consecration. Such victims of mortality must be buried somewhere, yet the feeling that they do not altogether deserve Christian sepulture is as old as the faith itself. The Englishman buried his suicide

> at four cross-roads,
> With a stake in his inside;[2]

the kindlier Irishman gave to such persons what, to use his favourite epithet, he would call 'qualified' burial.

But be they wholly pagan, or wholly Christian, or indifferently either, their plan is invariable. They are without exception circular or oval,[3] and they bear generically the same name (*kil*) as do hundreds of similar circular precincts which we know to have been consecrated by or named after the early Irish saints.

A close parallel to these *kils* of Ireland is offered by the *keeills*[4] of the Isle of Man with their surrounding enclosures. Of these there are still some scores remaining in various stages of decay, there being some fourteen still recognisable in the parish of German alone, although not one of the whole number is now used either as a place of burial or as a place of worship. Yet so strong is the local feeling of respect for them that as late as 1910 some tenants refused on any consideration to allow the sites of *keeills* situated upon their farms to be explored.

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[1] Forty-nine out of 120; see Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 79 *sqq* 'I find it,' he says, 'harder to believe that they are Christian and that their sanctity has been forgotten, than to believe with Rolt Brash that they are pagan and that their sanctity has never been forgotten.'

[2] The stake was to pin the ghost securely down and prevent its 'walking.' The cross-roads were chosen so that, if nevertheless it should walk, it might have the less chance of finding the right road home again.

[3] The old churchyards in some parts of the country, e.g. in the Aran isles, are generally oval, as are a very large number of pagan Irish barrows.

[4] Frequently miscalled 'Treen churches.' The native Manx term is *skeeylley*; e.g. Skeelley Vraadan, now Kirk Braddan, 'Braddan's church.' Of the whole number of parishes in the island (17), all but one used to be called Kirk-, and at a still earlier date Skeeylley- or Keeill-; which is proof that the latter term antedates the Norse settlement in the ninth century. Modern archaeologists appear to confine the name *keeill* to the building. Older archaeologists used it of the enclosure, and this is certainly the more correct use. Of its identity with the Irish *kil* there can be no doubt at all. A frequent *modern* name for the field containing a *keeill* is 'chapel field.'

The *keeills* are places of burial, the enclosures sometimes demarcated by an earthern vallum, the inner area artificially raised. Some of them have been revetted with a rude dry-wall, the garth flush with the revetment and from 3 to 8 ft. above the ground without. Some are constructed upon knolls and others upon the level. There is commonly a well or spring in the immediate vicinity. The so-called 'church' was a mere rectangular cell, usually twice as long as broad, built up of sods, earth and stone, or occasionally of stone only. The average inner measurements are about 16 ft. by 8 ft. Others are larger, in one instance as much as 60 ft. long, but these are obviously later in date, for the stones are rudely dressed and laid with mortar. They seem commonly to have had an eastern light of the rudest and smallest type, and a door in the south wall, and many show the remains of an altar at the east end.[1] Commonly, but not invariably, there is one such 'church' in each enclosure, and it is to be noticed that it is rarely or never in the centre of the enclosure, but the 'church' of a *keeill* in Lezayre 'had been raised about the middle of a circle of large stones' such as is seen in some of the Irish *kils*.

In the last-named instance at any rate there can be no question that the original plan was circular, but in most cases the site has been much altered, by cultivation or otherwise, so that it is rarely possible to recover with certainty the original form. P. M. C. Kermode, who has made the *keeills* his peculiar study, and to whom are due many of the details here given, recalls only three instances.

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[1] Frequently it is not in the centre of the east wall. In a building at Ballahimmin it is in the south-east corner; it is 4 ft. 6 ins. long, and covers just half of the wall. Its front is formed of one great slab of stone which the investigators believe to have been *in situ* when the altar was made, possibly part of a cist which has been utilised as an altar. They are at any rate clear that the stone was there before the building, which is proof that the latter, rude as it is, is still relatively late.

One of these, in the parish of Patrick, is a pronounced oval (99 by 81 ft.), and yielded cross-slabs of sixth-ninth centuries. The second, on Ballaqueenie in Marown, is likewise oval (160 by 130 ft.), 'surrounded by an embankment with an outer ditch.' The third example, Keeill-Woirrey (*i.e.* 'Mary Church') in the parish of Kirk Maughold, he describes as 'practically rectangular (126 by 90 ft.) with rounded corners'; but as this was in use as a burial-ground little more than a century ago, it is quite possible that its plan has been tampered with. The frequent discovery of graves under and outside the present boundaries of the garths is proof that these have frequently been altered.

The whole of the enclosure is usually filled with burials, and burials in 'lintel-graves' of precisely the same character are also found within the buildings. In some cases the walls overlie such burials, shewing that the building is a later addition. The graves are mostly orientated east and west. There is, as a rule, no grave-furniture of any kind, but in some few cases there have been found pottery and flint-flakes, and round white pebbles are constantly associated with the interments. In more than one instance also there have been found traces of cremated burials. The pottery the investigators write down as of Bronze age, although they admit it has no ornamentation such as is the only clue to the date of such pottery. The flints they take to indicate neolithic interments. There is not sufficient reason for either attribution.[1] The evidence goes to show only that the enclosures were built to serve as burial-places—that they were barrows—and that they were used as Christian places of burial. The shards and flints are not proof of the antiquity attributed to them, but are merely survivals from the ritual of pre-Christian times.

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[1] In the account of the *keeill* on Ballahimmin (*Second Report*, *Manx Arch. Survey*, 1910, p. 16) they write that 'it is quite clear' that there had been here 'a large artificial mound [barrow], which had in the course of centuries settled down to about 4 feet, in which were burials of the Bronze age.' They do not adduce the needful evidence for its being of that date. Some 'broken fragments of thin pottery' were found within the building, but they are not further particularised. Two piles of calcined bones were 'minutely examined for any article of bronze or flint, but nothing was found.' Some two or three worked flint-flakes were found subsequently, but these do not prove the site to be either of the Bronze age or of neolithic date. The mound was 6–8 ft. in height, its area about 50 by 30 ft. only.

In some of the buildings have been found ashes and other traces of fire. In one case[1] a heap of burnt bones lay beneath the floor of the altar. These are probably the remains of the household fires lit by the devotees who made their homes here, and belong to the early time when the cell was as much *habitaculum* as *oratorium*. So with a quern-stone found within the ‘church’ of a *keeill* on Ballacarnana-beg in the parish of St. Michael.

Nothing has been found which can strictly be called architectural. In rare instances have been found slabs showing rude sculpturings of the cross in some form or other. A curious feature is the frequent occurrence of blocks of white quartz built into the walls. The ‘church’ at Ballahimmin in German parish had its western end constructed in the form of two semicircular bastions with the doorway between them. ‘Glittering white quartz’ was freely used in their construction, and ‘would be conspicuous from a distance.’ One is reminded of the familiar ‘white monastery’ or ‘white church’ of tradition and of place-nomenclature.

In very many cases the burials extend for a long distance from the enclosure as it now is, showing that either the boundaries of it have been altered, or that its use as a place of Christian burial continued over long centuries of time. A grave-stone at Keeill-Woirrey shows that an interment was made there as late as 1802.[2] Not seldom it is thought that the parish church stands upon the site of an original *keeill*, e.g. at Kirk Michael and at Ballaugh.

The parallelism between these *keeills* and the Irish *kils* cannot be the result of accident. Manxland received its Christianity from Ireland in the fifth century, its first bishop being St. Maccaldus of Down. The *keeills*, enclosures and buildings alike, preserve the features of the primitive Christianity of the Celtic West. That some of them actually overlie pagan barrows is what one would expect, though it has not yet been proved. The enclosures and the mounds are probably in many cases coeval with St. Maccaldus, but the buildings are most certainly later;

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[1] Keeill Pherick-a-Dromma, in German parish.

[2] For the facts about the *keeills*, see the various *Reports of the Manx Archaeological Survey* (1909). Earlier material may be found in Train's *History of Isle of Man*; *Arch. Cambr.* (1866); and A. W. Moores' *Sodor and Man* (1893), pp. 27-28.

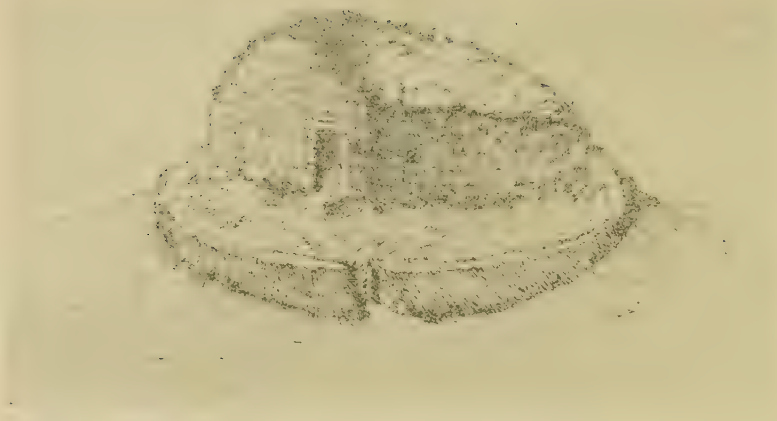

FIG. I. THE MANX CABBAL (CHAPEL) OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

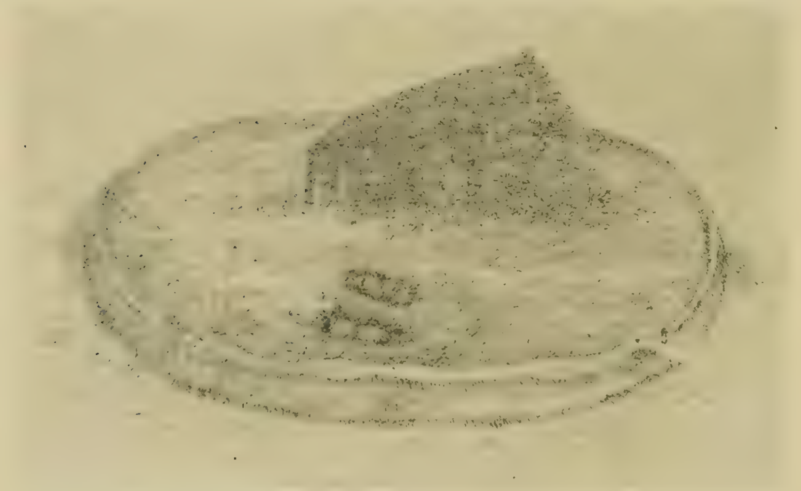

FIG. 2. A MANX KEEILL OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

The drawings here reproduced were published in the *Proceedings* of the Manx Society, vol. xv (1868), in an article by Dr. J. R. Oliver. They were made therefore sixty years ago. Apart from the plans and photographs to be found in the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey* (I.O.M. Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Soc.) there seem to be no other known attempts to portray the *keeills*. P. M. C. Kermode declares that the drawings 'are not to be relied upon for architectural details,' but they make it quite clear that the artist understood the typical *keeill* to be circular.

they must obviously be later than the mounds they stand upon.[1] Very possibly none of them is older than the tenth century, for if one thing is more certain than another it is that the Celtic way was to build its earliest ' churches ' of wood and not of stone.

In present-day speech not merely has the native *keeill* been supplanted by ' church ' wherever a structural church is concerned, but the intrusive word is commonly applied ' to any remnant of a pagan burial-place and to old stones which are held in superstitious regard. . . . On a hill-ridge not half a mile from where I am writing (Dalby, *I. of M.*) are the remains of what I take to be a very small stone circle, which the local people assure me is an ' old church ' ; and the field in which it lies is called by the farmer ' The Church Field.'[2]

According to one view Patrick was not so much a missionary as an organiser, and found Christianity already to some extent a fact in Ireland, in the south especially. If so, it must have been a very formless thing, and Patrick's first concern would be to reduce it to something like a system under a formal *regula* ; as for example when he introduced monasticism—he may have learnt this at Lérins, where it is said there were numbers of Egyptian monks—and laid down a fixed formula for the size and requirements of a monastery. To him also is attributed the building of the first church at Sabhall. At Clebach he builds an *ecclesia terrena*. The admission that it was of earth only is strongly suggestive that the story is true ; irresponsible imagination would have asked us to believe that it was at least a *domhnach*, if not actually a *basilica*. It is possible that Irish Christianity had hitherto had no buildings at all, and that the saint was thus tactfully introducing the Latin way, in which the structure was the first essential ; and it will be seen presently that such was actually the development wherever Celtic Christianity was introduced. It is more probable that the *ecclesia terrena* was nothing but the barrow itself, ' a Christian place of meeting built of earth.'

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[1] In the case of the building at Keeill Pherick-a-Dromma (Pherick is Patrick), the foundations of the building were sunk into the mound to the level of the original surface ; but this does not in the least go to prove that the mound was raised after the ' church ' was built.

[2] Private letter, dated 6th June, 1923.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### IRELAND (*continued*).

*'Clochauns,' cells, and oratories—Origin of the Rectangular Church—Early Churches built of wood and turf—Early Ritual all al-fresco—Oratorium and Habitaculum originally identical—Traditional Churches of St. Patrick, St. Tassach, and St. Perran—Dolmens and Christianity—Similarity of Druidical and Christian Settlements—Christianisation of Pagan Monuments—Inismurray—Impossible Date alleged for Irish Stone Churches—Architecture a weak Point in Ireland—Earliest Churches called 'Houses'—Irish Names for the Structural Church—The Term 'Kil' is native Irish and signifies 'grave'—Christianity's Compromise with Paganism—The Wheeled Cross.*

Patrick's formula for a monastery has been already quoted. The oldest[1] monastic settlements of Ireland—oldest, that is to say, in type—present certain uniform features: there is always an enclosing wall[2] of more or less circular plan, commonly built or faced with dry stone. Within this is gathered a varying number of buildings, some mortarless, others mortar-built, but all very small and almost wholly devoid of ornament. Some of these are oratories, others the dwellings of those who used these oratories. There may be several oratories within one enclosure, and in such cases the largest is commonly styled by some term equivalent to 'church,' or even 'cathedral,' but there is little difference even in point of size, and none are large. The earliest type is a single rectangular chamber, the length about twice the breadth. There is as yet neither nave nor chancel. At the one end is an altar and above it the solitary window-light; at the other end a single door; but there is little or no attempt at true orientation.[1] The other buildings are *clochauns* or bee-hive huts, dry-built, with one room only and one door. In the oldest examples there is externally scarcely any discernible difference between the oratory and the *clochaun*. The difference is internal, for whereas the chamber of the *clochaun* is as a rule circular, that of the oratory is uniformly rectangular.[2]

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[1] The stock examples are those at Inismurray, Ardoilean, Oilean Tsenaig, and Inisglora. It will be shewn that any attempt to date their existing remains is more than doubtful.

[2] The only exceptions are where, as at Skellig Michael, there is no room for such a wall, or no need, because of the isolation and consequent security of the site; cf. the case of Eilean na Naoimh, Garveloch island, cited by Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 95. But even at Skellig Michael the burial-ground of the monastery shews the essential sub-circular (oval) form.

The cause of this rather curious distinction between the sacred building and the profane is reasonably clear. The *clochaun*, the immemorial round hut of the Celt, was so built even in Christian times, because it had always been so built; and as this was the only known fashion of building in stone, the oratory likewise, if built of stone at all, was originally of bee-hive plan *outside*. The rectangular chamber was due to foreign influence. To the earliest Irish and British a structural church was of rectangular plan because they had never known or heard of a structural church of any other plan.[3] It is hardly necessary to seek for any more recondite explanation of the fact.

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[1] For the distinction between church and oratory see Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 73, *n*. In the text the word 'church' is used much in its modern sense, i.e. to denote a building wherein a number of people may meet for worship; by 'oratory' is meant the building in which a holy man prayed, or sometimes dwelt and prayed.

[2] Wakeman (*Survey of Inismurray*, pp. 35-37) remarks that the *clochauns* there, while externally circular, internally are squarish like the oratories. They appear to be transitional between the circular plan and the rectangular which rapidly followed upon the introduction of the rectangular oratory. There is no question that the original type from which all were evolved was the primitive 'bee-hive,' circular within and without. Champneys (*Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 19) also notices 'a cell rounded outside and square within' at Church Island, Lough Currane, Waterville.

[3] Even in Rome early Christian *chapels* at any rate were square-ended, and the apsidal form did not come into vogue in *churches* until the fourth century. It is quite possible that Patrick had never seen an apsidal church; it is more likely that he purposely followed the plan which least resembled any pagan form of building. The statement that he established 'four-cornered churches' in divers places, as Champneys remarks, 'certainly suggests that another shape was known in Ireland in his time,' (*Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 23), another shape of *building*, that is to say, but not necessarily another shape of *church*. Such quadrangular buildings are mentioned in several places of the *Tripartite Life* (see Whitley Stokes' ed. i, 237; ii, 321), and hence 'it has been supposed . . . that Patrick usually built round churches. It is not improbable that Patrick introduced this custom (i.e. of circular churches) from Britain, and it has been suggested that the word *Còr* is a trace.' So writes Newell, *Hist. of the Celtic Church* (London, 1895), p. 23. It is extremely doubtful whether, Withorn excepted, there existed any such thing as a structural church of any kind in the Britain of Patrick's time, let alone a circular one. The only 'church' of the Britain of that era would seem to have been the cemetery, the circular Christian barrow; and circular barrows, though conceivably not Christian ones, were familiar things in Ireland long before the fifth century. If he built structural buildings at all, they would be oratories only, and of the humblest kind. Of any circular structural

But a very brief experience would tell the builders that to construct a building of more or less circular plan about a rectangular chamber involved a great waste of material, time and labour, while the gradual improvement in the art of building would lead to the same result.[1] The building gradually assumed the rectangular form externally: the side walls lost their original batter, and the roof, which had at first been made in bee-hive fashion by bringing each course of stones further inward than the last, was presently constructed with wooden rafters, and ultimately came to be a true vaulting with *voussoirs*. This again was the natural course of development from the bee-hive. There yet survive examples of oratories in which all four walls batter inwards to the ridge of the vault. Next come those in which the end walls rise vertically, while the side walls still shew a continuous batter from ground to roof. Thirdly we have those in which all four walls are vertical for a part only of their height. Latest of all is the oratory with vertical walls roofed with timber or vaulted with stone. This, however, was the slow evolution of centuries.

Possibly a few of even the very earliest oratories, in places where wood was scarce—and there are many such places in Ireland—were built of stone; but turf, wood, or wattle-and-daub,[2] were certainly the general rule, and timber lends itself more readily to rectangular forms.

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'church' there is no trace in Britain until centuries after Patrick's time, and the apse is almost wholly unknown to Celtic architecture in the British Isles. Introduced by the Roman Church after 700, it utterly failed to make good even in non-Celtic parts of Britain, disappearing altogether in the thirteenth century.

[1] Orientation may have had something to do with it; one cannot well find the eastward position in a bee-hive building. But the early oratories rarely shew much regard for orientation. That of St. Bennan in Aran stands north and south, so did that of St. Cuthbert at Farne, and so apparently did that of St. Ethelburga's monastery at Barking (ch. xxiii). See on such 'transverse churches' (*ecclesiae sinistrales*) Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 410. Jocelin (*Life of St. Patrick*) is authority for the assertion that the saint's first 'church' at Sabhall was so built. Walafrid Strabo remarks that little attention was paid to the orientation of early churches. Very possibly the insistence upon the rectangular plan was in part due to the wish to get away from all association with paganism, of which circularity was the symbol. Excepting a possible case (St. Blane's church, Bute) in the Scottish isles mentioned by Anderson (*Scotl. in Early Christian Times*, p. 111, *note*) there is no known instance of an ancient circular church in the Celtic regions. The round church at Orphir in the Orkneys is mortar-built, probably the work of Earl Haakon in the twelfth century (Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 29, *note*) and modelled upon the church of the Holy Sepulchre; and the same crusading influence expressed itself in the few circular churches of England (the Temple church in London, and those at Northampton, Cambridge, and Ludlow). In Norway some of the eleventh-century 'stave churches' have a circular plan.

[2] Kilclief, co. Down, formerly Kilcliath, means the '*kil* of the hurdles.'

A church of turf would in a very few years come to present the appearance of a mere grass-grown mound of earth; and this is said to be exactly the description of one now existing at Micklibaer, as it was of many of the keeill churches of the Isle of Man. If it is recorded that, when St. Kieran built at Duleek in the fifth century a church of stone, 'stone-building was as yet unusual among the Irish,'[1] the statement is doubtless true.

If the 'churches' of the ascetics of Cyrene, in the Libyan desert, were made of materials as perishable and on a scale similarly exiguous, as Sulpicius Severus asserts,[2] this does not in the least imply that Ireland borrowed the thing and the fashion of it from the East. It proves nothing beyond a parallel evolution in East and West.

The smallness of these earliest oratories is remarkable; Patrick's rule required but 'seven feet within the oratory' (p. 29).[3] This is usually taken as proof of the poverty of the early church, or of the low development of the art of building.[4] But had neither of these factors been present, as they certainly both were, the earliest oratories would have been no bigger. To worship under a roof was entirely alien to the sentiment of the early peoples, and particularly to those of Celtic blood, and they did not require any building for congregational purposes; so that there was no need for larger edifices, even if we assume that the possible congregations were large. The original oratory was not a church as we understand it at all; it was the private residence as well as the chapel of the holy man who lived in it. Its development into all that a church now is was extremely slow. At first it contained a rude altar, a bench or seat, and occasionally a well, but nothing more. There was not often a font within the building, but invariably a well or spring near by. Church furniture, ornaments, treasures, there were at first none or very few. In early Ireland, and indeed throughout the British Isles where Celtic Christianity came, the 'church' was of the least importance. The only *ecclesia*, i.e. place of meeting, was the *locus consecratus*, the hallowed burial-ground under the open sky. Even mass was celebrated *al fresco*, and only this fact can explain such legends as that of St. Patrick's driving his chariot over an erstwhile friend of his who was celebrating mass.[1] It is probable that there did not exist in the Ireland of his time, nor for many centuries afterwards, any 'church' into which a chariot could have been driven. At Inismurray the altars are for the most part out of doors, and the first missioners used portable altars 'to be laid upon unconsecrated altars when celebrating mass upon a journey, or when access to a consecrated altar was impossible.'[2] This is equally true of the Celtic Christianity of Wales and of England.[3]

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[1] *Vita S. Mochuae* (Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, ii, 187). Duleek is said to represent Daimleac, 'stone-house.' It is mentioned in *Annals of Ulster* under date 753 (Daimliacc). The very fact that a few really ancient buildings were so called is proof that they were the exceptions to the rule. The records mention the use of timber in the oratory of St. Moling and that of Rathain na Suanaigh (Rahen, nr. Tullamore, King's Co.). The latter is said to have required 1,000 boards, but we are not told of what size they were. See O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, iii, 33; Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arch.* pp. 26-27.

[2] They were *vilibus contexta virgultis* and no more ambitious than the ascetic's hut (*tabernaculum*), in which a man could not stand without stooping. See the passage quoted in Bingham, *Christian Antiqs.* bk. viii, i, 13. Here then, as in Ireland, we have hut and oratory, and apparently nothing to differentiate the two. Sulpicius died in 425.

[3] See Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 92, where the dimensions of sixteen are given, ranging from 10 ft. by 6 ft. to 18 ft. 2 ins. by 10 ft. 4 ins. One of those at Skellig Michael is 8 ft. by 6 ft. At Inismurray a mortar-built 'church' is only 9 ft. by 8 ft.

[4] Dr. Anderson (*Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 128) quotes with approval Petrie's view (*Eccles. Arch. Ireland*, p. 191) that the smallness, uniformity, and meanness of early Scottish and Irish churches was due 'less to poverty, lack of skill, or of originality, than to a purposed wish to preserve the tradition of the earliest Christian churches of the continent before the time of Constantine.' Had he written 'earliest cells of the Christian Irish' the sentence would have needed no emendation.

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[1] *Tripartite Life*, p. 235. The victim was St. Secundinus. The width of the doorway of the supposed oldest type of Irish ecclesiastical buildings is little more than 2 ft. At Walsingham, Norfolk, 'people never failed to go and see the "Gate of the Knight," a gate which had stretched itself so as to give miraculous shelter to a man on horseback, hard pursued by his enemies' (Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 153). This legend is an obvious attempt to bring the facts of one age into conformity with those of another and later age. A man on horseback, or even in a chariot, might easily have driven into the 'church' of older times, for the 'church' then was what we call the church*yard*. The change of meaning had occurred long before the fourteenth century, and to explain the inexplicable was invented the legend of the church door which miraculously expanded.

[2] Wakeman, *Survey of Inismurray*, p. 60.

[3] The fragments of what is believed to have been St. Cuthbert's portable altar are preserved at Durham—a small slab of oak, 6 ins. by 5½ ins. and ⅓ in. thick, overlaid with a cover of silver. It is believed to have served the purpose of an altar before St. Cuthbert's time. The silver cover has a design incorporating the wheeled cross, and the form of the cross is the peculiar Early Irish crutched cross, the interspaces filled in with Celtic braid-patterns. Simeon of Durham says that something similar was found upon the breast of bishop Acca, when his tomb was opened (*c.* 1000). See Bp. Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 162; Howorth, *Golden Age of the English Church*, iii, 98. St. Cuthbert died 687; Acca was a contemporary of Wilfrid, and died 740. That these prelates used portable altars suggests that there were many places where there was as yet no consecrated altar, and therefore no structural church. In Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in A.-S. Law* (1902), p. 103, is a citation from *Lex Frisionum*, tit. xiv, which proves that there too the existence of altars where there was no church was frequent.

If, for whatever reason, a holy man decided to make his home upon a *locus consecratus*—and it would not occur in every instance—he naturally provided for himself a roof therein, but upon the humblest scale. This was in the first instance at once his house and his oratory. To separate the one from the other was a later development, and even then the two remained under one and the same roof.[1] To construct separate buildings for oratory and dwelling-house was the third stage in the evolution. If as time went on the special sanctity of the place or of its occupant drew to it other disciples, for these, as might be required, were built *clochauns*; and there grew up perhaps such a cluster of huts and oratories as one sees at Inismurray—a monastic settlement.

Upon the spot he had chosen, dwelling actually upon the grave-mound of one of the faithful, the holy man spent his life. Within his oratory he lived and prayed, and within it he hoped to be buried, as indeed often happened.[2] By his death and burial the place became doubly sacred. Should he pass away 'to fame unknown,' the little oratory might fall to decay and disappear even from memory, together with his own name; but the sanctity of the precinct could never pass, for its circular *limes* bespoke it holy ground, and others of the faithful would seek to be buried therein. If he left behind him a greater name for holiness and power, his place of burial became a *focus religionis* of a special kind, a place of pilgrimage: the oratory within which he had made his orisons, and the altar beneath which he was finally buried, would be carefully preserved from decay, repaired, re-built, perhaps enlarged, to continue through the centuries as his visible memorial. Thus says Marianus Scotus, himself an Irishman, as his name declares:

> In the year 1043 died Amnuchadh the Irishman, an anchorite in the monastery at Fulda . . . . . . For ten years have I stood upon the spot where he lies, above the feet of him, and daily said the mass.[3]

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[1] Proof that this was so in Wales, Scotland, and England will appear later. It was the rule wherever the Celtic type of Christianity went, and was one of the radical differences between that and its Roman rival. Champneys has an appendix upon the matter, *Early Irish Arch.* p. 230. This much of truth is to be found in S. O. Addy's *Church and Manor*, where is collected a mass of evidence, that *wherever Celtism penetrated* the identity of church with dwelling-place persisted stubbornly.

[2] 'It was the rule for the anchorite to be buried in his cell' (Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 180).

[3] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 205.

Marianus was therefore immured within the same chamber or cell in which had lived and died his predecessor Amnuchadh, and the latter was buried within the cell wherein he had died, his head beneath the altar, so that anyone standing there to officiate after him must literally stand ‘above the feet of him.’ Here is the Celtic oratory surviving complete at Fulda, Hesse-Nassau, in the eleventh century.

Two miles from St. Patrick’s church of Saul (Sabhall), co. Down, at Raholp, are the ruins of the ‘church’ of St. Tassach. It is the usual rude rectangular building, 28 ft. by 16 ft. 8 ins. interior measure, built of unhewn stone set in clay without mortar; and it still has the characteristic single east light. Before it was ‘improved’ it had also a single west doorway. Its only furniture is the altar at the east end, and under this is the saint’s grave, so placed that the dead man’s head and shoulders lie actually beneath the altar, his feet beneath the pavement before it.[1]

Precisely similar was the arrangement found when in 1835 the shifting of the sands revealed the long-lost oratory of St. Perran (Kieran) in Cornwall, save that here there were beneath the altar three graves of three several recluses who had here made their homes.

What befell the prime founder might equally befall any of the disciples whom he gathered about him: these too would die and find burial where they had prayed, and over the grave of any one of them might arise another ‘church’; for it appears from Bede’s account of Ethelburga’s Scotic monastery of Barking (*c.* 676) that the inmates of such monasteries were up to that date at liberty to choose their own places of burial anywhere within the *limes*, and only later arose the practice of reserving a definite part of the area for use as a cemetery.[2] This fact may be the sufficient explanation of the occurrence of several ‘churches’ within one precinct, as at Inis-

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[1] *Journal R.S.A.I.* (6th ser. vol. vi), 1916. St. Tassach was traditionally one of the three chief artificers of St. Patrick, a maker of bells and shrines. The large dimensions of his church prove that this is not the original building of the fifth century.

[2] *H.E.* iv, 7, § 275. So with St. Fechin’s foundation (664) in Ardoilean, off the coast of Connemara: ‘Within the enclosure,’ which has a mean diameter of 108 ft. only, ‘there are a number of stone crosses and flags sculptured with memorial crosses, probably sepulchral monuments’ (Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 86).

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murray, Skellig Michael, and Clonmacnois, where there are ten. This is at any rate a more satisfying view than the suggestion that such multiple churches arose at a date when the builders were still unable to erect any single edifice of an assumed sufficient capacity. If, as there is good reason to believe, the buildings in question are of genuinely ancient foundation, they belong to an age which had not yet attained to the conception of a single collective structural place of worship.

In some cases, however, the saint was buried outside the oratory, as was St. Manachan at Teampulmanachan, Dingle, under 'a mound of a size fit for the burial of a giant,' at its head his ogam-stone bearing crosses on the east and west faces. In this case the grave is a barrow pure and simple. Welsh saints, as will be seen, usually hoped to be buried in the centre of their *llan*; and St. Cuthbert dug his own grave outside his oratory at Farne and apparently at the centre of the precinct.[1]

What is the reason for this peculiar predilection for building 'churches'—nothing is said of other kinds of buildings—in timber rather than in stone[2]? So far as is known, the pagan Celt availed himself eagerly of stone in preference to wood wherever he could; and there is no doubt whatever that he made it a rule to employ stone, if it were to be obtained, for all his *religious* constructions. Is this possibly the sufficient reason why early Christianity expressly discountenanced the use of that material[3]? Certain facts seem to point in this direction, and assuredly there must have been some very forceful reason at work to prevent the use of the one material which lay ready to hand throughout the major part of the Celtic areas, in which conversely there is, and apparently always was, frequently a notable absence of timber.

Mention was made above (ch. xvii) of the indubitable construction of a dolmen in the latter half of the sixth century. The dolmen was a stone-built sepulchral chamber, and in Ireland at any rate it was commonly the central feature of a sepulchral *limes*. It was the scene of certain recurring acts of ritual in the nature of funeral feasts. Was it possibly in a sense the forerunner of the structural Christian church? Was the attitude of Christianity in discountenancing the building of stone 'churches' prompted by its desire to prevent any too close association of the oratory with the dolmen?

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[1] Below, ch. xxii.

[2] Williams (*Eccles. Antiqs. of Cymry*, p. 187) tried to answer the question by a reference to *Isaiah*, lx, 13, or alternatively opined that it was 'perhaps the result of temporal circumstances.'

[3] Does a similar feeling explain the gradual disappearance of cist-burial and the substitution of firstly uncoffined burial, and thereafter burial in wooden coffins? In the same way the earliest graveyard crosses were made, not of stone, but of wood (below, ch. xxiii), at any rate in Saxon England.

A famous dolmen near L'Ancresse in Guernsey was explored in 1837, and some account of the results was published in *Archaeologia.*[1] The chamber, one of the largest known, measured internally 45 ft. long. The western end was 15 ft. wide, and the chamber narrowed somewhat towards the east. The height of the roof above the original floor was 8 feet, and the roof was formed of five immense cap-stones set transversely, dividing the whole into as many sections. Lukis was of opinion that the chamber had originally been much smaller, that the western end was the original portion, and that it had been enlarged from time to time by the addition of further side-posts and capstones towards the east.[2] The whole was surrounded by the usual circular peristalith, shewing that it was a *locus consecratus*. The original floor was a rude pavement laid upon the natural surface, and in the soil which had accumulated over this were found human bones, coarse red and black urns, amulets and beads of stone and clay, and pins of bone. Over this stratum had subsequently been made a new floor, with 'many cart-loads of limpet-shells and a little yellow clay,' and in this again were found more bones and urns. The urns in all amounted to nearly 150. There was evidence that, in the process of making the second floor, many of those in the lower stratum had been disturbed, broken, or thrust aside into the interstices between the side-props of the dolmen. No metal whatever was found except 'a kind of armlet' made of 'a highly decomposable alloy of copper,' and no other relic whatever except an annular bracelet fashioned from a single piece of jet—these two objects were found together—bones of fishes, oxen, goats and boars, and burnt granite querns. Two remarkable observations were made: in the first place, 'in no instance had the urns been used to contain the ashes of the dead'; and in the second place, whereas the human bones in the lower stratum had been sometimes inhumated, sometimes incinerated, those upon the second and later floor showed no trace of burning. Upon the older floor they were found curiously disposed: the unburnt bones lay in jumbled heaps at either end of the dolmen, while the burnt bones, arranged in similar heaps, lay in the middle; each heap was made up of the bones of either sex and of all ages, and each heap was surrounded by a ring of round flat pebbles, the urns lying within these rings or near them.[1]

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[1] Vol. xxxv. (1853), pp. 254 *sqq*. The writer was F. C. Lukis. An earlier account had appeared (vol. xvii, 245), which Lukis very rightly called most unsatisfactory. His own account, however, leaves much to be desired in the way of accurate detail, measurements, etc.

[2] He believed the same thing to have been done in the case of the great dolmen of Déhus, also in Guernsey. Upon the *under* side of one of the capstones of this dolmen has been detected (1916) an extremely rude carving of a human face, and Lukis mentions (*Archaeol.* xxxv) other cases where occur carved stones so placed as to leave no doubt that they had subsequently been utilised for building the dolmen. In other words, the dolmens are later than the carvings, at least in some cases. French archaeologists believe the carvings to be of the Bronze (S. Reinach) or even of the Neolithic age (Déchelette), but it is doubtful whether the evidence is sufficient. A much later carven block was found under the chancel-entrance of the church of Sainte-Marie du Castel in Guernsey in 1878. Yet another 'dolmen idol' stands to-day in the churchyard of St. Martin, Guernsey. It was found beneath the church, which is thought to occupy the site of a megalithic burial-chamber, and has a number of large boulders built into the lower part of its walls. These 'idols' cannot be compared with the gross phallic figures found in the fabric of the church of Old Llandrindod (p. 124) and elsewhere in Wales. The more elaborated examples found in south-east France are much less suggestive of idols than of memorial *cippi*. Those from Saint-Sernin in Aveyron, and from Les Maurels in Tarn, might well be rude effigies of priests in their robes, and those parts of the carving which are held to represent the legs of the idol are almost indubitably the pendant ends of stoles or girdles with their fringes. See Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*; S. Reinach, *La Sculture en Europe avant les influences Greco-Romaines*. Lieut.-Col. T. W. M. de Guerin remarks (*Trans. Guernsey Soc. of Nat. Science*, 1919, p. 4) of the 'idol' of Sainte-Marie du Castel that it must have been 'an object of worship' so late as the sixth century, when Christianity was first introduced into Guernsey, for it was 'evidently' thrown down and buried at that date; but there is not the least reason to believe that it was thrown down until the church of Sainte-Marie was built, which would not be until many years later.

Lukis evidently believed the whole to be of immense antiquity, but upon what grounds except the general preconception of his times is not clear. It is plain that the dolmen had been used as a mausoleum, but at what date remains wholly problematical. Those who buried their dead in the second and later stratum had clearly discarded the practice of cremation,[1] but they had seemingly discarded little else of the earlier ritual. They still deposited urns with the dead, and seemingly for symbolical reasons only. The substitution of inhumation for cremation might be due to the influence of Christianity, and the almost total absence of grave furniture might have the same explanation. The use of the same mausoleum for so many interments in common points in the same direction. The quern stones suggest that the chamber had once been occupied as a residence, as do the bones of animals, but it is definitely stated that no trace of charcoal was discoverable. Nevertheless it might be possible to make out a very good case for the thesis that this dolmen at L'Ancresse represents the transition from paganism to Christianity, from the pagan dolmen as a mere burial-vault to the Christian oratory, at once vault and *habitaculum* and *oratorium*.[2] The very name of it points in this direction, for *Ancresse* means a female anchorite.[3]

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[1] In the same volume of *Archaeologia* (xxxv) are some notes of the same writer upon the exploration of an *allée couverte* in Alderney. Under the floor, along one side of the chamber only, was found a series of box-like cists made of thin slabs of stone. Each cist was about 1 ft. square, and contained a skull and various odd bones rudely thrown together. No pottery or trace of other relic was discoverable, though 'fragments of numerous urns lay in the primeval deposit around.'

Lukis remarked the fact that to some dolmens have been added off-sets 'intended to afford additional room,' of which he found several examples in the Channel Islands, but he further observed that 'there are, not uncommonly, certain recesses of large size communicating freely with the cromlech' (i.e. dolmen), as in a case in the parish of St. Clement's, Jersey, several cases in Brittany, and at Wayland Smith's cave on the Berkshire hills near Wantage. Where these occur, the entrance from the main dolmen is, he said, uniformly barred by a sort of lintel in the shape of a long transverse block of stone laid across the gorge, 'unless the division be otherwise evident.' As to the off-sets, there is no question that they were sepulchral, and that they were constructed that the dead therein laid might share something of the peculiar sanctity of the dolmen. The 'recesses' were, it would seem, likewise sepulchral, and their arrangement and disposition provide a curious analogy to the side-chapels and mortuary-chapels annexed to mediaeval churches,[1] and to those other features of an earlier time, of doubtful purpose, which are commonly spoken of as *exedrae* and were certainly used as burial-places.[2] Fergusson[3] believed the dolmens to have been rather chapels than tombs, and W. C. Borlase took the same view: they were, he says, 'no mere tombs intended to be closed for ever, but sacred shrines in which the spirits of the dead were worshipped, and which were constructed with the view of being accessible'[4] to the worshippers. The suggestion here advanced is one which brings into harmony all the various theories: it connects the dolmen with the sepulchral cist and the chambered barrow at the one end of time, at the other with the primitive Christian 'church.'[5] It provides a reasonable explanation for the puzzling evidence both of immense antiquity and of relative modernity which various dolmens afford,[6] accounts for the indisputable indications of a regular architectural development in the whole series, explains the close association of some of the number with undeniably Christian rites and cults, and—not its least merit—furnishes what has heretofore been wholly lacking, viz., something from which the structural church of stone may have taken its origin.

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[1] Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois* (1891), p. 128. He cites from Closmadeuc *La Question des Dolmens*, two cases of undisturbed dolmens in Morbihan, one at Tumiac, where every corpse had been inhumated, the other at St. Michel of Carnac, where all had been cremated.

[2] The island was christianised from Brittany, by St. Sampson of Dol and St. Magloire, in the sixth century, but its material progress was small until the tenth century, when (962) monks from Mont-Saint-Michel founded the abbey of Vale. Of the various parish churches the oldest is said to date only from 1100. Up to that date the Christianity of the island must have been essentially Scotic. There is to-day small trace of the circular form in any of the churchyards, but a water-colour (purporting to be by John Varley) dated 1814 shews that such was then the form of the churchyard of St. Sampson (pl.II, no. I). It is a curious fact that of the nine dolmens still remaining in the island, all the finest are in the parish of Vale. Lukis (*loc. cit.*) remarked that all have a surrounding circle of stones, and the diameter of the circle is in all cases the same, viz. 60 ft. As the presence of the stone-circles points to a purpose primarily sepulchral, so their uniform diameter suggests that all are the work of the same people, and therefore of much the same age.

[3] Local tradition confounds *ancresse* with *ancrage*, and says the place was so called as standing near what had once been a convenient anchorage or landing-place.

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[1] cf. Gostling, *Bretons at Home* (1909), p. 223, on dolmens of cruciform plan foreshadowing the structural church, and on the use of dolmens as mortuary-chapels.

[2] Early canons prohibit burial within churches, 'except in the *porticus* and *exedrae*.' A very large number of Irish dolmens are placed east and west.

[3] *Rude Stone Monuments.*

[4] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. viii.

[5] cf. for example that in Llanhamllech, known as *Ty Illtyd*, 'St. Illtyd's House.'

[6] The dolmens of N. Africa are to be counted by thousands, and yield relics in copper and in iron. Each dolmen is, in some districts, surrounded by its own stone circle, and was built to be free-standing. See Orsi in *Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana*, xxiv. Sepulchral circles in the Deccan surround cists which are actually dolmens in miniature, constructed exactly as a child builds a house of cards, and contain implements of both copper and iron (*Hyderabad Journal of Archaeology*, 1916). There are some present-day archaeologists who are prepared to admit that British dolmens were the work of people who knew the use of metal, even of iron (W. J. Perry, *Manchester Memoirs*, 1920-1).

Near Plouaret in Côtes du Nord, mid-way between Guingamp and Morlaix, is a tumulus carrying a small church of the Seven Sleepers. The tumulus covers a spacious dolmen, which serves as crypt to the church: it contains an altar and a rude carving of the sleepers, and is lighted by a window pierced through the south wall of the chamber. Objects in stone and bronze have been found within the chamber; and *circa* 1702-4 was built the church above it. There are only two possible alternatives here: either the dolmen was pre-Christian or it was not. If it was pre-Christian, we have an incontrovertible case of the continuity of the *religio loci* in defiance of the changes of creed. If it was not pre-Christian, then this particular dolmen is very far from being prehistoric.

The case of Plouaret is by no means unique. The great tumulus of La Hougue Bie, mid-way between St. Heliers and Mont Orgueil in Jersey, covers a great dolmen and *allée couverte* measuring 70 ft. over all, and is itself crowned by the remains of a couple of chapels, the larger dating from the sixteenth century, the smaller possibly from the twelfth century. At Saint-Germain-sur-Vienne, five kilometres north of Confolens in Poitou, the uprights carrying the capstone (15 ft. by 12 ft.) of a fine dolmen have been replaced, apparently in the twelfth century, by pillars with bases, shafts and capitals complete, and about the whole was built a church to which the dolmen served as crypt. The church has disappeared, but there still remains an altar beneath the capstone. The church (tenth or eleventh century) of Cangas-de-Ones in Spain surmounts a cairn, within which is a circular dolmen approached by an *allée couverte*. The dolmen serves as crypt, and has yielded objects in stone and copper, which are of course set down as 'prehistoric.' A large dolmen half a league outside Poitiers was a place of pilgrimage until late in the middle ages.[1] In one of the Manx *keeills* the later ‘church’ appears to incorporate part of a pre-existing dolmen (p. 37), and the church of Stainton, Pembrokeshire, stands above two dolmens (ch. xx). It is surely easier to believe that in such cases the dolmen was actually reared to be the grave-chamber of Christian dead, than to believe that Christianity had merely usurped the grave-chambers of pagans. Such usurpation could only be possible if Christianity was more powerful than we have reason to believe, the *religio loci* of a pagan's grave much less persistent and forceful than we know it was.

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[1] An early print of it is reproduced in Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois* (1891), p. 194. It is close to a great necropolis, which was apparently in unbroken use from pagan into Christian times. According to Jean Bouchet's *Ann. d'Aquitaine* (1535), p. 128, it was the scene of an ancient annual fair (*La Foire de la Pierre Levée*); which is consistent with what is known of the scene and origin of most ancient fairs, the Irish *aenachs* not excepted. From this association of dolmens with buying and selling probably arose their local name of *Tables des marchands*, as at Locmariaquer.

The most and the largest of Welsh examples are to be found at Dyffryn Golwch, ‘Valley of worship,’ within a few miles of the traditional earliest Christian settlements in that country at Llanilid, Llancarfan, and Llantwit Major. The dolmen at Marcross bears the name of Illtyd's House; another in Gower, the ‘Stone of Cetti,’ bears the name of the saint who was likewise the eponym of the parish of Kilgetty in Pembrokeshire.[1] So in Cornwall, the finest dolmens, e.g. Lanyon Quoit and Mulfra Quoit, stand in the immediate vicinity of such remains as those at Chysauster and Bosporthennis, which can hardly be of other than Christian age. In the Channel Islands it is the same: the finest of the monuments of Guernsey are grouped in the parish of Vale, which was also the first Christian settlement upon the island.

Of the dolmens known as Les Déhusets, in the parish of Castel in Guernsey, is told the significant legend that this ‘was the site first chosen for the erection of the Castel church, but every night the fairies, or goblins, carried away all that had been built by day and deposited it on the spot where the church now stands.’[2] The tale plainly implies that the use of the dolmen as a place of worship continued far into Christian times.

The prevalent view that these monuments are the handiwork of a supposed race of ‘dolmen-builders,’ who at some remote period made their way hither from the East by way of North Africa and the western shores of France, is based upon the single fact that along this line dolmens do occur, and frequently in immense numbers, whereas off this line they are unusual, or even unknown. Now the regions in which the dolmens are most numerous are Moab,[1] North Africa and Ireland, and it is curious that these three regions were also the scenes of most remarkable manifestations of early Christian zeal; while from North Africa, and necessarily by way of France, Christianity was carried into Ireland. Is it not possible that the dolmens were in many cases, perhaps even in most cases, the work of the earliest zealots? At any rate, while there is a considerable mass of evidence to connect the dolmen with Christianity, there is in reality very little to connect it with a very remote paganism.

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[1] Richard Fenton repeatedly remarked upon the constant association of dolmens or similar ‘relics of druidical worship’ with Christian antiquities (*Tour through Pembrokeshire*, pp. 19, 136, 356).

[2] De Guerin in *Trans. Guernsey Soc. Natural Science* for 1921, citing *Folk-lore*, pp. 220-221. A possible explanation of this and similar legends will be advanced later. The name of Les Déhusets or Les Tuzets, constantly applied to dolmens in the Channel Islands, is the Breton Duz or Duzik (the goblin that haunts dolmens), and both derive from the Gallic *Dusii* (*daemones quos dusios Galli nuncupant*), mentioned by Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, iv, 23).

Welsh legend asserts that Saint Brynach (fifth century), being refused hospitality at Cilymaenllwyd in Carmarthenshire, slept under a *maen llwyd*. The legend can refer only to a dolmen,[2] and points to the use of such things as habitations. One of the finest of the Welsh dolmens is to be seen in Anglesey at Bryn Celiddu, which may just as well mean 'Culdees' Hill' as 'Black Hazel Hill,' the usual translation. In the parish of Bryncroes ('Hill of Cross') near Pwllheli was a dolmen, and the adjoining farmhouse is called Mynachdy, 'Monk's House.'

Irish folk-lore avers that the dolmens are the 'beds' of two historical persons, Dermot and Graine: Graine, who was a daughter of Cormac MacAirt, being betrothed to Fin MacCoul, ran away with her lover Dermot (Diarmid O'Duibhne), with whom she was a fugitive for a year and a day,[3] and each night the pair built and slept in another dolmen. It is an odd coincidence that the 'churches' founded by St. Patrick, i.e. the traditional number of the traditionally earliest churches of Ireland, should also be as many as the days in the year.[4] Be it remembered also that, as the father of Graine had foresworn the faith of his fathers (above, p. 22), she was also herself possibly a convert to something resembling Christianity.

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[1] C. R. Conder, *Heth and Moab* (1883). Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, p. 439) notices that they not seldom stand at commanding points on the line of Roman roads.

[2] There was a fine dolmen on Maen Hir farm in this parish (*Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 85), and there still remain others in the vicinity.

[3] Wakeman, *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, p. 51.

[4] The tradition is at least as old as Nennius (§ 54).

The cases in which two and three, or even four and five, dolmens are found grouped in one cluster may be compared with the familiar groups of multiple 'churches' clustered within one Christian precinct.

The earliest Christian monastic settlement in Ireland outwardly presented nothing new. A cluster of *clochauns* within and about a circular *rath* or *cashel*—this is the precise appearance of the remains of St. Fechin's settlement on Ardoilean off the coast of Galway[1]—was in pre-Christian times a familiar sight all over Ireland, for this was also the exact appearance of the settlement where dwelt the Druid teacher with his retinue of disciples.[2] If it came into the mind of any Irish king to evict the Druid and his followers, and to hand over to some Christian missioner their settlement as it stood, there would be no outward sign to betray the change. The thing did happen, for Druidism was past praying for, whereas Christianity was a vigorous and assertive force. In literal truth, as Baring Gould puts it, 'Christianity crept into the empty shell of Druidism.'[3] This helps to explain the presence of so many churches within *raths* and *cashels*, and in closest association with the remains of the older faith, megaliths, holy wells, and famous cemeteries. Doubtless as the old faith waned and the new grew ever bolder, it would seek to plant itself in or near all spots particularly associated with paganism; but this would be a later development. For the moment, while its existence was precarious, it would be glad of a second-hand *rath* for protection.[1]

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[1] See Petrie, *Ancient Architecture of Ireland*, p. 424. The wall of the *cashel*, 'nearly circular,' has a mean diameter of 108 ft.

[2] The Druid might have his own *dun*. In the *Leabhar-na-h'Uidri* a Druid builds a *dun* and his wife whitens it with lime. Their white-washed cottages and farmsteads are to this day a distinctive feature of the Celtic areas of the British Isles and of France. 'They beheld an island . . . and a *dun* therein, with a high white wall about it, as if it were all one stone of chalk . . . and outside these were large houses all round the *dun*, of the colour of white snow.' And again, 'The woman who was wife of Nuadat was Almu. . . . The Druid (Nuadat) built a *dun* . . . and she rubbed her hands to its walls until it was all lime-white.' See O'Curry, i, cccviii; Baring Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii, 274. So there were female Druids as well as male, an important fact as explaining the prominent place attaching *ab initio* to women in Celtic Christianity, e.g. St. Brigit, the particular friend of St. Patrick. An alleged canon of St. Patrick concerns the dress of the wives of priests, and the *Laws* of Howel Dda recognise them. Marriage of the clergy is one of the Celtic features which throughout the ages defied the Latin rule, and still distinguishes the Anglican from the Roman priesthood. See Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, pp. 289 *sqq*. Clerical celibacy was enforced in Rome so early as 385.

[3] *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii, 275; O'Curry, I, ccciii: cp. ibid, I, cccviii, where he remarks that the whole social system of pagan Ireland, centring in the *dun*, passed without change of constitution or of the law of succession into the new Christian system.

Later also would be the public display of the symbols of the new faith, the carven cross and the turret for the bell—the oldest Irish church architecture has no towers or steeples—for such things bespeak a time when at last Christianity enjoyed a measure of security. Not until then would it venture to disturb the old monuments, and to carve Christian symbols on pagan gravestones. That it did not bodily cast down such mementos of paganism

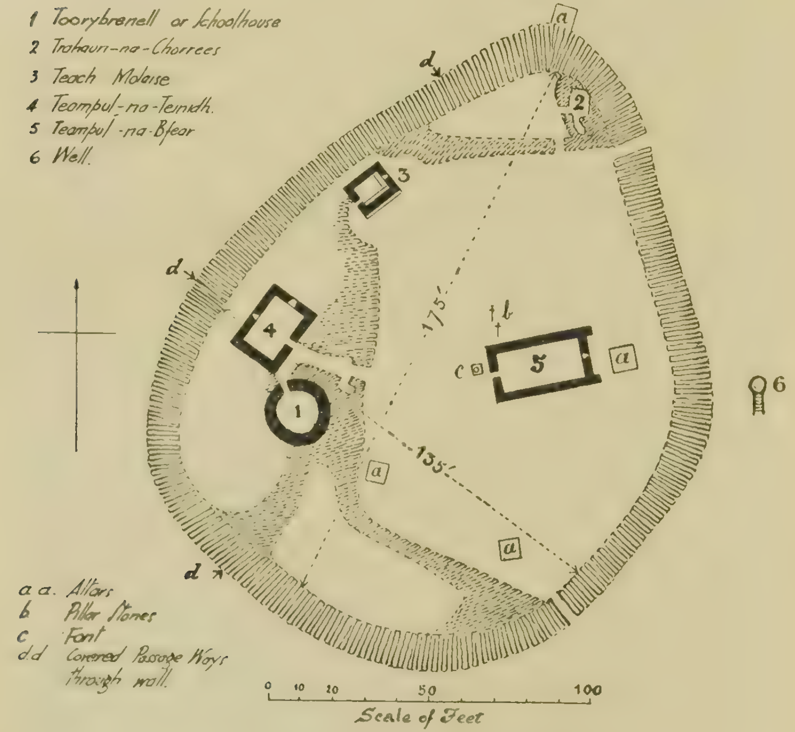

FIG. 3. PLAN OF THE CASHEL, INISMURRAY.

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[1] See Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, ch. x, on the insecurity of life and church property in the eighth century.

and centres of unfaith, is proof that it was fain to walk warily.

Inismurray[1] is a rocky island in Donegal Bay, 4½ miles from the coast. Its whole area is 209 acres. Its chief feature is the great *cashel*, in plan roughly heart-shaped, measuring actually 175 ft. by 135 ft.[2] The enclosing wall is of different dates. The older part is much thicker and of ruder construction, and shews on the inner face remains of the peculiar stairways, as of the diminutive gateways, which characterise the earliest Irish fortifications. The later portions are relatively feeble, and built of smaller stones. All are undressed and mortarless. Within this *enceinte* are the remains of one isolated *clochaun*, of another cell (*Trahan-na-Chorrees*) built within the mass of the north-east wall, and of three 'churches.' There are further two pillar-stones and three *al fresco* altars.[3] Outside the *cashel* to the north-west is the 'church of the women,' and south of this the 'sweat-house'; and round the whole island are distributed a number of *leachtas*, 'stations,' and other vestiges of long continued and ancient religious observance.

The *clochaun* (*Toorybrenell*, otherwise the 'schoolhouse') is almost circular, with a diameter of 13 ft. and a height of 14 ft. (internal measurements). It is a true 'bee-hive,' built of undressed stones without mortar, and Wakeman was emphatically of opinion that it is older than any of the so-called churches.[4]

The other cell (*Trahan-na-Chorrees*, 'the place of prayer'), much ruinated, is apparently of equal age. The floor is sunk after the fashion of a pit-dwelling.[5] It was of oval plan, and appears to have had two chambers, the larger measuring only 7 ft. from end to end.[6] Tradition declares that here the monks assembled for vespers, but in view of its small proportions, as Wakeman remarks, 'it is difficult to conceive how they could have sung, at least with any effect, in so small a place'; and he suggests that vespers were usually sung outside it, where there is a small level expanse of grass, the *trahan* serving for shelter in very severe weather.

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[1] See for all details, Wakeman, *Survey of Inismurray.*

[2] The area is approximately two-thirds of an acre.

[3] A fourth altar has been removed and 'rebuilt' on the external face of the north corner of the *cashel.*

[4] Externally it 'presents . . . much the appearance of a sepulchral mound or cairn' (*Survey*, p. 29)

[5] Like that of the 'hermitage' at Teampull Benain, Isle of Aran, and that of St Cuthbert's oratory in Farne.

[6] St. Patrick's standard measure for the oratory.

All the 'churches' are built with mortar and cement, and most of the stones have been rudely dressed. That called *Teach Molaise*, 'St. Molaise's House,' measures internally 8 ft. 10½ ins. by 7 ft. 10 ins. The 'Church of the Fire' (*Teampull-na-Teinidh*) measures 17 ft. 4 ins. by 11 ft. 4 ins. The largest of all, 'The Men's Church' (*Teampull-na-Bfear*), otherwise 'The Monastery,' is as much as 25½ by 12 ft. All these have perpendicular walls.

'Molaise's House' has a stone roof, which is in part a reconstruction. The single east window is built with sloping jambs, its round head carved out of a single stone. The doorway (4 ft. 7 ins. high, and 1 ft. 9 ins. wide) has perpendicular jambs, and is presumably a reconstruction. The building contains an altar of uncemented stones, and a narrow bench of similar construction runs the length of the south wall both inside and out.

The 'Church of the Men' is a plain oblong room, with east light and west doorway. The roof (now gone) was not of stone. Window and door are seemingly original, but that the building is of later date than the *Teach Molaise* is shewn by the prolongation of the north and south walls to form *antae* at the east end.

The *Teampull-na-Teinidh* Wakeman pronounces to be the most modern of the three, 'not older than the fourteenth century—it may be even considerably later; but that it stands on the site of an earlier structure is extremely probable.' Within it is the hearth above described (p. 27).

The much re-modelled *Teampull-na-Mban* or 'Church of the Women,' outside the *cashel*, is a few feet larger than the last-named, measuring 28 ft. by 13 ft. Wakeman unhesitatingly attributes it to the later fourteenth or early fifteenth century, while allowing that parts of its walls must be referred to a very early age.

The 'sweat-house,' like the *clochaun*, is a stone-roofed mortarless structure, 5½ ft. by 4 ft. 2 ins. internally, and about 5 ft. high. Its only feature is the entrance, a mere hole 2 ft. square, the jambs slightly sloping.[1]

This group of buildings at Inismurray is universally cited as typical of the oldest Irish monastic settlements. It is certain that it represents the activities of many centuries, and Wakeman may very well be right in thinking that the *cashel*, and possibly the *clochauns* also, are pre-Christian.

It is at the same time clear that not one of the so-called churches is an original building. Only the *Teach Molaise* has even a possible claim to the immense antiquity generally attributed to such Irish buildings, and even this has been altered or re-constructed, perhaps more than once. This must be so if the record of the *Annals* speaks truth, and Inismurray was really 'burnt[2] by the Danes' in 802. On the other hand there is no reason to doubt that St. Molaise settled here in the early half of the sixth century (520-540), and that he was associated with St. Columba and St. Odhrain, the latter's disciple.[3] Two of the 'stations' on the island still bear the names of these saints.

Is it permissible to suggest that this was in fact a druidical foundation which Christianity usurped? It has been seen[4] that such settlements were in no wise dissimilar; Druidism had a fondness for the seclusion of islands[5]; and the singular hearth in the *Teampull-na-Teinidh*, with the traditions thereto attaching, points in the same direction. Some early saint may well have come hither, finding the place deserted and partly ruinated.[6] On the spot where now is 'St. Molaise's House' he may have reared the building which was at once his dwelling and his oratory. The very name of it, not less than the details of the building—its tiny size, and particularly the stone bench within, which is still called 'St. Molaise's Bed,' and the corresponding *stoep* without—all bespeak it originally a man's dwelling-place, and are doubtless original features preserved when the edifice was re-built with mortar and dressed stones. As time went on the place became a considerable settlement as such things went, and of very special sanctity, but perforce it was always on but a small scale. The Danes may have found 'holy books and bells and pastoral staves' here; they can have found but little else to plunder. And when the Dane was no longer an enemy the narrow limits of the island, with barely 130 acres of cultivable soil, must have prevented its ever becoming a rich or populous community. The altars, it is to be noticed, are for the most part in the open air, and the ambition of the monastery, even as late as the fourteenth century, did not rise to anything in the way of a church bigger than the *Teampull-na-Bfear*. The name of this building and of the *Teampull-na-Mban*, in conjunction with the cross-wall which divides the *cashel* into two portions, suggests that, like so many other early Celtic monasteries, this may at one period have been double, i.e. of both sexes.

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[1] For the use of these substitutes for Turkish baths by the Irish until quite recent times, see appendix to Wakeman's *Survey*. He quotes Prof. H. Hennessy for the statement that the latter had seen at Prague and Nuremberg in 1879 baths designated 'Römische-Irische Bäder.' This would seem to be an obvious survival of the influence of Celtic missionaries in the Danube lands, though Champneys pronounces it unlikely. The 'sweat-house' is a national institution in rural Russia still, but is never called by a name suggesting an Irish origin.

[2] In the same year they burnt the monastery of Iona. We know that that monastery's buildings were of wood for more than a century after Columba's time. We know that its church was of timber as late as the eleventh century. The probability is that the same was the case at Inismurray, and that the alleged burning of the monastery is the literal truth. If so there can be little on the site, the *cashel* and 'stations' excepted, which is older than 802.

[3] The island was known as Inis-muiredaich even in St. Molaise's time, which may mean that Molaise was not the first Christian to make it his home; for there was, it is said, a Muiredach, bishop of Killala, in St. Patrick's time But the name was a common one, and the Muiredach here concerned may have been the builder of the *cashel* and a pagan, whether pirate king or Druid.

[4] See the quotation cited above, p. 57, n. 2.

[5] cp. the case of the Isle of the Priestesses (Sena), above, ch. xii.

[6] Would any secular chief have selected for his *cashel* a site so barren, so straitened, and so often and so long cut off from the mainland by the weather? There is but one practicable landing-place on the island, and weeks may go by when this is unapproachable.

All things considered, it is impossible not to doubt the reality, or at any rate the traditional details, of the 365 'churches' alleged to have been built by St. Patrick at least three-quarters of a century before St. Molaise's time. It is more than likely that when the *Life of St. Patrick* came to be written, there were 365 buildings which laid claim to be of his foundation, for one or both of two sufficient reasons: in the first place experience had taught the clerics of that age that there was great profit to be got of any connexion, whether real or fictitious, with St. Patrick; and in the second place, the Latin rule not recognising a church as such unless it had been consecrated by a bishop, a very great number of oratories would, in default of other proof of their episcopal consecration, be claimed as buildings of St. Patrick's own foundation, such a claim having the further recommendation that there was little or no possibility of refuting it.

There is in fact little ground for the popular view that the tiny 'churches' of Ireland, and their congeners of Scotland, actually go back to the dawn of Scotic Christianity. All authority declares that the earliest churches of Ireland were of materials other than stone, and if that was so, all trace of those original buildings must have vanished long ago, even had there been nothing in the way of human outrage to expedite their destruction. In Ireland such outrage was the rule: the liberty to plunder and burn churches, to murder priests and laymen indifferently, was an important part of the divine right of Irish kings. Cormac of Munster, himself not only a king but an abbat, if not also a bishop, did not scruple twice to sack Clonmacnois, and to burn the archbishop of Armagh out of his church[1]; and when no danger threatened in that kind, the clergy, monks and bishops alike, levied formal war one upon another.[2] What the native spared the foreigner despoiled: Inismurray was looted in 802, and the even more inaccessible monastery of Skellig Michael in 823. Moreover Ireland had learnt nothing of the Roman art of building with cement and mortar; and if the Roman tradition failed, as it did fail, to perpetuate itself in Wales, where the earlier Roman Christianity was never wholly lost, there could be no chance of its making good in the sister isle. But a building of undressed dry stone, however carefully constructed, could not in such a climate survive for many centuries the stress of weather. On the other hand the primitive native fashion of building continued to be followed without interruption, as it is to this day.[3] That the Irish did such brilliant things in illumination, in literature, in science and in missionary zeal, as early as the seventh and eighth centuries, is no proof that they did the like in architecture; and if the Christianity of the fourteenth century was content with a building so small and rude as for example the *Teampull-na-Mban* at Inismurray, all allowance made for conservatism and sentiment, what must have been its capacity some seven centuries earlier? It is a plain fact that Ireland has never, from that day to this, distinguished itself in the matter of architecture, and the same is true of the Celt in general. The most that can be conceded is that remains like those of Inismurray and Skellig Michael probably preserve to some extent the plan and arrangement of the very earliest Christian constructions; but that for example the oratory of St. Gallarus[1] at Kilmalkedar is a veritable specimen of the building of the sixth century cannot be proved and is very unlikely. At the most it may stand upon the spot where had stood a sixth-century building. More accordant with the probabilities is the cautious attitude of Dr. Joseph Anderson, when speaking of those Scottish examples which are admittedly modelled upon the Irish plan, and are usually regarded as of the same date. 'It must be borne in mind,' he writes,[2] 'that the antiquity of the type is one thing, and the antiquity of the specimen is a totally different thing.' The type may well be as old as that of any Irish Christian building in stone, and very probably is so; the various specimens of the type may be of any age from that to the Reformation, and the probabilities are all against their dating from the *terminus a quo*. The *clochaun*, as has been said, has not ceased to be built even to-day. There is documentary evidence that in some cases the Christian settlement, as late as 1162, was exactly as we imagine it in the fifth century.[3] There is similar evidence that St. Gormgall was living in 1017, with a few other 'holy men,' precisely the same life on Ardoilean, Connemara, as other saints had lived there in the days when that settlement was first founded by St. Fechin, abbat of Fore, in 664.[4] As was the life, so we may suppose to have been much of the environment of these Celtic Christians; the one would change as little as the other, and a rigid conservatism, abetted by the national unprogressiveness, would rebuild the old cells and oratories and *cashels* in precisely the original way from century to century.[1] Even the names of the saints which attach to such buildings are of little value in fixing their dates: 'the date of foundation,' wrote James Parker, 'only proves that there was nothing earlier than that date, and says nothing as to the date of the existing fabric, which may have been rebuilt half a dozen times.'[2] It is doubtful whether there exists in any of our islands an ecclesiastical building which preserves intact its appearance as it was 1000 years ago.

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[1] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 199 *sqq*.

[2] ibid. p. 109-110.

[3] Petrie was at first prepared to claim a fifth-century date for cemented buildings; more recent authorities doubtfully put them as far back as the ninth century. The oratory of Gallarus shews a vast advance on those of Inismurray, but this is no proof that the latter are really older; for one has to reckon with conservatism of style, traditional reverence for a primitive model, and local inequalities of culture. The most reasonable view is that which admits the immense antiquity of the sanctity of the spot, but gravely doubts that of the particular building upon it.

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[1] Cited by Romilly Allen (*Mont. Hist.* p. 59) as the best example of the class of isolated (non-monastic) buildings 'without cells or enclosing walls.' The fact that the building has no defensive wall is proof that it belongs to a later time, when such walls were no longer essential to safety, while the style of the architecture proves the same thing. Indeed the same writer cites it as an example of a great advance upon e.g. Skellig Michael (p. 59). Whether it be as old as he suggests—'perhaps a thousand years'—is still doubtful.

[2] *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 101.

[3] Above, p. 32.

[4] Anderson, op. cit. p. 86, note.

The word 'church' has for long centuries carried with it certain suggestions of fashion and dignity which conceal the truth. It led Bede in the eighth century to speak as if England had had 'churches' in numbers long before his own time; it leads modern writers to commit the same anachronism with regard to Christendom in general. The first Christianity of Ireland had no structural churches because it had no use for them. A church as we understand it is a building in which a congregation meets for worship. In its earliest form in Western Christendom it was the common oratory in which met the members of a monastic community. But we have evidence that for many years before such a community thought of erecting a common oratory, its members had each his own; indeed in the first instance each *clochaun* was also an oratory. The feeling that God is more greatly glorified in a magnificent church is a later sentiment of Latin origin, directly opposed to the Celtic instinct that a tiny cell of the very barest kind was more consistent with a proper humility of mind in the devotee. Holy Writ bids one retire to one's closet to be alone with God; it says nothing at all about churches as we understand them. Therefore those early Christians who founded their practice rather upon Holy Writ than upon Latin tradition, saw no need to build great churches. At first, as St. Patrick's rule declares, the oratory—it measured 7 ft. only—was the least conspicuous thing in the monastery. The 'great house,' or refectory, was fifteen times as big, and the community evidently met for meat, but not for prayer. Even the provision of a *separate* oratory of whatever size was an advance upon the older way, in which *clochaun* and oratory were identical; and this older way persisted as long as there were recluses like St. Cuthbert.[1] It is quite possible that no church—not even a monastic church—was built until the eighth century.[2] Of the three rectangular buildings on Skellig Michael—two 'oratories' and one 'church'—the latter only is big enough to accommodate the whole of the small community, apparently only six monks, and 'by its technique' this building 'is proved to be of a later date.' Such was certainly the case in England,[3] and while there is no reason why things should have moved more rapidly in Ireland, there are many reasons for supposing that they moved much more slowly. In view of the anarchic savagery of the country it is inconceivable that Christianity in the early centuries should have courted attack by erecting spacious and elaborate churches and filling these with valuables, when congregations other than monastic there were none, and paganism was yet a virile adversary. It is more than doubtful whether the Irish of those times could under any circumstances have raised a building such as that which legend alleges St. Patrick to have raised at Donoughmore, 60 ft. in length,[4] and it is idle to cite in support of the legend the supposed foundations of the royal palace-buildings at Tara.[5] We do not know to what date those foundations belong, and Patrick was not secular monarch of All Ireland with a whole nation to obey his behests. The *Annals of Ulster* mention the burning of 260 persons in a *wooden* church in 849, but it would require a very small building to hold 260 persons when taking refuge from danger therein, and at a date when there was no seating to cumber the space.[6] The building of churches of wood certainly continued till the twelfth century.[1] The earliest stone church for which Champneys[2] can find 'definite authentic mention,' is one at Armagh in 789. It is said however that there exists a record that 'in 787 died Cronan of the stone church of Ferns.'[3] The language shows that at that date a church of stone was still something very much out of the common.[4] The first Christians of Ireland were content with the lowliest huts only. Far more important in their eyes was the holy ground, ground that was sanctified by the burial of one of the *fideles*—his barrow. It was necessarily circular, for such was the *mos gentilium*, whether it were merely a mound or one or other form of ring-barrow. This was the *kil*, 'grave(yard),' and on it or within it was built the tiny hut-oratory of a solitary, or the clustered huts of several devotees who formed a community. Very literally they 'dwelt amongst the tombs.' It is significant that many of the reputed oldest of such buildings in Ireland are called, not churches, but 'houses,' e.g. Teach Molaise, at Inismurray, and 'St. Flannan's House,' attached to the north side of the cathedral at Killaloe, co. Clare.[5] Similarly in the Scottish Isles we have Tigh Beannachadh, 'The Blessed House,'[6] on Gallon Head, Isle of Lewes.

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[1] See the case summarised in Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arch.* ch. iii, with quotations from Sir J. Y. Simpson, Miss Stokes and Rolt Brash.

[2] *Gent.'s Mag.* 1864, p. 6.

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[1] See below, ch. xxii: cp. Wilde, *Lough Corrib*, p. 107: 'the domestic *cloughaun* and the wattled hut furnished the types from whence the stone oratory or monastic cell and the wooden *diurtheach* were derived—partly church and partly dwelling-house for the officiating cleric.'

[2] Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, p. 197.

[3] See on Abingdon monastery, ch. xxiii.

[4] See above, ch. xvii, 31.

[5] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 70. The banqueting hall is said to have been 759 ft. long and 90 ft. wide. The site is said to have been abandoned in 583. No one thinks of citing as historical evidence the descriptions of royal palaces in the *Mabinogion* and the *Mort d'Arthur*.

[6] The 'Black Hole' of Calcutta, in which

If fortune willed it the spot grew in veneration and acquired a specific name. It might be called the *kil* of him who was first buried there, or the *kil* of the recluse who had made the spot his abiding-place. And if fortune still favoured, his original hut—of turves, or wattle, or timber—would be rebuilt in dry stone, still later perhaps with mortar, would become in fact a 'church.' But the name remained. *Kil* it was in the beginning, and *kil* it is still in hundreds of cases; and even when foreign

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were packed 146 people, measured only 18 ft. square; yet anyone reading that no less than 146 people were assembled in one room, would naturally envisage a very handsome apartment. A church 34 ft. long and 17 ft. wide would hold 260 persons more comfortably than the 'Black Hole' held 146.

[1] *Vita S. Malachiae*, vi, 14.

[2] *Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 36.

[3] Grattan Flood, *Hist Dioc. of Ferns* (Waterford, 1916). This diocese was founded in 598.

[4] Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii, 291) suggests that the new fashion of building in stone rather than in wood was due to the peril of 'the firebrand of the Danes.'

[5] 'It is impossible to say whether this building was a church or a dwelling-house; if tradition be right it was a house' (Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 64; Petrie, *Eccles. Arch. Ireland*, p. 121).

[6] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times*, p. 120. Champneys (*Irish Eccles. Architecture*, p. 230) has an appendix on the 'Intermixture of church and dwelling.'

influence for a time introduced some other term—the Saxon 'church,' for example, in co. Down—the old name has almost always re-asserted itself to-day.[1] But that later generations, familiar with churches as we understand them, should have applied that term to these tiny oratories, however natural it may be, is very unfortunate.

The usual Irish word for the structural church is *teampull*[2] (Latin *templum*). *Domhnach*[3] (Latin *dominica*), sometimes corrupted into *Donough*, is not uncommon. *Daimleac*, 'church of stone,' is also used. *Baslic* (Latin *basilica*) is found occasionally.[4] The word *eaglais* (*ecclesia*) is uncommon, in place-names particularly, and is only occasionally used of the structural church.[5] The Welsh *llan*, Cornish *lan*, is quite exceptional, e.g. Lanronan in Down, and Lambeg, 'the little *llan*,' in Antrim and Down. Excepting in names of obvious Norse or English importation, *kirk* and *church* are never found; *kirk*, as would be expected, belongs entirely to the north-east.[6]

In the traditional view the word *kil*, ubiquitous in Ireland[7] and common in Wales and Scotland, is borrowed from the Latin *cella* in the sense of a 'church.' Yet it does not appear that the word *kil* is ever applied to the structural church, nor does Ducange give any instance of *cella* used in the sense of ‘church.’[1] *Kil* is apparently as Irish as anything in Ireland.[2]

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[1] Temple Fion, ('white church') was 'White Kirk' in 1437. Kilclief, a present-day parish (Cill Cleithe 1001, Cill Cleath 1034), was Kirkcleth in *Valor Eccles.* In Harris's *County Down* (1744) appear also Kirkiel, Kerkstown (Kerkistown), and Kirkcassock, all absent from the *Gazetteer.* The modern Cardonell was formerly Kirkdonell (ibid. p. 73). Yet the Saxon word has occasionally made good on spots of ancient sanctity. Thus Church Island in Lough Currane, Waterville, was founded by St. Finan the Leper, in the sixth century; and Churchfield, a townland in Culfeightrin, co. Down, was anciently Magheratemple (Reeves, *Eccles. Antiqs. Down*, p. 282).

[2] This forms the first element in about ninety town-land names and fifty parish names of Ireland.

[3] Monkish writers assert that this denotes a church founded by St. Patrick upon the *Dies dominicalis* (Sunday). It is in reality a corruption of *dominica* 'the Lord's House,' and belongs to a time when Latin Christianity had prevailed and everything possible was done to bring the Irish into conformity with the Roman *regula*. From this last word was even coined another Irish term, *regles*, meaning a church built according to the Roman rule (*regula*). The very existence of this name implies that the majority of Irish churches were *not* in accordance with the Roman rule.

[4] It survives in the name of Baslick, Barony of Castlereagh, co. Roscommon, which is mentioned in *Annals of Ulster* as Baslec (763) and Baislic (845).

[5] It is 'usually applied to the body of church members,' says Ian Hannah in *Arch. Journal*, lxxii (1915), p. 91.

[6] Westropp (*Journ. R.S.A.I.* vol. xlvii, p. 4) mentions near Killone, co. Clare, a *cathair* named Cahir-na-kirka, which he explains to mean either 'Fort of the Grouse' (cf. the Irish Coolkirky), or 'Fort of Oats.' In the Irish part of Ireland there is no discoverable trace of the *kirk*-word in any form.

[7] P. W. Joyce notes 3,400 place-names in Ireland commencing with this word.

*Kil* appears in Welsh as *cil*, in Cornish and Breton as *kil*, in Gaelic as *cul*, *cil*, *kil*, *cell*.[3] It comes from a root signifying ‘concealment,’ which appears in all the important Indo-Germanic languages, e.g. Greek καλύπτω (hide), κλέπτω (steal); Latin *celo*, *occulo* (hide), *clam* (secretly); German *hüllen* (hide); Anglo-Saxon *helan* (hide); Icelandic *hel* (death); modern English ‘hell.’[4] In Irish it gives *celim* (I conceal), *celgg* (deceit), and also *ceal*, *cel*, with inflexions *cill*, *cille*, meaning ‘death,’ or ‘grave,’ i.e. the place where the dead are hidden.[5] The Gaelic *kil* also meant a ‘grave’: a parish and village in Perthshire bear the name of Killin (for Kil Fin), and ‘a spot near the village . . . has from time immemorial been pointed out as the grave of Fingal. This was once the site of the church and also of the churchyard.’[6] In Galloway

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[1] ‘The earliest sense of the word seems to be that of a monastery or nunnery, generally of small size, dependent on some larger house’ (*N.E.D. s.v.* CELL).

[2] So Rolt Brash (*Oghamic Monuments of the Gaedhil*, p. 91), citing the admission of Dr. Ledwich ‘that *kill* was a native term and signified grave.’

[3] To be distinguished in all Celtic languages from another word, frequently identical in form, signifying a ‘wood,’ Irish *coille*, Welsh *coil*.

[4] Chaucer, *Parson's Tale*, § 10: ‘the cause why that Job clepeth Helle “the lond of derknesse,” understandeth that he clepeth it . . . *dirk*, for he that is in helle hath defaute of light material, . . . covered with the derknesse of deeth.’ Bosworth quotes passages where A.-S. *hell* = *sepulcrum*. In *A.V.* the Hebr. *Sheol* is translated 31 times by ‘hell,’ 31 times by ‘grave’ (*N.E.D*). In Lincolnshire and Derbyshire to ‘hell’ a stack or a house means to roof it; in Cornwall roofing slates are called ‘helling’; in the Midlands ‘helling’ means a coverlet; and in Sussex a building covered with Horsham slates is said to be ‘stone-heeled’: cf. to ‘heel up’ potatoes, i.e. to cover them with additional soil (Lincs.).

[5] Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*. See also Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, pp. 787, *foll.*; *Ulster Journal Archaeol.* vi (1900), pp. 128-132. Mackay (*Gaelic Etymol. of the English Language*, London, 1877) hazarded another explanation: ‘*Ceil*,’ a cell, church, now written *kil*. These churches were so called from being covered over, unlike the druidical circles, which were open to the sky.’ It is rather curious that the English ‘cell’ should have reverted occasionally to the same meaning as *kil*; e.g.

‘Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.’
(Gray's *Elegy*.)

This usage probably comes direct from the Latin *cella*, but *cella*, excepting that it comes from the same Indo-Germanic root—a truth which Rolt Brash (*op. cit.*) definitely asserted—has nothing to do with *kil*. Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 768) says that ‘there are some reasons for thinking that . . . *kil*, independently altogether of the Latin loan-word, may once have been applied to dolmens and cists,’ as also (ibid. p. 791) to circles of standing stones. ‘The Irish *cille* was not the monastic site, nor was it the dwelling of the founder. It was synonymous with the . . . burial-place of the saint. Not however of saints alone.’ O'Donovan, in *Trans. Ossianic Soc.*, says, ‘there are numerous *cills* or places of burial which were never dedicated to Christian purposes at all’ (ibid. p. 787). ‘We may infer . . . that the primitive idea of the Irish *cille* was inseparably connected with that of sepulture’ (ibid. p. 789). ‘In the popular language,’ wrote Father Smiddy (*Essay on the Druids*, p. 175), ‘*Cill* means a grave-yard.’

[6] Mackinlay *Pre-Reform. Church*, p. 80. The actual site of the so-called ‘Grave of Fingal’ is marked by a large stone.

*kill* seems to have meant any small place of shelter.[1] The Welsh *cil haul* means 'a place of hiding from the sun,' *cil golwchwyd* 'a place of retreat for worship.' In one form or other *kil* attaches almost universally to the old burial-places—the circular and oval *kils* and *killeens*—of Ireland, of which the number is so great as to have given names to no fewer than 3,000 town-lands.[2] Many of these are qualified in a fashion that suggests nothing Christian, e.g. Kilnamuck and Kilmacat.[3] If we do not find them named after the great figures of pagan Irish story, it is perhaps because they were less often the burial-places of illustrious individuals than of the unconsidered rank and file. But possibly for that very reason the word *kil* has outlived all later names for a burial-place.

As the evidence shews, Christianity in Ireland made good by fastening upon the native reverence for the dead. Its first step was always to consecrate a burial-place, and this would naturally in many cases bear the name of him who made it. Hence perhaps some of the multitude of Kilpatricks, Kilbrides, and Kilcolmans.

*Kil*, says O'Brien,[4] 'doth not properly mean a cell.' It does not; it meant the burial-place only. In hundreds of existing *kils* and *killeens* there is no discoverable trace of any cell or other building whatever. The name Kildomnach[5] signifies merely the 'graveyard with the church,' in contradistinction from the vast number of *killeens* which had no building at all.

Christianity set an entirely new fashion in erecting buildings which were also dwelling-places of living men upon the spot where lay the faithful dead. The building was not a church as we understand it but an oratory, a tiny chapel wherein another of the faithful might watch and pray above the dead. It had no special name that is recorded, nor was it the essential thing. The essential thing was the burial-ground about it, or rather the burials themselves, the 'relics.' It was a natural development, furthered by the Irish predilection for retiring to 'deserts'[1] and leading the solitary life, that the building with its saintly inmate came presently to be regarded as of more importance, the more natural as the occupant not seldom made of his oratory his place of burial. In that way the barrow which had heretofore been merely one *kil* amongst other *kils*, might come to be known as the *kil* of that particular saint. Thus would be multiplied the number of the *kils* named after St. Patrick, St. Bride, St. Columba and others.[2] To give one instance only: St. Odhrain was actually buried at Iona, and the place of his burial was called *Reilic Orain*, St. Oran's Grave. Yet on Inismurray also is a *Reilic Odhrain*, an enclosure of very early date, walled with dry stone, and having in the centre an altar which forms one of the 'stations.'[3] This may be a case of mere commemorative dedication, for St. Oran, from the peculiar circumstances of his death and burial, became as it were the tutelary of graveyards[4]; but quite possibly the altar was claimed or believed to cover some actual relic of the saint. In either case it illustrates the duplication of such names upon spots very far apart.

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[1] D. McRitchie (*Anc. and Mod. Britons*, ii, p. 5), citing the word from the *Gallovidian Encyclopaedia*, glosses it 'an out-house.'

[2] *Ulster Journ. Archaeol.* loc. cit.

[3] Respectively 'Pig's *Kil*' and 'Cat's *Kil*.' More famous are Kildare and Killarney, respectively the '*kil* of the Oak' (a sacred oak tree of St. Bridget) and '*kil* of the Sloes': cp. on the sacred fire at Kildare, above p. 27. Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 1115, citing *Windele's MSS., Cork, West and N.-E.* p. 396), says that at Kilabban 'is neither church nor cell, but the remains are as pagan in their aspect and character as can well be conceived,' viz. a tumulus about 20 ft. in diameter, three pillar-stones around it, and on the top a *bullán* (basin-stone): cp. ibid, p. 421, the Dallan Crom-na-thittim (a small circle, diam. 9 ft. formed of 5 stones about 4 ft. high), near Knocknakilla, co. Cork, 'is itself called the *cill*'; ibid. p. 788, Killaracht = Kilarracht = '*kil* of the idol.' Other examples, ibid. pp. 790-792.

[4] *Irish Dictionary* (1839). Malcolm MacFarlane's *School Gaelic Dict.* (1912) has '*cill*: church, cell, burying-ground,' and in T. O'Neill Lane's *English-Irish Dict.* (1904) *cill* is given as the equivalent of 'grave.'

[5] Usually explained as *Cella dominica*.

That the Irish word *kil*, 'a grave,' should come to be confounded with the Latin *cella* in the same sense of 'a hermit's cell,' was inevitable. Latin was the language of the Church, and *cella* was the obvious way to Latinise *kil*. As early as the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris (*ob.* 488) uses *cellulanus* for 'hermit,' and κέλλα appears in a Greek life of St. Pelagia[5] of the same century. As

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[1] See Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 178. Disert or Desert is, he says, 'one of the commonest names of town lands and parishes' in Ireland. In *Annals of Ulster* the term is of constant occurrence, rendered always by Hennessy as 'hermitage.' It reappears alike in Wales and in Scotland, e.g. Dysart in Fifeshire. The church of Glenorchy—its garth is still almost circular—was anciently known as Clachan Diseart.

[2] Ireland has 35 Kilbrides, 24 Kilcolmans. In Scotland the number of Columkilles is even greater.

[3] Wakeman, *Survey of Inismurray*, pp. 149-153.

[4] W. G. Collingwood in *Antiquary*, vol. xliii (1907) p. 175. He is speaking of Claodh Odhrain in Tiree. Tiree was closely associated with St. Columba.

[5] Quoted by Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic*

*cella* ( = *celula*) meant originally merely a 'hiding-place' or 'hidden place,' the confusion might well be thought to be no confusion at all. It may be that the name of the Culdees (Keldei, Keledei, Colidei), 'that ascetic order who adopted a solitary service of God in an isolated cell,'[1] owes something to the same confusion of *kil* with another word or words (Lat. *cella*, Ir. *céle*). Certainly the Culdees were in a special sense 'dwellers among the tombs.'[2]

The occasional presence of a Christian church within what was originally to all appearance a pagan *killeen* is the obvious outcome of that same spirit of compromise which led Gregory to advise the conversion of pagan Saxon *templa* into Christian *ecclesiae*, and prompted Willibrord to gather relics in Rome to be introduced into Friesic cemeteries.[3] Every *killeen* was a focus of ritual to the pagans about. Christianity dared not desecrate the spot. It could only hope to bring it to a new consecration, and the symbol thereof, perhaps the means thereto, was to erect within it a building under Christian dedication. The name of Kildomnach, 'the graveyard with a church,' could arise only when the multitude of *kils* had no distinctive buildings.

The earliest known form of the Christian symbol in Ireland is that called St. Patrick's cross, or the wheeled cross, a circle charged with a cross in the shape of four radials of equal length. In the usual view this symbol is derived from something precisely similar found upon Christian monuments in the East and Egypt.[4] It would

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*Church*, p. 180, *n*. The Irish family of Kirkpatrick originally bore the name of Kilpatrick, Latinised in early deeds as *de Cella Patricii*—so a distinguished member of the family has assured me.

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, ch. 6. The accepted derivation is from O.I. *céle* 'associate, fellow, sometimes servant,' and *dé* 'god.' See *N.E.D.* The link with *kil* is provided by such a Gaelic form as *cuil* 'place of retreat,' which appears in Culbrandon, 'St. Brandon's Hermitage,' in the Garveloch Isles, and perhaps in Culross, Fife, the place of St. Kentigern's birth and training, Culmaile (the ancient name of Golspie, Sutherland), and Culmalin (1471 for Kilmallie, Lochaber) = Kil Moling (1296, Kilmalyn): cf. such Irish forms as Cullen = Killeen, Culkey = Kilkea, and Culmullin = Kilmoling.

[2] As long ago as 1668 John Spotswood (*Hist. of Church of Scotland*) wrote that the first Scotic missionaries to Scotland 'being solitary, were in such reputation for their holiness of life, as the cells wherein they lived were after their deaths turned into temples and churches. And of this it came that all the churches afterwards erected were called Cells, which word I hear is yet retained amongst the Irish Scots. The priests they termed Culdees . . . from their living in these cells, where people assembled to hear service.' He found confirmation of this view in the spelling of the name Kelidei, and Johnston (*Scottish Place Names*, p. xcviii) accepts it, interpreting it as 'men of the nook *or* recess.'

[3] Bede, *H.E.* v, ii, § 1.

[4] See Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 75, and references there given. It is not

appear to have been of wide diffusion in pre-Christian times,[1] but nowhere did it become so general as in Ireland, or receive such artistic treatment. Among the pagan Celts the *Rothfail* (‘ wheel of destiny ’) appears to have been a solar symbol[2]; and its adaptation to the symbolism of Christianity merely required the reduction of the radials from eight or six to four only. That it owed its popularity and subsequent wide dissemination to Celtic Christianity is unquestionable; it followed the Irish missioners into Wales and Cornwall, England,[3] Strathclyde[4] and Scotland.[5] As the simple circle was the pagan symbol of death and the grave, there was a certain felicity in ‘ surcharging ’ this sign with the Christian symbol. It is a fact that the true wheeled cross seems to be found with few exceptions upon sepulchral monuments only; and Coffey remarks that amongst the rare cases where the cup-and-ring-mark is found on the continent, occurs one in the Eringerthal, Valais, Switzerland, where it is

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by any means certain that ‘the circle was originally a wreath,’ though that seems to have been the origin of the circle surrounding the Chi-Rho monogram.

[1] It occurs for example, associated with non-Christian symbols, on the jambs and lintels of Spanish *despoblados* and Portuguese *citanias* (Marcel Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, p. 50). Duplicated on either side of two parallel straight lines in wall-paintings at Almaden, Spain, it is explained as of ‘true Bronze age’ and representing a chariot (Burkitt, *Prehistory*, p. 296).

[2] See Rhys, *Lectures*. It is the characteristic decoration of the golden *lunulae* or ‘sun-discs,’ which, though abundant in Ireland, are scarcely found elsewhere except in Denmark and the adjacent islands such as Zealand. A specimen was found in the Trundholm Moss, Zealand, in 1902. They are attributed to the Bronze age, but they more probably came to Ireland at a much later date with one or other of the invading Belgic tribes from the Baltic and Jutland. The same *motif* is freely used on Roman monuments found on the line of the Wall, most commonly on altars to Jupiter, Sol and Apollo, but a sepulchral stone from Cilurnum bears two perfect specimens of St. Patrick's cross. The *lunulae* appear to have been badges of rank (like brooches, which are a matter of legislation in the Brehon laws), and they would pass from paganism to Christianity with other insignia. Warren (*Celtic Liturgy*, pp. 120-1) cites from Stuart (*Sculp. Stones of Scotland*, i, p. lxxxvii) a carved stone from Invergowrie, representing ecclesiastical figures wearing *lunulae*. See also Coffey, *Bronze Age in Ireland* (1913) p. 64.

[3] It occurs upon Roman tiles found at Iwerne, Dorset (*Reliquary*, 1896, p. 112), and at Kingston-by-sea in Sussex, and in the Roman villa at Chedworth (Glos.), where it is associated with three examples of the six-rayed cross and with the *labarum*.

[4] Thrice on one of the side-slabs of the Aspatria cist.

[5] At Kirkmadrine, Wigtownshire, and at Whithorn, are pillar-stones bearing the Chi-Rho monogram, and in the example at Kirkmadrine the monogram is surrounded by a circle. These are commonly believed to be the oldest Christian monuments in Scotland. They have however nothing to do with the true Irish wheeled cross, and may very possibly go back to the days of Ninian, as Romilly Allen believed (*Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 83). Anderson (*Scot. in Early Christian Times*, 2nd series, p. 253) quotes a couplet from a tombstone at Milan whereon is carved the same symbol as at Kirkmadrine :—

‘Circulus hic summi comprendit nomina regis,
Quem sine principio et sine fine vides.

In other words, the circle was, in the symbolism of Latin Christianity, identical in meaning with Alpha and Omega.

associated with the symbol of St. Patrick's cross. In the proto-Christian barrow at Warren (Pemb.) the two symbols were found upon two separate stones within one grave.[1]

But that the simple circle without further embellishment had no specifically Christian meaning in the symbolism of Western Christianity is conclusively proved by the single fact that, so late as the thirteenth century, it was the statutory brand of the Jew.[2] Its earlier associations, if any, must obviously have been anything but Christian.

It is hardly possible to doubt that in Ireland some at any rate of the older pagan sites were deliberately usurped by Christianity, as Patrick is said to have built his 'great church' of Donoughmore actually upon the site of Cruc Mag Slecht, the most sacred of all such spots in Ireland; and so closely does Celtic Christianity correspond with Celtic paganism in many of its beliefs and practices, that it is well-nigh impossible to say where the one ends and the other begins. Certainly the rites observed by the pilgrims to Croagh Patrick, as described by W. C. Borlase,[3] are more pagan than Christian. It does not follow that the usurpation was immediate, and such a thing is unlikely. Some time would require to elapse before it could safely be attempted, and the attribution of such a policy to Patrick himself is of no value. That saint, it may be believed, was too clever to risk the consequences while paganism was still a power. The old gods were not to be so easily dethroned. There is much to support the view of those who maintain that early Christianity was merely 'Paganism veneered with Christianity,'[4] and even the view of those who believe that Celtic paganism, finding the old gods losing favour, forthwith adopted first the Roman Apollo, then the

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[1] Below, ch. xx.

[2] The *Rota Iudaeorum*, which all Jews were compelled to wear on the breast when they appeared in public. See Ducange, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* ROTA and CIRCULUS. He cites from *Concilium Arelatense*, *Statuta Ecclesiae Ruthenensis*, and *Statuta Eccles. Nemausensis*. The Council of Arles was in 1234. The Statutes of Rodez (Aveyron) belong to 1289. Those of Nîmes, as printed in Martène et Durand (*Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, Paris, 1717) are attributed to 1364, which appears from internal evidence to be an error for 1264. This correction I owe to Dom. H. Dumaine.

[3] *Age of the Saints*, pp. 45-8.

[4] St. Bernard (*Vita Malachiae*, c. 8) said much the same of the Irish Christianity of the twelfth century; cp. O'Donovan, *The Four Masters*, 'Nothing is clearer than that Patrick engrafted Christianity upon pagan superstition.'

Christian Christ; that Patrick was himself a 'Druid'; that his very name is not personal at all, but the name of an order in the pagan hierarchy; and that in effect Christianity took hold upon the Irish because it was offered to them in a form almost as much pagan as Christian.

The further question whether Christianity deliberately occupied the sites of pagan cemeteries is different, and unanswerable, for the dead cannot return to tell us in what faith they died. For the daughters of king Leoghaire was built a barrow in accordance with their dignity; but what became of the many lesser converts who died in the early time when as yet the provision for Christian burial was limited? They would presumably be buried in the local *killeens*, or if separately, at any rate with no such costly grave-mound as that of the king's daughters; and in the early days, when the Faith was still new and hesitant, it is certain that there would be little regard paid to the various provisos which were subsequently enforced—earth-to-earth burial, the east-and-west position, the exclusion of grave-furniture, and so on. Such restrictions could come into force only when paganism was becoming moribund, Christianity waxing powerful. It is a transparent probability that many an early Irish convert would be laid to his rest with accessories for the most part precisely like those which had accompanied his pagan forbears; and the evidence shews that, so far as concerned the circular barrow—the most important accessory of all—this was the fact. His burial-place might become a Christian grave-yard, or it might be wholly forgotten, and we have no means at all of knowing whether the nameless person buried under the church at Monasterboice was really a Christian by profession, or whether, on the strength of the poor polished celt which his friends laid with him, he should be condemned to Limbo or further.[1] All that can be said is that the subsequent building of a church on the spot raises a presumption that he may have been a Christian; but that there can be no certainty is proved by the parallel case at Carn Brea in Cornwall

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[1] So C. H. Kains-Jackson (*Our Ancient Monuments*, p. 81), speaking of the relics found in Irish graves: 'These discoveries within certain barrows and chambered tombs have been too generally taken as fixing the date of the original interments in purely pagan times.'

(p. 145). History knows no hard and fast dividing lines. The tradition of years unknown bade men bury their dead in barrows, and archaeology tells us that each successive age and race continued to make at least occasional, yet deliberate, use of the barrows of the men before it, certainly down to the days of St. Guthlac (ch. xxiv). Archaeology does not tell us that Christianity did not do the like; rather it declares that Christianity did exactly the same. And prejudice and books apart, that is what one would expect, especially as primitive Christianity, like Celtic paganism, was fast-rooted in the cult of the dead.

## Chapter XIX.

### WALES.

*Ethnology of Wales—Romans in Wales—The Ancient Welsh Kingdoms—Etymology of 'Llan'—Relations of Wales with Ireland—The Churchyard of Eglwys Cymmin; Reconstruction of the Facts—Welsh Monasticism borrowed from Ireland—The making of the 'Llan'—SS. Cadoc, Gwynlliw, and Illtyd—Circular Churchyards in Wales—Llanelwedd—Monastic Settlements of Irish Type—St. Cybi—The 'Mynwent'—The Right of Sanctuary—Early Dedications—Poem of 'The Warriors' Graves'—Various Forms of these Graves—The Mynwent again.*

Prior to the Roman conquest the population of Wales closely resembled that of contemporary Ireland, and its speech was uniformly Goidelic. In the north of the country the Brythonic Ordovices, the 'Hammer-men,' had already begun to find a footing, but had not yet reached so far as Anglesey when the Romans interfered. After the departure of the Romans the Brythonisation of the country was resumed vigorously. Modern Welsh is a wholly Brythonic speech, but the idiom of the south is still markedly different from that of the north, and the difference between the two is due probably to a racial difference older than the subsequent infusions of English, Norman, and Flemish which have accentuated it. North Wales is relatively New Wales. For the older Wales one must go to the extreme south, to Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, whose affinities are with the Irish Goidels beyond the sea.[1]

The view that the Romans never effectually penetrated into such part of Wales as lies west of a line drawn through the meridian of Maridunum (Carmarthen) is now abandoned.[2] There was never any convincing reason why they should have left unoccupied what is now Pembrokeshire, while its fertility, its many convenient harbours and waterways, and the constant need of defending these from the attacks of Irish pirates,[3] are very strong reasons to the contrary.[4] Very probably this district, being a remote and outlying part of the country, enjoyed but a minor share of Roman patronage, and for the same reasons lost the traces thereof more speedily than did more favoured districts nearer to the main centres and arteries of administration. The Romanisation of the rest of the principality was certainly more complete, yet even there it seems to have been superficial only. Fortresses were built and roads were constructed in the customary Roman way, but beneath the Roman military system the national life went on largely unchanged.[5] If even in remote Dyfed the upper class became bi-lingual, as inscriptions prove, neither there nor elsewhere did the native speech perish; and if the wild character of the country militated against any very complete Romanisation of the people, it has at the same time preserved to an extent as yet little appreciated much of what the Roman wrought, and especially his roads.[1]

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[1] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, i, ch. 2. It was in the extreme north-west (Mona) that British Druidism found its last asylum. The counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke correspond to the old Welsh kingdom of Dyfed (Demetia), and the earlier race was also very strong in Deheubarth, the 'South Land' of the Silures, which included Glamorganshire. In Pembrokeshire, says Lloyd (i, 25), 'neolithic ideas survived until a late period.' The presence of disc-barrows at Pendoylan (ch. iii) points however to an infiltration of Brythonic blood into Glamorganshire at a date possibly, not necessarily, prior to the arrival of the Romans, and in Pembrokeshire and Gower are some faint traces of settlements made by peoples akin to the Saxons. See Nennius, § 14, with *A.-S. Chronicle*, *anno* 918.

[2] *Antiquaries' Journal*, iii (1923), p. 265. In *Arch. Cambr.* 7th ser. iii (1923), p. 21, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler shews that the belief of some of the older antiquaries, that there stood a Roman station (*Ad Vigesimum*) at Castle Flemish in Pembrokeshire, was founded on fact.

[3] See Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 16 *sqq.* Both the Irish settlements in South Wales and West Wales (Somerset, Devon and Cornwall), and the migration of the Scoti from Ulster to Argyllshire, probably belong to the fourth century, in which flourished also Niall of the Nine Hostages, King of All Ireland (358-366).

[4] cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary through Wales*, i, 12.

[5] Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, i, pp. 64 *sqq.* 84-89.

It was not the Roman's way violently to interfere with the social and religious organisations of his subjects. In Britain, and therefore in Wales, an exception had to be made to this rule in so far as Druidism was a political force; but there is no proof, and as little likelihood, that the old religion was banned when Druidism was broken. When presently Christianity was emancipated (311), the natives might hide, but they would certainly not altogether forget, the ritual and the practices of the older religion; and when the Romans withdrew the old faith would struggle to lift up its head again.[2] But the opportunity was too transient: Christianity had already taken root,[3] and when it was menaced by the recrudescence of paganism from within and by the attacks of Picts and Saxons from without, the threatened lapse was countered and defeated by the joint efforts of the Gallican and the Irish Churches. The 'emotional Celt' of Wales became in the sixth century a more earnest Christian than he had ever been, and the forces which would have revived the older faith were cleverly moulded to introduce into Wales a monasticism precisely like that of Ireland, until Wales also overflowed with 'saints.' Probably the strong and persistent Goidelic element in Wales was largely responsible for the fact.[4]

From very early times the people of Wales had been organised on an elaborate system of *trefs* and *cantrefs*, their lands on an equally thorough system of *maenwrs*. As these have no discoverable relation to anything Roman, and as we have no knowledge of any later period of history wherein one powerful central monarchy might be conceived to have introduced them, one is obliged to assume that these were survivals from an earlier time. *Tref* and *cantref*, being founded originally upon the fluid fact of population—not until the thirteenth century did the population of Wales even begin to assume a stable condition—have disappeared; the *maenwr*, bound up with the unshifting soil, remains to some extent a fact to this day.

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[1] Down to the fourteenth century Wales remained entirely a pastoral country, in which roads would be of little use, and would therefore tend to disappear much more rapidly than in Saxon England with its settled, if rude, village life. Leland, *Itin*. v, 54: 'There is no place yn al these commotes where the people dwell *vicatim*, but al *sparsim*.'

[2] 'There is no mention of British Druids after the conquest of Mona until (Nennius, § 40) Vortigern, excommunicated by Germanus, invites to his help druids, who probably came from North Britain.' E. C. Quiggin in *Encycl. Brit. s.v.* DRUIDS.

[3] 'Rome's parting gift of a new religion was the greatest of all she bestowed' on Wales. Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, i, 89.

[4] Girald. Cambr. *Description of Wales*, i, 18: 'They show a greater respect than other nations to churches and persons belonging to the Church, to the relics of saints, bells, holy books, and the Cross. . . Nowhere will you find hermits and anchorites more ascetic and more spiritual.' So even in the devout twelfth century the devoutness of the Welsh was remarkable.

On the withdrawal of the Romans, Wales broke up into a number of petty kingdoms, each at war with all the rest. Of these the four greater were Gwynedd, Powys, Gwent and Dyfed[1]; while the two lesser kingdoms of Ceredigion (Cardigan), and Morganwg (Glamorgan), though occasionally independent, were mostly subject to one or other of their stronger neighbours. These possibly represent in some sort rival entities of the pre-Roman time, but the fact is not at present capable of proof. All came in time to recognise an overlord or *Gwledig*, whose claim to that title, as with the Saxon Bretwalda, was his momentary power; and upon occasion all might voluntarily revert to the old Celtic custom of appointing one person as the supreme authority for dealing with an emergency.[2] But of one organised nation under a strong hereditary sovereign there is no trace until the time of Howel Dda (tenth century), nor should we expect it. To the four greater kingdoms corresponded the four early sees of Llandaff,[3] Llanelwy (St. Asaph),[4] Bangor, and St. David's.

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[1] In a very rough sense these correspond to north-west (Gwynedd), north-east (Powys), south-east (Gwent), and south-west (Dyfed) Wales. Dyfed and Gwent fought to possess Morganwg (Glamorganshire); Powys, Gwynedd, and Dyfed, to possess Ceredigion (Cardiganshire). In the twelfth century Gwent had disappeared, and Powys had extended over most of mid-Wales; Girald. Cambr. (*Description of Wales*, i, 4) names as the three royal *curiae* of Wales Pengwern for Powys, Aberffraw for North Wales, and Dynefor for South Wales.

[2] cf. Girald. Cambr. *Description of Wales*, i, 2. The *Triads* (17 and 34) confirm this, asserting that Caswallon son of Lludd, Caradoc son of Bran, and Owain son of Maxen Wledig, were the 'three conventional monarchs' of the island of Britain. 'They were called the "three conventional monarchs" because they were so privileged in a convention of the country and neighbouring country, within all the limits of the nation of the Cymry, and a convention was held in every dominion and commot and hundred of the Island of Britain and its adjacent islands' (*Tr.* 34). *Triad* 17 calls them the 'three jury monarchs,' because their powers came to them 'through the juratory election of the country and nation, when they were not elders.'

[3] All Welsh tradition declares that Llandaff was the site of the first 'church of God' in Wales.

[4] Writing in the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis still speaks of it as 'the poor little cathedral of Llan-Elwy or St. Asaph . . .

Every one of these kingdoms must have had its own royal centre, its recognised places of assembly, and its own royal cemeteries, but there are reasons enough why we cannot to-day recover them.[1] The suspension of kings and kingdoms during nearly four hundred years of Roman rule would inevitably break most of the threads of continuity; the gradual spread of Christianity, and thereafter the masterful intrusion of Cunedda with his Brythonic Christian followers, would make impossible the resuscitation of the old order. It had been otherwise in Ireland, where the Roman had never interfered, and Christianity, which found the old order in full activity, merely adopted it so far as might be. The Irish never had excuse to forget the ways or the graves of their forefathers.

In the *Mabinogion* we read frequently of the '*gorsedd* in Arberth.' This place, now Narberth, was a royal seat of the kings of Dyfed. Close thereby, in the extreme west of Carmarthenshire, in the parishes of Llanglydwen, Llandyssilio East, and Cilymaenllwyd—'the burial-place at the Hoar Stone'—is a notable group of monuments, menhirs, dolmens, cairns, barrows, and circles,[2] which may represent a royal cemetery of that kingdom. The presence close by of the ancient monastic house of Whitland (Ty-Gwyn), reputed the foundation of Paul Hên in the fifth century,[3] to some extent confirms this suggestion. In south Glamorganshire again Welsh tradition locates at Llanilltyd (Llantwit Major) one of the 'Three Perpetual Choirs' of Britain, and the only one of the three which belongs to Wales; and the presence of a multitude of antiquities—dolmens and barrows and earthworks of all kinds—bears out the implied importance of the place, as also do the indisputable facts that in this part of Wales were set both the still more famous monastery of St. Illtyd at Llancarfan, and the chief of Welsh cathedrals at Llandaff. We owe to the remoteness of these coastal areas of South

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to which Powys is subject' (*Description of Wales*, i, 4). Architecture, never a strong point with the Celt, has made even less mark in Wales than it did in Ireland (see above, ch. xviii). The founder of Llanelwy was Kentigern (sixth century).

[1] Amongst such may have been the cemeteries at Cors y Gedol (circles, cairns, cromlechs and menhirs), that near Harlech, that of Cop'a'r leni near Prestatyn, and the Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy. Cynddelw is said to call the church of Meifod a 'cemetery of princes.'

[2] *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, *ad. loc.*

[3] This is the usual view. Some modern authorities try to prove that it was at St. David's.

Wales, and to the consequent persistence of a large Goidelic element, the fact that it is still possible to recognise these indications of an older order of things. In central and northern Wales the population has suffered greater changes, and change of population means the destruction of that local folk-memory which in archaeology is frequently the major part of the evidence.

The '*gorsedd* in Arberth' is described as a lofty mound, and there is abundant evidence that amongst the Welsh it was the custom to hold meetings, judicial meetings in particular, at such mounds. Probably every *cantref* and every *cymmod*, if not also every *tref* and every *maenwr*, had its own such mound.[1] The word *gorsedd* came indeed in the *Laws* to signify a court of law,[2] and it was customary, in cases of disputes about land, to meet on the land which was the subject of the law-suit,[3] a special mound being thrown up on the spot for the purpose. In place-names the word seems usually to denote a mound, whether natural or artificial, 'possibly because it was a royal habit to hold sessions on elevations of the kind.'[4] It was always circular; it was in fact a *cruc*, and to this day all over Wales any circular mound may be so called. In old Welsh the word *breyr* signified one who owned free land, 'a baron, he that presided in the court of a barony (which was held in the open air) on an eminence or *bre*[5]; in fact *breyr* meant a mount-man, that is, a man of the court, because the court was held on a hill or rising ground.'[6]

The original British Church was extremely poor. There would be no change for the better upon the departure of the Romans, but rather the contrary, for in the breakdown of civil authority the Church stood to lose what little property it had. When therefore the great Cunedda,[1] himself possibly half a Roman and certainly a Brython, became Gwledig, with an authority reaching from the Clyde to the Severn Sea, and openly took Christianity under his protection, it was a stroke of high policy which won for him the firm adhesion of all the Christians of Wales. Cunedda is mentioned in the *Triads*[2] as 'the first in the island of Britain that gave lands and privileges to God and his saints,' and he ranks with Brychan and Caw as one of the three chief of those who founded families of 'saints.' In ancient Ireland all or any Christian was termed a saint, and much the same would seem to have been the case in Wales; so that when we are told, for example, that Brychan was the father of some fifty saints, it means merely that he succeeded in setting up in the world this number of sons and daughters, all professed Christians. As it is usually expressed, this entailed the formation of so many new 'religious' tribes side by side with those pre-existing, each with its own local centre and its own *regulus*. This is only another way of saying that it meant the creation of so many new communities, each with its own oecist. The matter presented no difficulty amongst a people who for the most part still lived a tribal life in a land where there was indefinite room for it.[3] Christianity in fact availed itself of this feature of Welsh society to effect a peaceful penetration, and under the veil of a legal fiction gradually to substitute the village community for the tribe.[4]

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[1] *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 745, mentions for example a mound in the parish of Talley, known as Twrla, 'the mound of laws,' with the remark that the name 'points to the structure as a seat of commote jurisdiction.' At its base is a very large menhir. Local tradition declares that Llywarch Hên (vi cent.) used to hold his court on the mound called Castell Llywarch near the church of Llanfor (Llanfawr), Bala. Beside this mound stood the stone circle called Pabell (*Arch. Cambr.* 1919, p. 568).

[2] See for example *Laws*, Cod. Ven. II, ii, 51; Cod. Dim. II, viii, 15, etc.

[3] Lloyd, *Hist.* of *Wales*, i, 302.

[4] ibid.

[5] Owen Pughe, *Welsh-Eng. Dict.* (1891).

[6] Hubert Lewis, *Ancient Laws of Wales* (1889). *Breyr* is therefore, in formation (*bre-gwyr*) as in meaning, precisely analogous to the Saxon terms *ciric-man* and *gemot-man*. See further Gomme, *Primitive Folk-moots*, pp. 98-102.

The new settlement was in Wales called a *llan*, and the founder of it was just as much a *regulus* as was the head of any other tribe; but being also a Christian he was therefore a 'saint,' and the *llan* and its belongings were looked upon as belonging to 'God and his saints' in the same way as other tribes belonged to whatever pagan divinity they most affected. Each settlement was the *llan* of its founder, and in hundreds of cases the modern village still preserves his name. There are more than 500 *llan*-names of parishes in Wales to-day, and while some of these have been fathered upon other eponyms—Our Lady, or St. Michael, or some other canonical saint—far the greater number still commemorate those very worldly 'saints' who first founded them, carving for themselves out of the wilderness new holdings and new homesteads. Here and there were to be found other *llans* owing their origin to some hermit or other devotee who here sought a retreat from the world, one whose life and purpose more closely corresponded to saintliness as we understand it. Of such were SS. Cadoc and Illtyd, Beuno and Teilo and Dewi Sant (St. David). But as a general rule the Welsh 'saint' was no saint at all, and only very superficially a Christian.

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[1] He is said to have flourished about 330-370, but this is possibly half a century too early. Tradition says he was a North Briton, so that he may have learnt his Christianity in Strathclyde among the Southern Picts, and from the same source as did Patrick. The Picts, as has been seen above, were Brythons.

[2] *Triad*, xviii.

[3] cf. *Vita S. Gundleii* (in Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853; hereafter referred to as *C.B.S.*), ch. 4, of the angelic vision which revealed to the saint the destined site for his *llan*: 'The land which thou shalt possess, though now not cultivated, shall be tilled by oxen and *shall be called thy domain*.'

[4] Seebohm, *Village Community*, pp. 205, 225; Girald. Cambr. *Description of Wales*, i, 7, 8, etc. Peculiar emphasis is laid, in their several *Lives*, upon the activities of the Welsh saints as agriculturists. They act upon the precept *Laborare est orare*. In the north of Scotland it is a local saying that all the best land is to be found where St. Columba and his disciples made their settlements.

The word *llan*, 'a clearing, level space,'[1] originally contained no suggestion of any church, or indeed of any building whatever. It denoted merely the area within which the founder had decided to make his home, and it would be demarcated by the customary means of fosse and vallum, and consecrated by a burial.[2] There is no doubt at all that the *llan* was originally always circular. To this day the occasional squatters upon the unenclosed hill-sides of Wales frequently surround their clearing with a circular fence[1]; and in Wales, as in Ireland, this was the immemorial fashion of a homestead. It was also the immemorial and invariable fashion of a barrow, and, as has been remarked, the *llan* was a burial-ground before it was a settlement. The Cornish Polwhele a century ago wrote: 'We use *lhan* (*sic*) for a church probably because the Druids before Christianity sacrificed and buried their dead in a circle or enclosure of stones.'[2] The logic is confused, but the passage proves that to its author's mind a *llan* was, even in Cornwall, of necessity circular.

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[1] The derivation is said to be from Lat. *planum*, like Span. *llano*, 'a level field'; cf. *llawn* from *plenus*. In the Latin *Lives of the Saints*, *planus*, *complanatus*, *planities*, are repeatedly used of such religious settlements; e.g. when St. Cadoc has selected his site at *Nantcarfan*, his first care is *in planum redigere* (*Vita S. Cadoci*, 5). The older form *plan* is preserved in such Breton names as Plancoet (= Llangoed), 'clearing in the wood,' and in the Cornish name for the 'rounds,' *plane an gwariou*. There is a village of Planguary near Redruth. The town of Carmichael, Lanarkshire, was Planmichael in the twelfth century (Mackinlay, p. 62). Commonly it appears in Cornish and Breton as Lan- (prefix). In Scotland generally it is rare, and in Ireland it is rarer still. It occurs as a prefix once only in Manx (A. W. Moore, *Surnames and Place-names of I. of Man*, p. 155).

[2] The term 'was applied originally to a burial-ground, and subsequently came to be used of the building erected on that site' (Dafen Jones, *Early Cymry and their Church*, p. 100). It does not appear ever to have denoted a building save by implication only, just as the word 'farm' connotes a farm-house. That it meant a burial-ground before it implied any structural church is archaeologically true, but whether it was ever used of a burial-ground before Christianity is unknown. In his account of St. Cadoc's making his first *llan* at Nantcarfan (*Vita S. Cadoci*, 5) the scribe remarks that the Saint was fulfilling the mandate, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight'; and it is quite possible that the tendency to restrict the word to Christian settlements only arose from the scriptural text and had direct reference thereto. The Latin *planum* was sometimes used in the sense of 'cemetery'; see Ducange.

Within its *clawdd*—fosse and vallum—gathered the saint and his disciples, and there they built the huts which were also originally their several oratories. The spot was naturally known as the *llan* of the founder, whoever he might be. In course of time it might come to possess a church, and the church might become the important feature of the settlement, which itself might develop into a village and ultimately into a parish. The fact that so many *llans* are modern villages with churches has given rise to the popular belief that *llan* itself means 'church.' It does not. The Welsh word for a church is *eglwys* (*ecclesia*), and there is no other.[3] In its original sense *llan* is still the suffix in many words in common use,[4] as occasionally also in place-names; and there are numberless *llan*-names in Wales where no church is to be found and for that matter no village.[5]

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[1] The same thing may be seen as far east as the slopes of the Clee hills, Shropshire (1917).

[2] *Hist. Cornwall* (1816), i, 133.

[3] 'The fact is that the church was only a portion of the *llan* or monastery; the other buildings have long since disappeared, but the church still remains and retains the old appellation of the entire establishment'; Lingard, *Hist. A.-S. Church* (1845), ii, 382. In the language of South Wales the question is 'Are you going to the *llan*?' In the speech of North Wales it is 'Are you going to the *eglwys*?' In Wales, as in Ireland the Saxon word 'church' is intrusive, and is found mostly in the south, where foreign influence has been strongest; e.g. Newchurch (a church and parish 3 miles north of Carmarthen, whereof the name belies its very great antiquity), and Frowlincherche (i.e. Frauleinkerke, 'Church of the Virgin,' an obviously Flemish name), parish of Llawhaden, Pemb.

In the parish of Carew, 5 m. ENE. from Pembroke, occurs the name of Crickchurch, which is a modern error for Critchurch (i.e. Christchurch), as appears from the churchwardens' account of the seventeenth century. There was a burial-place thereby (information of Rev. W. G. Spurrell).

[4] *Corlan*, 'sheep-fold'; *ydlan*, 'corn-yard'; *corffian*, 'graveyard'; Rhuddlan. Not seldom a modern *llan* is due to confusion with an original *glan*, 'bank (of a river),' e.g. Llandaff ('Taff-bank'), Llangammarch, Llanelwy, etc., or to confusion with *nant*, 'a valley' (e.g. Llancarfan and Lanteglos), or *llwyn* 'a grove.'

[5] e.g. Llanmilo in Pendine, Carm. Milo was a Norman warrior, and *llan* here means simply 'settlement,' 'place of

Many of these were doubtless monastic settlements which died out. Those which did not die out might owe that good fortune to a variety of causes, and in some cases it was due to the real saintliness of the founder. He became a force in his own day, gathered about him a school of disciples, and dying left his body to be buried within his *llan*, to be a source of strength and revenue to the whole settlement. Some of these grew up to be the Welsh equivalents of the great English monasteries of pre-Reformation times, owning vast property and revenues.

These Welsh monastic foundations would be in every respect like those of Ireland, but possibly smaller and poorer. In Ireland Christianity stepped straight into the heritage vacated by Druidism, whereas in Wales such heritage had been unclaimed and uncared for ever since Rome had broken Druidism; and Christianity suffered accordingly. This is one reason why Wales has no Inismurray, no Clonmacnois. Another reason is that Celtic Christianity in Wales earlier underwent alteration from intrusive Latinism than was the case in Ireland. But had neither of these reasons been active, Wales would still have been second of the two, because of the smallness and poverty of the country. Llantwit and Bangor Iscoed[1] excepted, it is not pretended that any early Welsh monastery rivalled those of Ireland. Nevertheless Christianity did the same work in the one country as in the other, and there is no question that the *llans* were the force which weaned the Welsh from their pastoral and tribal[2] life, and brought them unwillingly to dwell in villages. The *Lives* make much of the part played by the founders in encouraging agriculture. It was they who turned the people from the nomad life of shepherds and hunters and bandits to that of settled agricultural communities. The Welsh saints themselves looked always to Ireland for help material, intellectual and spiritual. It was not solely because Goidel naturally

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residence,' with no implication either of a church or of saintship. The modern Llanmilo is merely a large country house. The older L'anmilo is a homestead a mile away inland; and in the valley leading from the one to the other stands the dismantled castle of Milo (known as Castle Lloyd, and commonly mistaken for a British fort), which gives its name to the farm.

[1] Destroyed by Aethelfrith of Northumbria in the year 607, it never recovered. Bede (*H.E.* ii, 2, § 94) endorses the story that it had mustered 2,100 inmates.

[2] Girald. Cambr. *Description of Wales*, i, 17.

sought unto Goidel: on the other side Saxon paganism largely cut off Wales from the world beyond.

The early contact of Wales with Ireland, though difficult to determine with exactitude, is none the less a certainty. Welsh tradition is full of it from north to south, but the visible evidence is to be found chiefly in Dyfed, exactly where one would look for it; for the coasts and rivers of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire offer excellent harbourage for ships, whereas little of the kind is to be found on other parts of the Welsh coast. In the Roman era the havens were probably even more numerous, for the now harbourless coast between Pendine and Laugharne seems to have had its own. To Dyfed tradition brings the Deisi,[1] an Irish tribe expelled (third century) by Cormac MacAirt from Meath, from whom was descended a long line of kings of Dyfed, amongst them Vortipor, himself in turn ancestor of Elen, the wife of Howel the Good (tenth century). Here tradition locates the Gwyddelod Ffichti, 'painted Picts,' i.e. Scoti, who long resisted the southward extension of Cunedda's power[2]; here are to be found the greater number of the ogam-stones of Wales; here are situated the greater number of those Welsh place-names compounded with *cil* (Irish *kil*)[3]; and here, perhaps alone in Great Britain, is a wayside altar with a pillar-stone bearing the wheeled cross, and the round pebbles—a complete replica of an Irish cursing-altar.[4] Even some of the churches of the district have vaults formed of untooled voussoirs spalled with smaller stones and rudely grouted with cement[1], exactly reproducing similar Irish work, of the fourteenth century. The *Lives of the Saints* abound in allusions to the intercourse between the two countries. St. Cadoc's teacher is one Tathan (or Meuthi), *religiosus Hibernensis*, a *presbyter* living a hermit's life with twelve *ministri* at Caerwent.[2] St. Cadoc himself spends three years in Ireland *discendi gratia*, to complete his training, and returns 'with a numerous train of Irish and Welsh clergy,'[3] one of them his famous disciple Finian Macmoil; and he employed as his architect an Irishman named Liugwri, whose ability led to his being murdered by his envious Welsh fellows.[4] The saint habitually wore a gown of Irish frieze.[5] It has been suggested that the Christianity of Ireland was itself borrowed from Wales,[6] for which there is little evidence or likelihood. So far as can be gathered Wales always looked to Ireland as her spiritual teacher, and the Welsh saints shewed scarcely anything of that passion for mission-work abroad which characterised the Irish. In Wales, as Willis Bund has remarked, the key-note of religion is not catholicity, but individualism.

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[1] Their name survives in that of the barony of Decies, co. Waterford. Vyrnwy Morgan (*Philosophy of Welsh History*, p. xx) quotes the assertion that even in Queen Elizabeth's time some parts of the country were so overrun by Irish that only the clergy of the parishes were Welsh. Otherwise the district was markedly the home of ancient survivals, not merely from the Goidelic, but from the Iberian time.

[2] Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* § 14) distinctly says that the Irish held Gower and the adjoining mainland of S. Wales until expelled by Cunedda and his sons. In the *Life of S. Carannog* (*C.B.S.* p. 97), who was grandson of Cunedda and contemporary with St. David, we are told that 'the Scoti were masters of Wales (*Britanniam*) for 30 years,' and that they dethroned his father Ceredig, the eponym of Cardigan (ibid. p. 101). One of St. David's chief opponents is said to have been one Boya, who is called a Scot, a governor and a magician, i.e. he was an Irish Druid (*C.B.S.* p. 124). See also Stokes, *Ireland and the Celt. Ch.* p. 16.

[3] e.g. Kilgetty (Pemb.), Kilgerran (Card.), Cilrhedyn and Cilycwm and Cilymaenllwyd (Carm.). The Irish name of St. David's settlement in Menevia is Cell Muine or Cell Muny (*Latine*, *Civitas Kelmunensis*) and from Rhygyfarch onward all who mention it lay emphasis upon the peculiar holiness of its cemetery. It was 'a place whence few shall go to hell, for every one who shall have been buried in the cemetery of that place in sound faith shall obtain mercy' (Rhygyfarch's *Life of St. David*, 14). In Wales, as elsewhere, *cil* meaning 'burial-place' is almost invariably a prefix. The suffix seen in Llanycil near Bala (Merion.) is another word meaning 'wood.'

[4] It is known as the 'Holy Stones' (Ceryg Sanctaidd). For a description of it, see *Arch. Cambr.* 6 ser. vii (1907), p. 267.

The churchyard of the parish of Eglwys Cymmin[7] in Carmarthenshire has probably enjoyed an unbroken continuity as a Christian *locus consecratus* from the fifth century to the present time. It has enjoyed also an entire immunity from alteration. Here, if anywhere, one should be able to discern some of the original features of the earliest Welsh Christianity, and by good fortune there

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[1] For example Penally, near Tenby, and Eglwys Cymmin. Bishop Gower of St. David's used precisely the same vaulting in some of his secular building in Pembrokeshire in the fourteenth century. These vaults are formed without springs, the walls gradually converging to the roof-line.

[2] *Vita S. Cadoci*, i; *Vita S. Tathei.* The site of St. Tathan's monastery, readily identified from the *Vita*, was 50 yds. outside the east gate of Roman Caerwent, and a stone sarcophagus, found upon the spot in 1910 and believed to contain his remains, has been translated to the parish church of Caerwent. See J. G. Wood, *Saint Tathan* (Newport, 1912).

[3] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 7, 8.

[4] ibid. 17.

[5] ibid. 14.

[6] It was doubtless reinforced by British Christians flying before the advancing Saxons, and they would naturally for the most part cross from the west (i.e. Welsh) coast.

[7] It bears a fourteenth-century dedication in honour of St. Margaret Marlos, due to the patronage of her uncle, the great Sir Guy de Brien, whose beautiful canopied tomb is in Tewkesbury abbey church. She had married Sir Robert Marlos, who held land in the parish. The same dedication is found at Llandawke (2 miles east) and at Pendine (2 miles south), and nowhere else. Guy de Brien himself was lord marcher of Laugharne, and lord of the manor of Eglwys Cymmin. He claimed descent from St. Margaret of Scotland, and died *circa* 1393. The church stands upon the line of a very ancient road which comes from the direction of Laugharne westward by Tafarn Diflas and the Ceryg Sanctaidd to Eglwys Cymmin, and so on to the farm of West Pwll, heading direct for the ancient Gorsedd yn Arberth (Narberth).

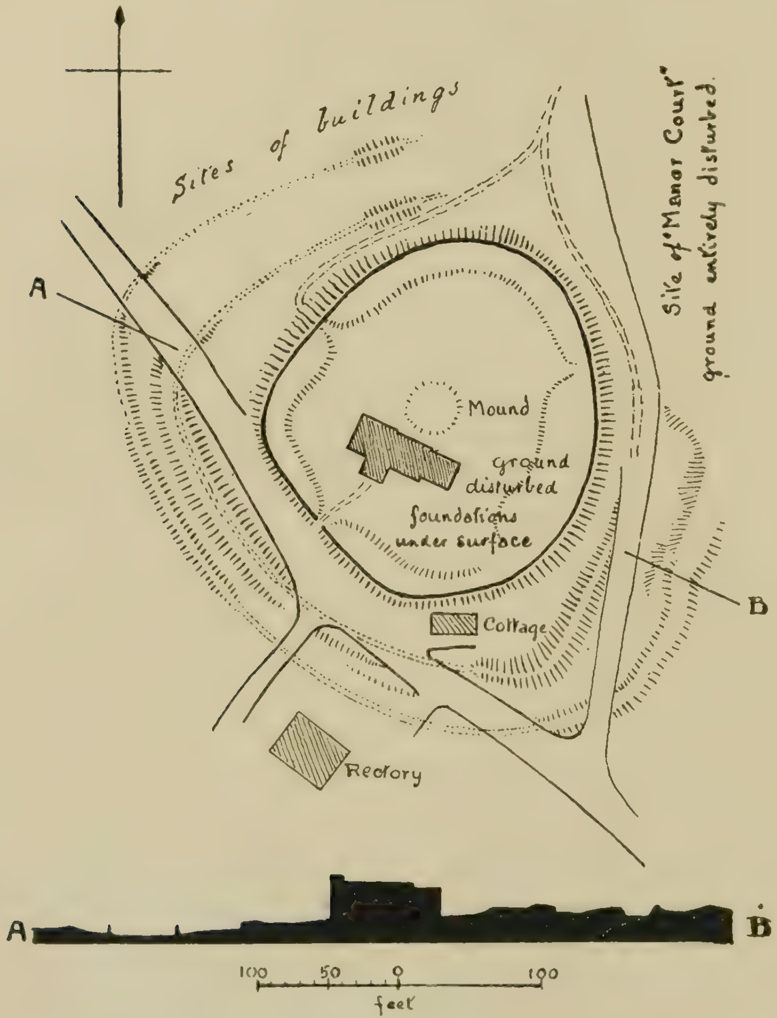
Sites of buildings
Site of "Manor Court" ground entirely disturbed.
A
B
Mound
ground disturbed
foundations under surface
Cottage
Rectory
A
B
100
50
0
100
feet

FIG. 4. CHURCHYARD OF EGLWYS CYMMIN, CARMARTHENSHIRE.

survive a great number of these features. Of the building itself nothing need be said here, save that the central portion of the church, measuring 23 ft. by 15 ft. only, may very well reproduce the form of the earlier wooden oratory, and that, as the plan shows, it occupies an eccentric position near the south side[1] of a circular churchyard having an average diameter of 70 yds. and an area of just one statute acre (English). The orientation of the church is 24° south of true east.[2] The churchyard is surrounded by the greatly-spread remains of an earthen vallum, of which the exterior face has been perpendicularly revetted with stone. Outside this was a deep and wide fosse, and beyond this again a second and a third vallum. These outer defences are in some part intact along the south-west segment of the circle, and to a less degree on the south-east. Along the remainder of the periphery they have been destroyed, but there are indications to prove that they once existed.

The earthwork then was an exact reproduction of the triple work known in Ireland generically as a *rath*,[3] specifically as a *dun*, and by the Brehon Laws described as the proper residence of a king. Now Cynin, the person who has left his name to the parish, was a *regulus* of the fifth century, a grandson[4] of Brychan; and Brychan, as has been said, was probably in part at least Irish, tradition declaring that his mother was an Irish princess. Professor Rhys indeed thought the name of Cynin to be Irish.[1] Cynin was also an abbat, a bishop, and the father of a daughter named Avitoria, whose ogam-stone, inscribed with a bi-lingual legend,[2] is one of the chief treasures of the church, where it was found in 1880. A mile or so to the north is a site still known as Parc yr Eglwys, where tradition declares there stood an earlier church.[3]

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[1] This would seem to have been the usual position, obviously to avoid interfering with the *mynwent* (p. 105). It was so in the case of St. Cuthbert's *mansio* in Farne, and at Barking; and it is so at South Malling in Sussex (ch. xxv).

[2] The point of sunrise on the Patronal Day (10th June) is 23° *north* of east. It is a demonstrable fact that numbers of the most ancient churches in Great Britain, as in other countries, and particularly in Italy, are built with but small reference to the east and west position. If, as is usually held, their dedications are for the most part of late origin (*circa* eleventh century), whereas the churches themselves are of much earlier date, it is clear that the original structures cannot have been purposely orientated to the points of sunrise on the several patronal days. Perhaps, when the later dedication was decided upon, that saint was occasionally chosen with whose sunrise-point the existing fabric most nearly coincided.

[3] 'A great number of the churches in S. Wales are situated in close proximity to pagan *raths*. This is especially the case in Pembrokeshire' (Romilly Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 49). It is not clear on what gronnd the said *raths* are called pagan, and it is more than possible that many of them are early Christian works (*llans*), and some even of Norman construction. Lewis (*Topog. Dict.* 1843) mentions that circular enclosures near Steynton (Stainton) in Pemb. were called *rhâths*; and Spurrell (*Welsh Dict.*) gives *rhath* 'a cleared spot, plain,' which is very much the meaning of *llan*. The word was undoubtedly borrowed from the Irish immigrants (not necessarily at any early date), and the Welsh seem to have used it as carelessly as do the Irish: thus a large *mound* between Haverfordwest and Poyston is called 'The Rath.' The O.M. marks a number of *raths* on or near the north-western coast of the county, and there are traces of others in the parish of Llanspyddid in Brecknockshire (*Arch. Cambs.* 7 ser. iv, p. 208). It is not found in N. Wales. Up and down the country is found the word *garthen* applied to similar circular enclosures; e.g. the Garthen in Llangynyw (Mont.) which is described as of exactly the same area and construction as the *rath* at Eglwys Cymmin and another in Llanerfyl (Mont). where the vallum is single only, but the area is again the same. This must be the Teutonic *garth*, which in the Welsh form *gardd* is in common use for 'garden.' Welsh uses also *garth*, 'fold, enclosure.'

[4] His father is said to have been St. Tudwal, very possibly the Totaval read upon a stone lately found (1920) near the church of the neighbouring parish of Llansadwrnen (*Arch. Cambr.* 6 ser. xx, p. 190).

There seems to be little difficulty or risk in reconstructing history from these evidences. The earthwork was a secular residence of Cynin, possibly at one time his principal residence ; and Cynin was a Christian like his father, and a man of education in his day.[4] His place of worship was the spot now called Parc yr Eglwys. On the death of his daughter, probably within this very *dun*, he decided to consecrate the spot to God, and to make the interment of Avitoria its consecration-burial. As the precinct was already circular, of suitable area, and provided with its own wall and fosse, nothing was needed but to consecrate it. So there she was buried, and in all likelihood her grave was in the centre of the precinct,[5] surrounded by a number of pillar-stones, on one of which her father 'wrote her name' ; and either then or later was built an oratory. Cynin himself removed elsewhither, either to Llangynnin, or to Trawsmawr, four miles north-west of Carmarthen. His own gravestone with its Latin legend was found in the churchyard of Llanfihangel Croesfeini, 'St. Michael Stone-crosses,'[6] in the parish of Newchurch and three miles from Carmarthen.

The first and natural consequence of these proceedings was that the older burial-ground at Parc yr Eglwys was superseded and presently abandoned. The oratory by Avitoria's grave, originally the normal oblong hut of wattle or timber, came through many reparations and alterations to be the parish church ; and presently, re-built in stone, assumed at last the present plan,[1] nearly a thousand years after Avitoria's death. By that time at any rate Avitoria's grave was wholly forgotten, and her monument probably fallen ; and a new patron, Sir Guy de Brien, casting about for a new dedication, decided in favour of his saintly niece, whose nunnery was distant but three miles to the east at Llandawke.[2]

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[1] *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, p. 40.

[2] The legend runs AVITORIA FILIA CUNIGNI—AVITORIGES INIGENA CUNIGNI. Upon his own sepulchral stone at Llanfihangel Croesfeini his name reads CUNEGNI. There seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that Cunignus, Cunegnus, Cynning, Cynin, and Cymmin are one and the same. There is a Llangynnin 10 m. sw. of Carmarthen, and a Caer Gynnin at Tafarn Spite.

[3] For further particulars see Treherne, *Eglwys Cymmin* (Spurrell, Carmarthen, 1918), and a paper by the same in *Arch. Cambr.* July, 1907.

[4] So the *Triads* : 'Brychan gave to his children and grandchildren a liberal education, that they might teach the Christian faith to such of the Cymru as were unbelievers.' Brychan was contemporary with Cunedda.

[5] There is a considerable mound in the centre of the churchyard, though of slight elevation. Beneath this, at a depth of 6 ft., were found (1919) some six skeletons laid side by side with heads to the east, and also part of the skeleton of a lamb. Sir Arthur Keith pronounces the human bones to shew no features inconsistent with a date of the fifth or sixth century.

[6] Now destroyed.

The churchyard of Eglwys Wrw,[3] in north Pembrokeshire, resembles that of Eglwys Cymmin, though, with the exception of the inner vallum, the traces of any earthworks which once surrounded it are difficult to recognise. The present church, which is dedicated to St. Cristiolus,[4] was built in the sixteenth century, but the earlier building stood until queen Elizabeth's time on the north side of the new church and in the centre of the graveyard.

It is recorded[5] that Maelgwn Gwynedd, prince of Powys, surrendered to St. Cybi a royal residence (*caer*), within which the saint at once proceeded to build a church. The date would be the first half of the sixth century.

The two *Lives* of St. Findian, the one Irish,[6] the other Latin, relate how the king of the district gave to God and the saint ‘the fortress wherein kings were wont to dwell,’ on the bank of a mere which Findian miraculously caused to become dry.

There is therefore documentary evidence for the transfer of secular sites to the Church, and their consecration as ‘churches’ ; and the archaeological evidence bears out the other.

We are further told[7] that St. Gwynlliw built a church beside his *caer* (at Newport, Mon.), to which the position of Parc yr Eglwys, a mile or so from Cynin's *dun* at Eglwys Cymmin would seem to provide a parallel.

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[1] This dates only from the end of the fourteenth century, when Guy de Brien added the chancel. There had apparently been an earlier extension westward.

[2] Llandawke is unexplained, but the name Castell Toch in the same parish may embody the same name.

[3] Referred by Baring Gould and Fisher (*Celtic Saints*, iii, 215) to a dubious St. Gwrw.

[4] A saint of the latter part of the fifth century, a nephew of St. Germanus and son of Emyr Llydaw (Llydaw the Armorican).

[5] *C.B.S.* pp. 187, 501.

[6] Translated by Whitley Stokes in *Book of Lismore*. St. Findian (of Clonard) is yet another instance of an Irishman's coming to do mission-work in Wales.

[7] *C.B.S.* p. 449, *note*. Gwynlliw Filwr (St. Gundleus) married a grand-daughter of Brychan and became the father of St. Cadoc.

Such as it is, the evidence of archaeology supports the view that the Welsh monastic settlement was imitated from that of Ireland; from which it would seem to follow that the earlier Christianity of the Roman-Britons was not monastic. Cynin himself was possibly half Irish, and he dwelt in a *dun* constructed according to Irish requirements. Earthworks of this type, small, symmetrical, compact, well built and triple-walled, and placed on relatively low ground, are not common in Wales, where the prevailing types are those of the hill-forts, of little regularity, rough workmanship, and no particular scheme of defence.

The facts further suggest that in Wales the *eglwys* was older than the *llan*, and so it unquestionably was in its original sense of a *place* of Christian meeting. The word did not acquire the sense of a *building* till some centuries afterwards.

Like the early Irish saints, those of Wales made a practice of withdrawing from the world sooner or later, and seeking places of retirement in the wilderness. The Irish *disert* reappears in Wales as *diserth*, and there are to this day three parishes in the Principality deriving their names therefrom; so many indubitable instances, that is, of the hermit's oratory growing up to be a parish church.

What was the manner of procedure in founding a *llan* upon a site as yet unoccupied, we are told, more or less directly, in several of the *Lives* of the Welsh saints.

St. Cadoc,[1] desirous of withdrawing from active missionary life, casts about for a suitable abode in the wilderness. He finds it in a wild valley ringed on all sides by hills, and miraculous assistance provides for him a 'level clearing' (*planum*, i.e. *llan*) amongst the rocks and brushwood. He is advised in an angelic vision how he shall determine the precise spots for his *templum*, *dormitorium*, and *refectorium*, to be dedicated in the name of the Holy Trinity. On the spot first indicated he erects

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[1] He was a grandson of Brychan, and is said to have received part of his education in Ireland.

*monasteriolum insigne, lignorum materie*, ‘a fine little cell of timber.’ The next step is *vastum acervum de terra erigere*, ‘to raise a great mound of earth,’ and *in eodem pulcherrimum cimiterium facere*,’ to lay out an exceeding fair graveyard therein,’ to the end that ‘the bodies of the faithful dead might be thither brought and there buried round the periphery (*circa ambitum*)[1] of the *templum*.’ Leading to this he makes four wide paths ‘down the four hill-slopes surrounding his cell (*cellam*).’ Finally when all this is done, he ‘caused to be thrown up in another spot a circular earthwork on the plan of a town (*tumulum in modum urbis rotundum*[2] *de limo terrae exaggerari*), and so to be reared (*in tumulum erigi*) what the Britons in their speech style Castell Cadoc.’ The traditional scene of the settlement is Llancarfan[3] (Glam.), six miles east of Llantwit Major, subsequently the site of St. Illytd’s vastly greater monastic settlement.

The writer of this *Life* is thought to have been of the twelfth century,[4] that is, of a time when the Normans were firmly planted in many parts of Wales, and along all its marches, and when the Roman type of monasticism was universally established in England. It must be assumed that he had before him manuscripts, whether Latin or Welsh or possibly Irish, of a far earlier date; but that he tampered with his originals after the fashion of his kind is clearly proved by two facts: firstly, he conceives a monastery to be necessarily made up of a church, a dorter, and a refectory; and secondly, he attributes to Cadoc the building of a Norman castle.

The Welsh monasteries of Cadoc’s time, if they resembled their Irish models, were innocent of any such specialisations as dorters, nor had they any 'church' as we understand that term. In Ireland the only essentials were the cemetery, the circular *limes*, and the *clochauns* which served at once as dwellings and as oratories ; and to suggest that Wales was in advance of Ireland at that date in such matters is contrary to all tradition and all evidence. The scribe apparently found in the manuscript before him some typical monkish story of an angelic vision, and how the saint was guided by a wild boar[1] to the spot where he should build his 'monastery.' This brief account did not satisfy the taste of some 700 years later, and of a Latin monk withal. He therefore took upon himself to amplify the story with mention of such amenities as dorter and frater ; but it is to be noticed that he gives of these features no detail whatever, which is in itself good evidence that there was nothing at all about them in the manuscript from which he was 'translating.'

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[1] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 5 and 6. S. O. Addy (*Church and Manor*, p. 124) would emend to *circa aditum templi*, but *ambitum* is the reading of the MS. (*Cotton MSS.* Vespasian A xiv). *Templum* possibly translates *llan* of the Welsh original. At any rate it means ‘precinct’—a correct Latin usage—as it unquestionably does again in *Vita S. Tathei*, where it is pointedly distinguished from the ‘church’ (*oratorium*) within the precinct (*fundavit templum, in quo constituit duodecim canonicos . . . singulis horis constitutis visitantes oratorium*).

[2] *Rotundum* for *circularem*, as in the account of St. Patrick’s *fert* at Clebach (ch. xvii) and *passim*.

[3] Originally Nant Carfan, as *C.B.S.* declares. If *Llan* were original, the form of the name should be Llangarfan. The legend that St. Germanus founded a ‘choir of saints’ at Llancarfan (a transparent attempt to claim for Rome the Christianisation of Wales) seems to have juggled with Welsh phonetics to support its case: *Carfan* (*Garfan*) has been treated as a compound word (it is really the name of the stream) representing an original Carman (Garman), and this has been purposely confused with Garmon (Germanus). See Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 110, and the references there cited.

[4] *C.B.S.* p. 320, note.

The description of Castell Cadoc is yet more certainly an anachronism : it would stand to-day as a very fair description of any one of a score of castle-mounts of admittedly Norman construction.[2] It was the Norman way to build first a castle, and thereafter to provide for spiritual needs by building a church ; or very commonly a castle was built close beside an existing church. There is some reason to believe that there was once just such a castle close beside the monastery at Llancarfan, and, its real origin forgotten, it would naturally become associated with the name of the saint and in the long run regarded as his work—Castell Cadoc. Whether or no this occurred, the twelfth-century scribe was evidently familiar with the normal facts of his own day, when castle and church usually stood side by side. He was troubled by the traditional account that St. Cadoc's settlement became a great teaching school, wherein was assembled a *familia* of 500 souls—clerics, soldiers, artisans, and poor—exclusive

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[1] The intervention of some sort of animal in such cases is a regular part of the machinery in such tales, and in Welsh accounts the animal is frequently a wild boar, as in Irish legend it is frequently the Black Pig.

[2] e.g. the fine examples at Llampeter Velfry and Eglwys Wrw. There is, or was, just such another beside the church of Llanilid, some nine miles from Llancarfan, and there are numbers more scattered over the shires of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke.

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of serfs and casual visitors.[1] As it did not appear to him possible that all these could be accommodated within the bounds of the monastery as described in the text before him, the worthy man felt bound to provide some sort of secular dwelling-place for the lay portion of this crowd, and therefore hit upon the idea of incorporating the *castell* into the tale.

The account, it will be observed, makes no mention of the specific construction of any church. The thing emphasised is the 'cemetery exceeding fair.' This is the primary consideration, the nucleus of the whole settlement; to it lead all the four paths, and to it everything else is subordinated.

Of the plan of the saint's *cimiterium* there is nothing definite said, but there is nothing whatever to suggest that it was in any way different from the normal Scotic and Welsh *locus consecratus.* Every Scotic monastic site was circular, and every Celtic burial-place was also circular. St. Cadoc's site was at once monastic and a burial-place, and for both reasons it must have been circular. Very possibly this is implied in the odd phrase *circa ambitum templi.* When we come to deal with the Welsh *mynwent*, it will transpire why the burials were to be 'round the periphery,' but not promiscuously over the whole area of the *templum.*

The only terms in the narrative which must or may imply any sort of roofed building, are *monasteriolum* and *cella.* The four roads lead over the hills about the *cella*, and the saint builds a *monasteriolum* of wood.

In strict language *monasterium* means 'a place where one person dwells alone,' not (as nowadays) a place where an unlimited number of persons lead a celibate life. *Monasteriolum*[2] should therefore mean 'a little place wherein to dwell alone.' It was a building, for it was made of timbers. It was at once the saint's dwelling-house and his oratory. Celtic practice required no more.

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[1] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 15. In the *Triads* St. Cadoc figures as one of the 'three blessed trainers of British youth.' But when the saint made his *llan* in Nantcarfan he was still a small man on the threshold of his career.

[2] Bede uses it (*H.E.* iv, xiii, § 289) of the small settlement of the Irish missioner Dicul and his five or six brethren at Bosham, Sussex. *Monasterium* was constantly used by ecclesiastical writers as convertible with Latin *ecclesia* (A.-S. *mynstre*). See Ducange, *Glossary*; Bingham, *Christian Antiqs.* viii, i, § 2.

What then did the scribe mean by saying that the four great roads were expressly laid out to lead to the *cella?* Why did he substitute *cella* for *monasteriolum*, unless the *cella* were something different ? There can be very little doubt that the word intended is the Celtic *kil* (*cil*), i.e. the burial-ground. This was the all-important thing. The roads did not lead merely to the saint's little wooden oratory, in which he sought privacy from the world, but along those roads, as the narrative asserts, the dead were to be brought for burial[1]—brought to the *kil.*

Naturally the saint must provide for himself a roof of some sort, and he placed it within the customary *limes.* The *limes* was circular, and the ground so enclosed was the *llan*, *corfflan*, or graveyard, which however did not become consecrated ground until one of the faithful had been buried there. This explains why the *cimiterium* comes first of all in the sequence. There does not occur in the whole detailed account any mention whatever of a ' church,' or of anything answering to a ' church.' The outstanding fact is that, before there could be anything of the sort, it was needful to have a *cimiterium.* It is this, and not a building, which is ' dedicated to the glory of God.' To put it bluntly, the first essential to a *llan* was a barrow.

Under angelic guidance Saint Cadoc presently founded another monastery ' near the mountain Bannawc, reputed the centre of Scotland. . . And upon a day, as he was digging the earth round the monastery he was to build,'[2] he had other miraculous experiences connected with the finding of certain giant bones. The text shows that he was digging the customary circular fosse which was to demarcate the barrow, i.e. the *llan.*

On yet another occasion, we are told, he ' built a church ' (*ecclesiam*) for his disciple Macmoil, and ' wrought a vallum about it.'[3]

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[1] On the Latinisation of *kil* by *cella*, see above, ch. xviii. This confusion cannot have arisen until Latin Christianity, or at any rate the Latin tongue, was established in Ireland, but it was inveterated before the thirteenth century. The author of the *Vita S. Cadoci* may therefore be acquitted of any deliberate intention to mistranslate ; he was himself misled. Both *kil* and *ecclesia*, in Celtic lands, originally meant *coemeterium* and nothing else, and each assumed a new meaning under Latin influence.

[2] *C.B.S.* p. 57, *Cum terram circa construendum monasterium foderat* (? *foderet*). The translator (*op. cit.* p. 350) entirely misses the point of the gerundive. The reading in *Nova Legenda Angliae* (1516) is *dum terram ad construendum monasterium foderet.*

[3] *C.B.S.* p. 88, *munimine vallavit.* The translator has (p. 385) ' built a church *to*

St. Gwynlliw, building for himself a *habitaculum*, 'accordingly (*consequenter*) marked out a cemetery, and in the midst of it built a church (*templum*) of planks and wattle, which he daily visited with incessant prayer.'[1] And again, selecting a spot in a mountainous wilderness, he 'marked out a cemetery to the glory of St. Mary, and there built a church (*templum*), where he lived in prayer and fasting, with no companions but his servitors and his live-stock (*bestias*).'[2]

In the *Life of St. Illtyd* the procedure is so far precisely the same. The saint chooses his own *habitaculum* and Bishop Dubricius marks out for him firstly a *cimiterium* and secondly an *oratorium.*[3] Finally we are told that 'when all these had been demarcated, he founded a church (*ecclesiam*), building a four-square wall of stone above the surrounding fosse.'[4] It is at any rate clear that the *ecclesia* came last of all in the sequence. As the *oratorium* was already provided for, it is not clear why any *ecclesia* is mentioned at all, and this is the only passage in the *Lives* where oratory and church are spoken of as possibly different things. At this period of his career St. Illtyd was but a novice, and whatever may have been the requirements of his *familia* at a later date, he had as yet no need of anything beyond the ordinary. It is probable that the writer of the *Life* has again been misled here by the facts of his own age, or at least that he has attributed to St. Illtyd the erection of some church which arose in far later times upon the site in Hodnant made sacred by St. Illtyd's memory. Dr. Jos. Anderson cites as a specimen of the earliest Christian remains in Scotland

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Macmoillus,' although the text goes on to state that Macmoil was there installed as prior. Rees (*ad loc.*) identifies with Mamhole, anciently Masmoil, a hamlet in the parish of Bedwellty, 5½ m. south of Tredegar (Mon.), where is a church dedicated to St. Sannan.

[1] *C.B.S.* p. 148.

[2] *C.B.S.* p. 150. The right of sanctuary extended to animals as well as to human beings (below, p. 108).

[3] *C.B.S.* p. 164. St. Illtyd's name, Latinised as Iltutus, survives in that of his great monastic foundation of Llantwit Major (otherwise Côr Illtyd, Bangor Illtyd, or Caerworgan), where were said to be gathered 2401 monks, divided into seven 'churches,' 49 'companies,' and 343 'colleges' of seven 'saints' apiece. It ranked (*Triad* 84) as one of the three 'perpetual choirs' of Britain. St. Illtyd was by birth a Breton, the teacher of Gildas, and belongs to an earlier date than St. Cadoc.

[4] '*Fundavit ecclesiam munimine lapideo facto et quadrangulari super ambientem fossam*' (*C.B.S.* p. 164). The translation (ibid. p. 472) is again hopelessly at fault. It reads: 'he erected a church of stone materials and surrounded it with a quadrangular ditch.'

those upon the Brough of Deerness in Orkney, where eighteen rude mortarless cells are grouped within the remains of an earlier stone-revetted vallum around a lime-built church measuring internally 17 ft. 4 ins. by 10 ft. 2 ins. This 'church' is in plan precisely like the early Irish oratories, an oblong chamber with but one (east) window, and one (west) doorway. The cells and the vallum also are exactly like other such monastic remains in Ireland. The 'church,' being lime-built, is clearly a reconstruction of a later date,[1] and it is surrounded by the remains of 'a quadrangular enclosure, which has consisted of a stone wall about 3 ft. thick'; i.e. just such a *munimen lapideum et quadrangulare* as is spoken of in St. Illtyd's case.[2] It would seem then that a quadrangular enclosure is not in itself out of the question, but it cannot be shown that any enclosure of that plan was built in St. Illtyd's time. Conceivably the same thing happened at Hodnant and at the Brough of Deerness. A holy man chose the spot for his *desertum*, and built for himself a cell, presumably of wood and wattle. As time passed the sanctity of the spot increased,[3] but the original cell fell to decay, and presently other devotees, making the spot their home, rebuilt it in more permanent fashion, albeit without greatly altering its plan. This might be centuries later—in the case of the Brough it may have been 500 years later—when men were becoming familiar with the rectangular Roman precinct. And further to protect the restored oratory they built about it a *munimen quadrangulare*.

Amongst all the diversity of detail in these various accounts of the making of a *llan*, one fact is invariable, viz. the thing is first and foremost a place of burial. Further it was apparently as invariably circular. The only interpretation of these facts is that the earliest Welsh Christians, when desiring to make a *locus consecratus*, began with a barrow; and the making of the barrow preceded the building of any oratory. In Wales therefore, as in Ireland, the structural church came last in the evolution, and before any structural church was built the only *ecclesia* (*eglwys*) of Wales was a place where one or more of the faithful were buried, i.e. a Christian barrow.

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[1] It need not be later, however, than the existing cells, some of which may themselves be reconstructions reared upon the foundations of earlier *clochauns*.

[2] See the plan in *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 102. The enclosure measures about 55 ft. by 40 ft. The same writer mentions (p. 171) another example on the Brough of Birsay, also in the Orkneys, where the dimensions are exactly double.

[3] Dr. Anderson (*op. cit.*) emphasises the fact that, though there is no tradition of the particular saint concerned with the Brough, the sanctity of the spot was evidently very great and very abiding.

The Welsh *llan* being to all appearance a copy of the Irish monastic settlement, it cannot have been introduced into Wales much before the year 500, nor does the generality of Welsh tradition claim for it a greater antiquity. Before that date the Christian place of meeting in Wales was not *llan* but *eglwys*, not a monastic settlement but a barrow. The name of the *locus consecratus* at Eglwys Cymmin is consistent with this view, Cynin being supposed to have lived in the fifth century. So is the name of the yet earlier *locus consecratus* at Parc yr Eglwys close by. Eglwys Cymmin was not called Llangynnin, because it never was a *llan*. So also with Eglwys Wrw within its *rath* of Irish type. There are in Wales in all six ancient parishes where *eglwys* is thus used, and always has been used, instead of *llan*.[1] It is not needful to claim for them all an antiquity as great as the fifth century, but on the other hand there is no reason why they should be less old. Certainly Eglwys Cymmin is entitled to rank amongst the very oldest recognisable Christian *loca consecrata* in Wales, and therefore in the United Kingdom. From the sixth century onward it would seem that monasticism gripped Welsh Christianity so firmly that for some centuries almost every new *locus consecratus* was a *llan*, the greater monasteries sending out lesser ones, colonies as it were of the mother-*llan*, until the whole country was covered with them and divided amongst them into so many potential parishes, amongst which survived here and there other *loca consecrata* of non-monastic origin, whether through the special patronage of a great man—as with Cynin at Eglwys Cymmin—or because of the peculiar sanctity of the place—as was the case e.g. at Clynnog.

The documentary evidence suggests that the primitive holy place of Christianity in Wales was normally enclosed within a circular *limes*, and this suggestion is borne out with overwhelming force by the evidence of the existing churchyards. Ignoring those—Eglwys Cymmin and Eglwys Wrw for example—which have been built within pre-existing *raths*, the list of Welsh churchyards which still retain the circular form would fill several pages with forbidding names. In Carmarthenshire alone there are more than a score,[1] not counting those in which there is evidence to show that, whatever their shape to-day, it was originally circular. They are to be found in every part of Wales, in the Brythonic North as freely as in the Goidelic South, and in the great majority of cases they are demonstrably ancient foundations. In Pembrokeshire is the churchyard of Mathry. In Flintshire the church of Llanarmon (yn Yale), of which the name preserves that of him who won the 'Alleluia Victory' in 430, has a circular *corfflan*, as have those of Cilcain and Meliden. That of Efenechtyd in Denbighshire has been mentioned before, and it is significant that the name signifies 'the monastery.' Elias Owen writing of the Vale of Clwyd, remarks 'the churchyards of this district are commonly circular.'[2] In Carnarvonshire are those of Carnguwch and Llanaelhaiarn; in Cardiganshire Llanwnws, Llangeitho, Bangor-Teifi, and Ciliau Aeron; in Montgomeryshire Llangadfan (enlarged in 1910), Caereinion, Llanerfyl, Llanmerewig; in Merionethshire Llandecwyn, Llanddwywe-is-y-Graig, Llandrillo and Pennal; in Breconshire those of Llangynog, Devynock, and Llanddewi 'r Cwm; in Radnorshire Diserth, St. Harmon, and Llanyre; in Monmouthshire that of Bassaleg; in Glamorganshire that of Penrice in Gower. These are but isolated examples amongst many circular garths. They are in fact ubiquitous and, if relatively fewer in some parts than in others, this is to be explained by greater Norman or English interference in those parts. To build or rebuild churches was a

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[1] *Eglwys* has disappeared from a few other place-names, e.g. Gumfreston (Pemb.), which was anciently Ecclies Gunniau.

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[1] According to Mr. E. Lauder of H.M. Board of Agriculture there are traces of circularity in 72 cases out of 82. In 21 of the 72 cases the yards are actually circular to-day, while 13 others are partially so; and these are 47 per cent. of the whole. Amongst them are Cilymaenllwyd, Cilrhedyn West, Llandilo Fawr, Llanpumpsaint (Tithe map, 1839), Llansawel, Llanddeusant, Llanybyther, Myddfai, Newchurch (Tithe map, 1846; a road now carried across it), Llandyssilio, Llangadock, Llangan, Llangathen, Llangeler, Llangynog and Llandawke.

[2] *Stone Crosses of the Vale of Clwyd.* So Hughes and North, *Old Churches of Snowdonia* (1924), p. xxv: 'Where the ancient boundaries of churchyards can be traced, they are generally found to enclose a more or less circular space.'

Norman's hobby, and in indulging it he doubtless spoilt the shape of many an old churchyard.

The churchyard of Pentreath in Anglesey, five miles from Beaumaris, has been enlarged, but a considerable portion of it is still circular, and along the side adjoining the new annexe the original *limes* is apparent in a bold sweeping scarp, and the surface of the older circular garth is considerably higher than the adjoining land. At Llangynog (Carm.) the churchyard, still circular, is surrounded by a pronounced vallum and an exterior fosse, in which latter are found fragments of burnt stone, ashes, and chips of flint, a 'foreign' stone in this district. At St. Harmon,[1] Radnorshire, the circular yard is girt by a continuous rampart rising in places 4 ft. above the interior surface and as much as 10 ft. above the ground outside. It is not surprising that such features should have been taken for the traces of ancient 'camps.' Thus of Llanwinio (Carm.) one reads[2] that 'the churchyard, which is a rough pentagon, suggests the site of an early camp, and the suggestion is strengthened by the proximity of an old cottage named Dan y Gaer ("below the camp").' An early bilingual ogam-stone was found here, with the symbol of the wheeled cross. Again at Meidrim: the church (St. David's) 'stands in what has almost certainly been a prehistoric earthwork. To the west is a remnant of the bank that surrounded the position, and there are slight traces of the exterior ditch.'[3] So too with Llanmerewig (Mont.): 'the churchyard is nearly circular and has every appearance of having been a small prehistoric hill-top enclosure. It is surrounded by an earthen bank, outside which a modern stone wall has been built.'[4] Speaking of the church of Llanbedr in Anglesey, R. Fenton wrote (1810) that 'the present cemetery seems to be formed out of an old *caer*.'[5] The same inference has been drawn of scores of churches which stand within *raths* in Ireland, and of yet others in Scotland and in England. 'Camps' in a sense these earthworks doubtless were, but not in the sense present to the minds of those who have called them so; for those who built them and dwelt within them were neither military men nor prehistoric, but the pioneers of monastic Christianity at any date between the fifth and eighth centuries, occasionally perhaps much later. There seems evidence enough to date the earliest of them as not earlier than the end of the fifth century, but when the fashion of building them ceased it would be hard to say; possibly not until Celtic monasteries ceased to be founded, and the Latin *regula* prevailed all over Wales.[1]

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[1] The church was described so late as 1908 as 'a small and simple structure placed *on a little eminence* in a dreary plain surrounded by mountains.'

[2] *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 589.

[3] ibid. no. 624.

[4] *Inventory Montgomeryshire*, no. 621.

[5] *Tours in Wales* (*Cambr. Arch. Assoc.* 1917, p. 265).

Scattered up and down the country are to be found also in places where to-day is neither trace of there ever having stood a church, nor other hint of the fact than the name, fields bearing such names as Parc yr Eglwys,[2] 'church field,' or Parc y Cloddfa, 'graveyard field.' One such has been mentioned already (p. 90), a mile or so from the present church of Eglwys Cymmin; another lies two miles west of the church of Marros (Carm.). In the latter case there are still visible considerable portions of a series of three broad ramparts with corresponding fosses enclosing a circular area, wherein excavation brought to light the remains of a dwelling, apparently of wood, with a rude hearth or pitched floor, and the shards and other oddments which bespeak it a habitation. This was probably the site of the original 'church,' i.e. the cell of the holy man, at once his dwelling and his oratory. In the other case destruction has gone too far to allow any exact determination of the plan. To both sites attaches the tradition that 'the old church stood there.' Another Carmarthenshire example is in the parish of Trelech a'r Bettws, where a field called Parc yr Eglwys still retains 'the faint traces of an oval enclosure'[3]; and there is a fourth in the parish of Llangynnin.[4] In not a few cases the field itself is circular or oval, as for example Cloddfa[5] Ffynnon, a now secularised oval field in the parish of Eglwys Bach,[1] five miles south-east of Conway, and a mile or so north of the present parish church. There being no reason whatever to doubt that these names are ancient, the cases go to prove that wherever there was an *eglwys*, whether or no there was also a monastic settlement, the plan of the precinct was still circular.

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[1] There is a recorded case of an Irish missioner's building a *rath* upon the Scottish coast as late as the thirteenth century.

[2] Similarly Kirk Park in Scotland. 'In Mordington parish, Berwickshire, is a field known as Kirk Park, where the parish church once stood' (Mackinlay, *Pre-Reformation Church*, p. 126).

[3] *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 761.

[4] ibid. no. 495.

[5] Or Claddfa. According to Silvan Evans *Cloddfa* = 'quarry,' *Claddfa* = graveyard: cf. the A.-S. *graef* = grave, *graefel* = quarry. Both the Welsh words are connected with *clawdd*, 'dyke' (cf. *claustrum*), the reference being to the 'dyke' surrounding the burial-place.

About half a mile north of the present church (St. Matthew) of Llanelwedd, Radnorshire, is a small piece of ground known as Cae Henllan ('Old Church Field), whence the local tradition declares were brought the stones of an older church to help in building the new one. The ground in question crowns an inconsiderable knoll, and is circular in plan, surrounded by an inner fosse and an exterior vallum. The vallum, 12 feet in width, rises some 3 feet above the natural surface of the soil without, and the garth again rises with the gentle swell of a depressed barrow to a height of some 7–8 ft. above the bottom of the shallow fosse. From fosse to fosse the diameter is 45 paces. The entrance seems to have been at the north-east. In effect the whole is an excellent example of the ring-barrow, and as such it would probably have been recognised but for the name attaching to it. Some tentative excavations (1910) which revealed 'the foundations of a rough wall and also some pitching,'[2] appear to confirm the local belief that it was actually the site of the original 'church' of the parish.

If in Wales there has as yet been recognised nothing equivalent to those monastic *cashels* and *raths* which are so abundant in Ireland,[3] it is safe to say that it is only for the lack of seeking. The reviving interest in Welsh antiquities will probably soon detect some of the number. There is no reason to think that the outward forms of Christianity in Wales were in any essential point different from those of Ireland. There is known a considerable number of Welsh ring-works, larger or smaller, enclosing the ruins of huts, and it is quite possible that some of these represent deserted monastic *llans.*[1] Such things must have existed in Wales, and a possible example is to be seen in the parish of Llangybi, Carnarvon,[2] three miles from the sea-coast of Tremadoc Bay.

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[1] i.e. Bach ap Cadfan, a well-known saint. The present church, however, is dedicated to St. Martin, and its graveyard is rectangular.

[2] *Inventory Radnorshire*, no. 335. Not 50 yds. away to the east, on another slight knoll, is another unmistakable barrow of the 'bowl' type, apparently originally revetted with stone; and about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile to the south-east is the diminutive disc-barrow locally known as the 'Cockpit.'

[3] 'No vestige appears to remain of any early Welsh monastery' (Prof. Tyrrell Green, *Trans. Cymmrodorion Soc.* 1916-1917, p. 67).

The church of the village stands within a garth still in part circular, and there is proof that until recent years it was wholly so. The church is said to have possessed originally only an eastern light and a door at the west end ; in other words to have been of that most primitive plan common to Ireland and to Wales. Somewhat to the north is a spring known as Ffynnon Cybi, 'Cybi's well' and on the summit of the hill (700 ft.) beyond the spring is a ruined ringwork of stone called Carn Pentirch. Within it is a vast litter of loose stone in which may be seen a number of circular depressions of small size, strongly suggestive of the ruins of bee-hive huts. One is greatly tempted to see here the ruins of a considerable monastic settlement of the familiar Irish plan. Welsh tradition declares that the bones of the saint—he was of sufficient importance to find a place in the *Lives*—were carried off (961) to Ireland by the pirate sons of Alboic, king of that country ; and it is usually held that the resting-place of his relics had been at Holyhead, where also was Maelgwn's *caer*, which likewise became a *llan* of Cybi.[3]

The *Laws* of Howel Dda[4] give elaborate details of the right of sanctuary (*nawd*, *noddfa*), the building of a church, and the demarcation of a graveyard (*corfflan*). Amongst these recurs constantly mention of something termed the *mynwent.*[1] It is spoken of as if, like the church itself, it was something too familiar to need description, and the context shews that, again like the church, it was something included within the graveyard. The *Laws* speak of it as a *locus consecratus* of peculiar sanctity: the penalty for brawling therein is specially determined, as it is for brawling in the church itself; those entering it must leave their weapons at the gate of it; and it is one of the places wherein a man may walk about in sanctuary. It was further a recognised place for the holding of courts of law. Finally it was a place of burial for persons of special note. All the authorities are agreed that the name of it represents the Latin word *monumentum.*

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[1] They have probably been overlooked simply because of the mistaken belief that such *llans* should shew obvious traces of structural 'churches,' which in reality belong to a later age. In the parish of Llandyssilio-Gogo (Card.) is a farm called *Ciliau* (pl. of *cil* = 'cells'), and near it a circular enclosure 200 ft. in diameter, surrounded by a rampart of loose stones and divided into three compartments (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*). Tyssilio, son of Cadell Deyrnllwg, belonged to the sixth century. In the parish of Llanddeiniolen (Carn.) certain enclosures used to be called *Corlanau Gwyr Môn* ('Folds of the Men of Mona'). *Corlan* in North Welsh and Cornish means a 'churchyard.'

[2] i.e. The *llan* of Cybi, the saint to whom Maelgwn Gwynneth made over a royal *caer* (p. 91). He belonged to the house of Cystennin Gorneu (the 'Cornishman'), and was therefore a kinsman of Geraint, prince of Dumnonia (Devon and Cornwall). There is another Llangybi in Cardiganshire.

[3] Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxxiii (1923), pp. 98-101, pronounces the *caer* to be late Roman work, possibly a small coastguard station. St. Cybi's church, which occupies a large part of the small area, is a mediaeval structure. Holyhead is now (1925) wishful to resume its older name of Caergybi.

[4] Codified in the earlier half of the tenth century. Different authorities give various dates between 926 and 943.

Now in the earliest explicit directions for the demarcation of a churchyard (*corfflan*) it is laid down that the area thereof shall be thus determined:—

> 'A legal *erw*, with its end to the *mynwent*, shall be its breadth, and this encircling the *mynwent* shall be its compass.'[2]

The term *erw* is elsewhere as a rule used of superficial measure only,[3] and that a measure of very variable extent.[4] But four facts are clear: (1) the *corfflan* was something different from the *mynwent*; (2) the *corfflan* was conceived of as necessarily circular; (3) the *mynwent* was the central feature of the *corfflan*; and (4) the disposition of *corfflan* and *mynwent* had nothing to do with the presence or position of any structural church.

According to the accepted interpretation the *mynwent* was a court next to the church, the *corfflan* was 'a more outward yard encompassing the other on every side, in which they buried their dead.'[5] There is no existing fact in Welsh ecclesiology to bear out this view, nor can those who hold it suggest any reason for the existence of the *mynwent* except that it was intended as a sanitary precaution, i.e. to keep the graves of the dead at a certain distance from the 'church.' All the evidence, however, shews that Christianity did not in early times take any such precaution, but rather the contrary; and if the *mynwent* was a place where the dead were not to be buried, the reason for its peculiar name (*monumentum*) is not apparent. That name, if it means anything, signifies that *mynwent*, then as now, meant a place of burial; and the evidence indicates that it was moreover a burial-place of very peculiar sanctity.

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[1] Specifically used in modern Welsh of a consecrated burial-ground, a churchyard, and so used in the Welsh prayer-book. Of unconsecrated burial-grounds is used *claddfa*. *Corfflan* is rarely heard, but in North Wales *corlan* ('sheepfold') may be used. The Welsh are historically correct in their refusal to extend the term *mynwent* to a Nonconformist burial-ground.

[2] Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws of Wales*, i, 140; ii, 360.

[3] It would appear however, like the English rod and furlong, to have been used of lineal measure also.

[4] Herbert Lewis (*Welsh Laws*, pp. 122 *sqq.*) gives the values thus:—

Venedotian Code (North Wales),
1 *erw* = 960 sq. yards English.
Demetian Code (West Wales)
1 *erw* = 512 sq. yards English.
Gwentian Code (South Wales),
1 *erw* = 729 sq. yards English.

Another authority would argue it equivalent to 4,320 sq. yds. English, or little short of a statute acre.

[5] Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry*, p. 188, citing Wotton, *Leges Walliae*,

Opinions differ as to the value of the *Laws* of Howel, but while it is quite possible that they may have been greatly altered in certain of their details during the lapse of centuries, it is not credible that a law relating to the elemental and all-important matters of religion and burial should have been materially altered. These were not matters in which any one had an axe to grind, or in which the memory of custom could speedily fade. Statutory innovation in such a matter at such a date is almost unthinkable, and there is every presumption that the law quoted above embodies the normal practice of its time, though some corruption of the text may easily have occurred to fog the manner of its expression.

Now in regard to the *loca consecrata* of Celtic paganism it was seen that for their consecration there was required a burial—that they did not become consecrated places until the consecration-grave was made and filled. The Rev. S. Baring Gould points out that there is evidence to shew that the same feeling held good in regard to early Christian monastic sites: 'In order to secure a site for a monastery, some one must be buried in it,'[1] and when Columba made his settlement at Hy he consecrated it by the burial of a monk of his own retinue, a sufficiently obvious case of what we should to-day call human sacrifice. Other proofs of similar practices are adduced by the same writer, but the barbarism would seem speedily to have

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i, 8, 12, 19; Pughe's *Welsh Dict.* *s.v.* Erw. So also Richards, *Welsh Dict.* (Dolgelley, 1815) *s.v.* Corphlan.

[1] *Arch. Cambr.* xvii (1900), p. 256.

died out, for in describing the manner in which Ceadda hallowed the soil for the building of his monastery at Lastingham (*circa* 654), Bede explains that he did it by fasting and praying for forty days, i.e. for a continuous Lent, 'for such, he said, was the practice of those from whom he had learnt the rule of regular discipline in consecrating to the dead by prayer and fasting every new spot acquired for the building of a monastery or a church.'[1] Ceadda's teacher was the Irish bishop Finan of Lindisfarne, the successor of Aidan, who had himself been a pupil of Columba in Hy. As Finan became bishop in 651, we may, infer that the earlier savage method of consecration was already set aside by that date.[2] Hy was founded in 563: so long at any rate persisted the pagan belief that a human life was necessary for the hallowing of holy ground. That belief abandoned, the hierarchy substituted another, that burial was not permissible to Christians excepting in hallowed ground. But it is a fact of everyday experience that the laity at large, at any rate in this country, have never wholly abandoned the older belief that burials themselves make holy ground, with the necessary corollary that the greater the number of the dead, the greater the sanctity of the spot.[3]

In the days of Howel the Good (tenth century), as his *Laws* declare, the *mynwent* was the basic fact, the point from which the whole cemetery began. In pre-Christian times the basic fact in a *locus consecratus* was the interment of a human being, and the same held good of a Christian *llan*. It follows that the two things must be one and the same—that the *mynwent* was originally the burial-place of the person, whether pagan or Christian, whose interment was the consecration of the whole *limes*, but that in Howel's time it had come to be the central point only, the place of honour, reserved either for the actual burial, when opportunity offered, of some person whose bones would lend additional sanctity to the whole, or for the reception of relics of such a person.

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[1] *H.E.* III, xxiii, § 218.

[2] So far, that is, as the bishopric of Lindisfarne, and the influence of its *alumni*, extended. We have no authority for the inference that it was nowhere followed after that date; and the practice of building a church or a monastery over the grave of any of the distinguished *fideles* who had made a more normal end, or over the place where had fallen any large number of the faithful, has never ceased at all. As late as 1851 Gambier Parry, of Highnam (Glouces.), built a church over the grave of his wife at Highnam.

[3] Illustrations are hardly necessary. To this day the road-men carefully renew from year to year the marks which tell where fell the victims of lightning beside a certain road in Sussex. Presumably they never heard of a *fulguritum* or a *bidental*.

To Celtic Christianity all graveyards were *ipso facto* sanctuaries, and it is known that this feeling was itself inherited from pre-Christian times. The *mynwent* therefore was doubly a sanctuary as the *Laws* declare. The right of sanctuary reached even to animals feeding in the churchyard, and the privileges of the sanctuary might extend to long distances therefrom, their boundaries marked by ditches, stones, or other means. In Scotland the stones thus used were called girth-stones,[1] and the limits of the sanctuary of Torphichen, Linlithgow, connected with a preceptory of the knights of St. John, were four, 'each about a mile distant from a central stone in the churchyard.'[2] There can be little doubt that the 'central stone in the churchyard' represented the original *mynwent.* Like the other girth-stones at Torphichen it was marked with a cross, and says Walcott, 'before the middle of the eleventh century there was always a central cross erected in churchyards.'[3] This again can only be the successor of the stone or stones which marked the earlier *mynwent.* In course of time the older and wider privilege of sanctuary was restricted to the churchyard only, whence in the language of English documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries '*sanctuarium*, and its equivalents, almost always mean churchyard.'[4] Still later it was, save in special cases, limited to the structural church or even to some part only of that church, and so far was the churchyard from affording sanctuary to a fugitive that his pursuers were accustomed to camp within it to watch him, and the earlier privilege of the churchyard required to be re-affirmed—but only partially—by law. Finally it came to be maintained that not even the structural church could afford sanctuary unless there could be adduced proof that such church had been properly consecrated by a bishop, a condition which ruled out a multitude of ancient churches of Celtic foundation.[1]

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[1] A.-S. *Grith-stanes*. The ancient ruined church at Orphir in the Orkneys was commonly called the 'Girth house' as late as 1861 (*Arch. Journal*, xviii, 228).

[2] *New Statist. Acct. Linlithgow*, p. 49. So again at Ripon. Girald. Cambrensis (*Description of Wales*, i, xviii) says that the limit of sanctuary in Wales extended usually '*quantum armenta mane ad pascua exire et vesperi redire possunt.*' The church of the parish of Darowen, 6 miles NE. of Machynlleth (Mont.), stands within the township of Noddfa, 'the place of sanctuary'; and three girth-stones, each called *Careg Noddfa*, stood at as many points about a mile distant from the church.

[3] *Sacred Archaeology* (1838), p. 192. The passage seems to imply that as yet there was no structural church on that spot, if it does not also imply that the churchyard was invariably circular.

[4] E. Peacock on Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests*, v. 330, 'wythynne chyrche and seyntwary.' Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii. 183: 'Ecclesiarum sanctuaria, quae populariter coemeteria nominantur' (Synod. Cicestrensis, 1292, cap.i.) The word *sacrarium* was occasionally used in the same sense; see Ducange.

Lingard[2] challenged the view that early British churches had no dedications, and that the Celtic 'saints' left their names to their several *kils* and *llans* in default of any other dedication. If the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*[3] and the *Life of St. Patrick* be accounted dubious evidence, we have still the authority of Bede for the dedication of John of Beverley's *mansio* to St. Michael,[4] of Ethelburga's cemetery at Barking to St. Mary,[5] and for yet another St. Mary's at Lichfield in the time of Chad.[6] The variety of such dedications was probably small at first, so that in the rush of Christianity's first expansion there would come to be a perplexing multitude of Mary-churches, Michael-churches, and so on. To distinguish one from another there could be no more natural way than to speak of each foundation by the name of the earthly saint who was most prominently connected with it, whether as founder or otherwise[7]; and in the upshot his name would inevitably overshadow, or even actually efface the original dedication. When subsequently Roman Christianity supervened, there might arise such double dedications as that of Llanfair a Chyrig, where however we have no means of knowing whether the dedication to St. Mary (*Fair*) is original, or secondary and due to the Cistercian influence.[1] Of the long list of Llanfairs in the modern clergy-list, the most are distinguished by geographical or topographical epithets, while in Llanfairfechan and Llanfair-Talhaiarn the distinctive is a personal name indeed but no part of the dedication. The difference is like that between e.g. a 'church of St. Peter and St. Paul' and the church of Paul's Walden, i.e. of Walden belonging to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's in London.

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[1] See Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, and especially *appendix* x thereto, citing a case from *Year Books* (Rolls Series, 1863) i, p. 541. The question whether the building was or was not 'a true church, duly consecrated' was left to the inquisition of the customary jury of twelve. Churchyard sanctuary was theoretically abolished in 1623 (Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology*, p. 157).

[2] *Hist. A.-S. Church* (1845), ii, pp. 381-385.

[3] St. Cadoc's monastery at Llancarfan is dedicated to the Holy Trinity (p. 33); St. Beuno dedicates a church to the Lord Christ (pp. 14, 301); St. Gwynlliw makes a cemetery and a church in honour of St. Mary (pp. 150, 456); St. Illtyd's church is founded 'to the honour of the Supreme and Undivided Trinity' (pp. 163, 472). The greater number of Trinity dedications are said to be late. Old Llandrindod for example has superseded an earlier Lando =Llanduw, 'Church of God.'

[4] *H.E.* v, ii, § 362.

[5] ibid. iv, x, § 281.

[6] ibid. iv, iii, § 265.

[7] Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson reminds me that the same thing happens to-day. Churches built by private benefactors, in industrial areas, and more especially in Lancashire, are often known popularly by the names of the founders rather than by their official dedications. For example, Christ Church, Didsbury, is usually spoken of as Roberts' church.

The pagan Welsh buried their dead as did their kindred of Great Britain and Ireland. Barrows and cairns are to be found broadcast over the country. Mostly they are 'bowls' and 'bells,' but inferior forms of the ring-barrow occur here and there.[2] The disc-barrow proper, is very rare (ch. iii).

Megalithic monuments also, if numerous, are much less abundant than one would expect. There are few really fine dolmens,[3] and cromlechs and *menhirs* rarely approach the proportions of those to be seen in England and in Brittany. The three principal types of megalithic monuments are however all represented, and the larger circles belong for the most part to the more Brythonic areas of the principality.

In Old Welsh writings are mentioned the burials of various notabilities of pre-Christian time : thus Bronwen the daughter of Llyr was buried 'in a four-sided grave (cist) upon the banks of the river Alaw' in Anglesey. In 1813,[4] at a spot still known as Ynys Bronwen (Bronwen's Isle), was discovered exactly such a grave with the remains of a female there buried; and there is no doubt that tough tradition had handed down not merely the fact of a burial which took place at that spot nearly 2,000 years before, but even certain details of that burial. In the light of such proof of the value of Celtic tradition in matters of sepulture the poem called *The Warriors' Graves*[1] becomes a very valuable document indeed. It purports to give the burial-places of some 200 of the hero-figures of old Welsh tradition; and while some of these are described as being 'near the church (*eglwys*)' or 'in the *llan*,' and may therefore belong to Christian times,[2] others are unquestionably pre-Christian burials. Among them are mentioned (*v.* 63) the grave of Mediawg, 'a quadrangular grave (*pedrifal*) with four stones round the front (*ae pedwar mein amytal*);' the grave of Meigen the son of Rhun[3] (*v.* 17), lord of a cantref, 'in the circular space (*yn yr amgant*)'; and the grave of Tarw Torment, 'in the *mynwent* of Corbre.'[4] Each of the three types of grave here described[5] has its replica in confessedly Christian Wales. The 'circular space' of the grave of Meigen was perpetuated in every *llan* and in every *eglwys*; the pillar-stones reappear when St. Cadoc erects an upright stone near the burial-place of his architect Liugwri,[6] and St. Illtyd buries his teacher Samson in his *llan* between 'upstanding square stones'[7]; and as late as the tenth century the *mynwent* was regarded as the burial-place *par excellence* of every churchyard. The pillar-stone, with or without ogams, is said to be a peculiarly Goidelic form of monument.[1]

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[1] Chyrig (Cyrig) is St. Cyric, but whether a local Welsh saint, or the better-known St. Cyric of the Roman Calendar, is uncertain. The place in question lies north of Whitland (Carm.), and became the property of the Cistercians. The churches of Llanilid a Churig, Glam., and of Capel Curig, Carnarvon, are dedicated to SS. Cyric and Julitta jointly (*C.B.S.* p. 609, *note*). This however is a Latin conjunction ; the original British pair seem to have been Curig and Ilud. See Baring Gould and Fisher, *British Saints*, *s.v. Curic and Julietta*.

[2] In Flintshire the barrows 'are exclusively round of form.' In Montgomeryshire there is 'one exception to the otherwise universal type of circular sepulchral mound,' and this exception—the group of eleven mounds at Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa—is very possibly not sepulchral at all, and therefore no exception. So of Radnorshire. The citations are from the Introductions to the *Inventories of the Royal Commission for Wales and Mon.* (1911– ). The same appears to be true of Carmarthenshire. The mound at Newmarket, Prestatyn, called Copp'a'r leni, is reputed the largest barrow but one in Great Britain. The list of known Welsh long barrows is very short.

[3] One of the largest groups is that at Dyffryn (Glam.), one of which—the St. Nicholas dolmen—is claimed to be the finest in the British Isles.

[4] *Mabinogion.* The matter was reported in the *Cambro-Briton*, ii, 71, and the urn found with the burial is now in the British Museum.

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[1] *Englynion y Beddau*, from the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (twelfth cent.), printed in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, p. 309.

[2] This is not by any means certain, for *llan* may have been in use in the sense of 'barrow' before Christian times, if *eglwys* was not.

[3] Possibly the person whose name is disguised in that of Caerhûn (Carn.) of which the church stands within a Roman camp. Rhun was a son of Maelgwn Gwynedd.

[4] The old church of Llanllechid (Hughes and North, *Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 145). Apparently a personal name. Cairbre Musc was one of the traditional heads of the Deisi, who migrated from Ireland to Wales.

[5] It may be added that in the same poem are mentioned the 'graves on the beach,' where were buried Sanant, Carwen, and others. This proves, if proof were needed, that the Celts of Wales, like those of other countries, did not always make their barrows in the high places of the earth.

[6] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 17.

[7] 'In medio quadrangularium lapidum recte insistentium' (*C.B.S.* p. 171). If the exact number of stones is not here specified, it may perhaps be seen at the so-called grave of St. Non, mother of St. David, near to St. David's cathedral. [Like others of the saints, St. Non has more than one place of burial; her tomb is shewn in the parish church of Dirinon (explained as *Terra de Nonna*) in Brittany]. So too in the churchyard of Towyn (Merion.), where are 'four small menhirs marking off a quadrangular space. Graves are dense about it, but no interments are made within. Here originally stood the Cadfan stone, now removed to the church for preservation' (Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 6). Saint Cadfan (sixth century) founded the

The *mynwent* was the central grave of a pagan barrow—originally perhaps the barrow itself, regarded as the memorial of some one great personage—the *raison d'être* of the whole, the consecration grave which made it a *locus consecratus*. The pagan grave might be marked in various ways—by a dolmen covered or uncovered, by one or more pillar-stones, by a grave-slab, or conceivably by nothing but the central position; but in some form or other it was invariably surrounded by the circular *limes* which denoted holy ground. When Christianity supplanted paganism the *limes* was retained as a matter of course, and the *mynwent* was likewise retained, but with a difference. Heretofore it had been the *raison d'être* of the whole barrow, which was certainly not generally intended to be used thereafter as a promiscuous burial-ground. But in the Christian period the *mynwent* was not so much the *raison d'ȇtre* of the holy ground about it, as an additional guarantee of the sanctity of that ground. If the *limes* were constituted, as in the case of the king's daughters of Clebach,[2] and as appears to have been the case with Avitoria at Eglwys Cymmin,[3] expressly for the burial of some person or persons of distinction, then naturally the bodies of such persons would be buried in the centre, the place of honour, and would in fact constitute the *mynwent*. But such cases would probably be the exceptions, and most *llans* would of necessity make shift without the death of any one of the rank of a saint or a princess. Nevertheless the *limes* required its traditional

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church of Towyn. Perhaps the four stones in the parish of Walton and Womaston, Radnor, have a like origin (*Inventory Radnor*, no. 615 B). The reader will remember that if the peristalith were limited to four stones, they might none the less stand on the circumference of a circle whereof the grave is the centre. This is the arrangement in some Scottish burials also (R. Munro, *Prehistoric Scotland*).

[1] There are scores of pillar-stones still standing in Welsh churchyards. In that of Tregaron (Card.) are four, two of which have inscriptions, while the others are plain.

[2] p. 28.

[3] The sanctity of a burial-place might survive the loss of its *raison d'être*. On the spot where had been murdered the shepherdess Machuta, St. Tathan founded a church (*ecclesia*, *martyrium*), but presently translated her body to his own *llan* at Caerwent. Yet the original *martyrium* is said to have survived to be the present-day parish church of Llanvaches, two miles west of Caerwent.

consecration by burial, as is proved by the story of the hallowing of Hy. Whether the body of such an inconsiderable person was commonly laid in the *mynwent* may be doubted. It is much more probable that in such cases the *mynwent* remained for the time being a cenotaph, until chance should provide an occupant of sufficient dignity. As a rule this would be when the founder himself died, so that the provision of a *mynwent* in that case reduces itself to exactly the same procedure as when Augustine builds his own mortuary church at Canterbury, and when Cuthbert makes provision for his own burial in his *mansio* at Farne.[1]

In other cases, and increasingly as the cult of relics developed, there would be secured some relic or other to be deposited in the *mynwent* and serve the same purpose. The *Laws* of Howel Dda belong to an era when, this cult being at its height, it was felt that every new foundation must necessarily have its relics, and the *mynwent* was the spot reserved for their reception. In Ireland, it will be remembered, as in Man and in Scotland, *relic* (*reilic*, *rhullic*) was synonymous with *fert*, 'grave.'

Such buildings as were erected within the *llan* in the earliest Christian times would be exactly similar to those of contemporary Irish Christianity, i.e. mere huts or cells. In Wales as in Ireland originally the same roof covered oratory and dwelling house,[2] and the development therefrom of what we call a church would follow much the same stages. The earliest cells were certainly built of wood or of wattle in Wales exactly as in Ireland.[3] Cadoc's

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[1] Cuthbert expressly commanded his disciples never to leave his body, wherever that might be laid, and they followed it through many translations to its final resting-place at Durham. So when St. Cadoc died there was built over the sepulchre a church 'into which no Briton is permitted to enter,' lest he shall steal the saint's bones, and 'from the taking away of that very precious deposit, all the miracles and the whole influence of the saint should, together with the dust of his precious relics, be carried away' (*C.B.S. Vita S. Cadoci*, 36).

[2] *C.B.S. Vita S. Gundlei*, 8. The saint makes his residence within his cemetery, living there with his servitors and his cattle. His 'church' on the same spot is 'full of clothing, food, and many precious things,' cheeses amongst them (c. 13). Obviously it was the saint's dwelling-house, larder, dorter and oratory all in one, for a robber (c. 14) steals 'the chalice and ecclesiastical vestments.' The building is spoken of as *templum*, *ecclesia*, and *habitationis locus* indifferently. So *Vita Cadoci*, 55; the saint builds a church (*ecclesia*) for his disciple Macmoil, 'that he might himself find lodging therein (*quo hospitaretur*),' on his journeys between Llancarfan and Gwent. In this use of the 'church' as a *hospitium* may be found the origin of some of the many places called *Yspytty*, some of which may be a good deal older than is usually supposed.

[3] At Trelystan (Mont.), 3 miles SE. of Welshpool, still remains a wooden church,

*monasteriolum* was of wood, as was that of St. Brynach, and that of St. Gwynlliw. Cadoc is said indeed to have built monasteries of stone at Bannawc in Albania (Scotland)[1] and in Brittany,[2] but these are emphasised as unusual cases. He had another *oratorium* at Neath, and this also was built of wood; and when the buildings at Llancarfan were destroyed by fire, he rebuilt them still of wood only. If stone was used at all in the early days it would be mortarless, and no trace of any such buildings could well survive until our times.[3] By the time when building in stone had come to be general, the practice of raising a chapel over the *mynwent* had also arisen.[4] If the sanctity of the spot survived, the chapel would remain, at any rate in some instances, even when the times demanded a 'church' as we understand that term. There is at the present day a cardinal example in Wales at Clynnog in Carnarvonshire, where the ancient building, known as the Eglwys y Bedd ('church of the grave'), still stands in the churchyard beside the larger and later fourteenth-century church, and probably covers the actual grave of St. Beuno,[5] the *genius loci*. At Eglwys Wrw (Pemb.)

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said to date from the early part of the fifteenth century only (*Inventory Mont.* no. 908). The earlier name for Nannerch (Flint) was Capel Gwiel yn y Rhos, 'The wattled church on the moor.' The church of St. David in Ewias, now familiar as Llanthony Priory, was in the time of Girald. Cambrensis 'covered with lead and built of wrought stone . . . not unhandsomely constructed,' on the very spot where the humble chapel of David the archbishop had formerly stood, decorated only with moss and ivy (*Itin. Wales*, i, 3). This was in 1187, but even so late the narrator implies that the greater number of churches in Wales were still built of timber only, for he frequently mentions their burning (e.g. Llywel, near Trecastle, i, 1; others in Powys, ii, 12). The same writer tells us (*Desc. of Wales*, i, 17) that in his time the Welsh 'do not erect sumptuous palaces, or lofty stone buildings, but content themselves with small huts made of the boughs of trees twisted together, constructed with little labour and expense, but sufficient to endure for the space of a year.'

[1] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 33.

[2] ibid. 32.

[3] Professor Lloyd (*Hist. Wales* i, p. 209) declares that there was no stone-built church in Wales before the eleventh century. Probably there was none of squared and mortared stone, but it is only reasonable to suppose that there may have been some of unsquared dry masonry, like that of Cuthbert at Farne. Welsh, like Anglo-Saxon, has no native word for a 'mason'; *adeilad*, now used of any building, originally denoted carpenters' work. St. Kentigern built his monastery at Llanelwy 'of planed wood after the manner of the Britons, and not of stone, as it was not then the custom' (Rev. J. Fisher in *Arch. Cambr.* 1914, p. 238). For the probabilities of the survival of any earlier churches, cf. such entries as that of *Brut y Tywysog.* under the year 1047, 'All South Wales lay waste.'

[4] The earliest reference in Welsh to the consecration of an *ecclesia* occurs in the *Annales Cambriae, sub anno* 718; *consecratio Michaelis Archangeli Ecclesiae.* So *Brut y Tywysog.* 717. This has been equated with Llanfihangel Talyllyn, Brecon, but doubtfully. There are said to be 94 present-day dedications to St. Michael in Wales. It was one of the earliest and most popular.

[5] See *Arch. Cambr.* 1914, pp. 271 *sqq.* St. Beuno died not later than 642 (Baring

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there stood until the days of queen Elizabeth a similar chapel, side by side with the newer church, and local belief forbade the burial of any one in the chapel 'because the saint would cast the body out.'[1]

At Pennant Melangell (Mont.), the tomb of the eponymous saint (Monacilla), reputed an Irish princess, was included within a small chapel contiguous with the east end of the church, and long used as a vestry; but her remains have been removed and deposited in the churchyard.[2] This chapel was known as Cell y Bedd ('church of the grave').

In the parish of Llangristiolus in Anglesey is a circular barrow, about 6 ft. high at the centre, on which stood until the nineteenth century vestiges of a building known as Capel y Mynwent. The name is exactly parallel to that of Capel y Bedd at Clynnog and that of Cell y Bedd at Pennant Melangell.

These examples may throw light on some other cases where there are two buildings within one graveyard. They further explain why the present-day church, even in a churchyard which preserves its original circular form, is, if old, so frequently eccentric. In Howel's time it is clear that the *mynwent* and the *eglwys* were still distinct entities, and the *mynwent* occupying the centre, the *eglwys* was necessarily eccentric. Churches which occupy the central point of a circular garth will be edifices of a later time, accordant with the Roman way of building so that the church, or rather the altar within it, should actually overlie the tomb. Welsh tradition is not altogether without some indications of the fact.

The name of Merthyr (*Martyrium*) is common in Wales,[3] as in Merthyr Tydfil (Tydfil was a daughter of Brychan) in Glamorganshire, Merthyr Cynog (Cynog was a son of the same Brychan) in Brecknockshire,

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Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*), and tradition says that Cadwallon ap Cadfan gave him the site for his 'church' in 616, in exchange for 'a sceptre of gold worth 40 (or 60) cows' (*C.B.S.* p. 17). Richard Fenton, writing in 1810, said that 'lately there were on the middle of the floor (of the chapel) stones piled as on a grave, and covered with a board on top' (*Cambr. Arch. Assoc.* 1917, p. 324).

[1] See Fenton, *Tour through Pembrokeshire* (1812), p. 531.

[2] *Arch. Cambr.* 1848, p. 137. The building, which is entirely devoid of architectural merit, is now derelict (1918).

[3] A list of 29 examples is given in A. W. Wade-Evans, *Life of St David* (1923), p. 92. He remarks that they are 'found in those parts of Wales where Irish influences are known to have prevailed.'

Merthyr Dyfan in Glamorgan, Merthyr Mawr (Glam.), Martletwy (Pemb.), the absolute Merthyr (Carm.), and Mathry (Pemb.), 'church of the holy martyrs.' All these signify merely the 'burial-place' of some person, saint or other.

In the long interval of time which elapsed ere Wales was rich enough to need or to wish for churches on a larger scale,[1] a good many *mynwents* had lost their sanctity. The precise why and wherefore thereof may not be easy to explain in any particular case, but that the popularity of saints waxed and waned is a commonplace of hagiology. Possibly through some unforeseen accident the *mynwent* sometimes remained unoccupied, at any rate by its intended tenant, for not even saints can determine the place of their demise, still less that of their burial; and the Welsh saints were extraordinarily restless, rarely staying in any one spot for any length of time.[2] Sometimes the relics enshrined within it were stolen, as befell the bones of St. Cybi (p. 104); in other cases the relics were deliberately removed from their resting-place by those who venerated them. This is known to have happened repeatedly in mediaeval times, and a similar practice may possibly explain certain otherwise inexplicable happenings recorded in the lives of the earlier saints. When, for example, St. Patrick is ordered to abandon the *llan* which he had established in the *Vallis Rosina* (St. David's) and pass on to Ireland, he is said with seeming inconsequence to have 'raised from the dead' one Cruimther who 'had there lain buried near the sea for twelve (*aliter* fifteen) years,' and to have taken him to Ireland.[3] On the face of it this is merely another example of monkish mendacity, but it becomes understandable enough if we suppose that Cruimther (the name means only 'priest') was the person whose burial had hallowed Patrick's original *llan* at St. David's, and that his relics were exhumed and translated to Ireland to serve the same purpose again. The further assertion that the revived 'priest' was afterwards made a 'bishop' may be due to a confusion with some one or other of the various Irish saints named Donan; for Giraldus Cambrensis declares[1] that the real name of the 'dead man' was Dunawd, and both Donan and Dunawd are said to represent the Latin Donatus.

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[1] There was a great impetus to architecture and outlay in the times immediately following the accession of Henry VII (Tudor) to the English throne. Very few buildings erected before the twelfth century would be of a quality to survive until that date, and probably not very many of those erected after 1100 would endure so long without very considerable repairs. Prof. Freeman has a good deal to say about (chiefly southern) Welsh ecclesiastical architecture in various papers of *Arch. Cambr.* (II, i, 41, 108; ii, 177; iii, 161; III, ii, 231; iii, 307). The subject is interesting, especially when he writes of it, but the fact remains that the Welsh Celt, like the Irish Celt, has never achieved anything very remarkable in masonry.

[2] See on this point Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, i, pp. 3-4.

[3] Rhygyfarch's *Life of St. David*, § 3. According to Nennius (§ 54) the saint in his lifetime raised from the dead nine several persons.

Again poverty might prevent the building of any permanent chapel, or the keeping of it in proper repair; and if no chapel were built over the spot, it is certain that with the lapse of centuries the original monument, whatever its form, would suffer. A time would, and did, come when the most devout of Welshmen forgot the significance of the rude stones which had meant so much to his forefathers, and saw in such things only the traces of paganism or, more abominable still, of papistry.[2] Were not such stones the familiar ornaments of pagan sepulchres on every surrounding hill? And did not Christianity fulminate against the worship of stocks and stones? They would be first neglected, then upon any convenient excuse overthrown or removed, and the *mynwent* would pass out of memory. The very meaning of the word was early forgotten: it came to denote the same thing as *corfflan*, the grave-yard at large.[3]

Again the case of Eglwys Cymmin suggests what probably occurred in a multitude of cases. The bones of Avitoria, the king's daughter, furnished the *mynwent* of the original burial-ground, and made the precinct there and then a *locus consecratus*, while as yet there was no structural church. To judge from what remains, her grave, which was in the centre of the *rath*, was surrounded by a number of small pillar-stones,[4] i.e. a cromlech, and amongst them one which told her name. In time the new *locus consecratus* superseded the older one at Parc yr Eglwys a mile away,[1] and at some date unknown there was built an oratory of wood. So far all was well. But Avitoria was after all but a king's daughter only, her father's darling doubtless, but we have no hint that she was distinguished beyond other women of her times in respect of saintliness; and a father's love was no adequate substitute for greatness in herself. With him and his perished the memory of his dead daughter, and her *mynwent* gradually lost its sanctity and even its name. Then one fine day came a builder belonging to a generation that knew not nor cared for Avitoria or the meaning of ogams. He was altering or enlarging or repairing the church, and by happy chance, though he pulled up Avitoria's grave-stones to use them for material, he did not smash the ogam-stone from which we learn so much.[2]

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[1] *Vita S. Davidis*, 2.

[2] This was the excuse advanced for the attempted demolition of the Ceryg Sanctaidd at Tafarn Diflas (p. 86, n. 4).

[3] It is thus used in the Welsh prayer-book of queen Elizabeth.

[4] These are large water-rolled stones, unquestionably brought from the sea-beach, and probably from beyond Pendine Head, three miles away. Similar stones, presumably brought thither for a like purpose, have been found in the churchyard at Alphamstone, Essex, which was originally circular. The Indians of Central America go to the same or even greater labour, bringing water-worn stones from long distances to fence or mark a grave (Joyce, *Archaeol. of Central America and West Indies*).

This view of the origin and meaning of the *mynwent* accords with all the evidence of archaeology and satisfies all the requirements of the *Laws*. Such a sepulchral monument would be quite sufficiently roomy for a man to walk about in.[3] It would naturally have an entrance,[4] at which one might leave one's weapons. It would as naturally have a specially sacred character. And it would be the actual centre from which was measured, upon the radius of a 'legal *erw*,' the circular *limes* of God's acre.

Of particular significance is the fact that the *mynwent* was peculiarly a place of assembly for purposes of law and justice. It was not only a place of sanctuary; it was also a *gorsedd*, a *cyrch*, a moot, and in a peculiar sense a 'holy moot.'

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[1] This is the local tradition as to the relative age of the two sites.

[2] It was found in 1880, serving as a step in one of the churchyard paths. Others of the pillar-stones are still embedded in the walls of the church, where the builder put them, or half-buried in other parts of the grave-yard.

[3] It is perhaps not needful to think that, from the language of the *Laws*, it *must* be so large, but only that it was sometimes so. Four stones only, set at the corners of a square of 6 feet, would make an excellent *mynwent*, and would give 4 square yards to move about in, quite as much as fell to most captives of the time.

[4] With the expression 'door of the *mynwent*' used in the *Laws*, cf. the Irish '*fert* with one door, two doors,' above. p. 18.

## CHAPTER XX.

### WALES—(*continued*).

*The Barrow of Churchways in Warren—Yspytty Cynfin Church built on a peristalithic Barrow—Churches and Stone Circles—Eglwys-y-Gwyddel—Taliesin and Round Churches—Pagan Monuments on Christian Sites—Upkeep of the Churchyard Wall—Funeral Games, survivals of—Origin of Urnfields—'Meini Campau'—Dancing, etc.—Welsh words for 'Circle'—West Wales (Cornwall)—Its connexion with Cambria—Bradanrelice (Steep Holm)—Circular Earthworks in Cornwall—Cornish equivalents of 'Llan' and 'Kil'—The 'Rounds' of St. Just and St. Perran—Upton Castle in Lewannick—Multitude of minor Ring-works—'Church-fields' and Rounds—Circular Churchyards in Cornwall—Early Cornish Oratories—Carn Brea and Porth Curnow—Christian Inscriptions relating to Barrows—Other Evidence.*

That early Welsh Christianity, like that of Ireland, adopted out of hand the circular form of the pagan burial-place, is clear. The evidence will further prove that many of these churchyards were themselves neither more nor less than actual barrows of the familiar pagan type.[1]

It would probably be impossible to find a more illuminating example of the first beginnings of Christianity in Wales than that provided by Edward Laws from Warren, a parish five miles south-west of Pembroke, in the very heart of Dyfed. The account, too valuable to be mutilated, is here reprinted in full.[2]

'In 18~~0~~60 Col. Lambton drew my attention to a large tumulus close to his house at Brownslade and about half a mile from Warren church. This we opened. The tump stands in a sandy field known as "*Churchways*"[3] on the edge of the burrows[4]; it is *circular, with the diameter of 75 ft., and rather flat, not being raised more than some 8 ft. in the centre*. From its shape and construction a careless observer would pass it by as one of those natural hillocks of blown sand which abound on the burrows in the neighbourhood; but on closer inspection, the surface is found to be strewn with bones, mostly human, which the rabbits have thrown out from their holes. We commenced operations on the south-eastern side, where the bones seemed thickest, and found that this portion of the barrow consists of blown sand, in which skeletons of men, women and children are *packed in tiers at least three deep*, like pigeons in a pie. Some of the bodies were protected by an enclosure of long water-worn stones about the size of ninepins, but *without any covering;* others lay in the bare sand; *they were all oriented.* With these bones we found *a piece of fine bronze*, which might have been an ear-ring, or a finger-ring, I think the former; and a small brass ring with a rude pattern of spots punched on it. On the following day a small stoup, roughly hewn out of a block of red sandstone, 14 ins. by 8 ins. was found in this part of the tumulus. Mixed with the human bones were small quantities of *bones of oxen* (*bos longifrons*), and *sheep or goats*, with a few *limpet-shells* and a *flint flake*; but as these occur in the burrows it might be accidental.

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[1] Newell (*Hist. Welsh Church*, p. 23): 'Old churchyards in Wales are often round, and possibly the ashes of rude pagan forefathers lie in many such with the ashes of their Christian sons and successors.'

[2] From *Hist. of Little England beyond Wales* by Ed. Laws, F.S.A. (London, 1888), p. 57.

[3] The italics are not in the original.

[4] The local name for sandhills.

'We then laid bare a place rather to the north of where we had been digging hitherto, and found a skeleton oriented, and surrounded by made ground [clay] and rough dry masonry, but without any covering. With this body there was a horse's nipper, a calf's tooth, and the jaw of a sheep or goat; with some shells of oyster and limpet.

'By this time we had accumulated so many human bones, that decency suggested we should proceed to their re-interment. For this purpose we selected *the centre of the barrow*, and had not sunk more than 3 feet when we struck on a large slab (flat stones had hitherto been conspicuous by their absence). It proved, as we anticipated it to be, the covering stone of *a kist-vaen, measuring about 4 ft. by 3 ft.* In it we found portions of a human skeleton much decayed, mixed with charred bones and animal bones, and *apparently of an older date than the others*, which were all as well preserved as recent bones. In the kist-vaen there were *bones of oxen* (*bos longifrons*), *sheep or goat, and roebuck; a well-burned, wheel-turned potsherd*, which resembled those discovered by Col. Lambton in the adjacent camp, and not like such as are usually found in barrows in Pembrokeshire; and along with these was *a piece of chert about the size of half a brick with a cup bored on each side*, the borings being immediately opposite to each other with a diameter of 2 ins., and the same depth, the inside of them being as highly polished as though they had just then left the lapidary's hand. Then we came on a block of red sandstone 2 ft. long and 6 ins. wide; on it were scratches like Vs and Ys, resembling those known as masons' marks. The last and most curious discovery was *a flat piece of limestone*, 7 ins. wide by 10 ins. long, *on which was roughly inscribed a cross within a circle*, with a V or arrow-head in one segment. We found nothing more, although we dug down to the sand; still we discovered that *although the privilege of burial in this mound was so appreciated that in places the dead were laid in four tiers, no interments had taken place near the kist-vaen.*

'Having reserved three skulls for the inspection of the late Prof. Rolleston, we put the other bones in the pit and covered them up. We then began to look about the surroundings of our tumulus, and found adjoining the remains of a wall enclosing a space of about one-eighth of an acre, and at the further end of the tumulus two small buildings. One of them has in the memory of man been used as a cottage; the other, the labourers declared, was the ruins of a chapel, some saying they could remember an east window. It is very tiny, being only 16 ft. by 12 ft. and is pitched with water-worn stones; it stands east and west. The native legend about it is, that "they" tried to build a church, but "the other people" would not let them, and pulled it down again.'

Prof. Rolleston pronounced the skulls to be those of a people 'not older than the Romano-British time.'

The excavator was in doubt at first as to whether the burials he discovered were pagan or Christian or both, ultimately inclining to the belief that they were those of an Irish missionary and his disciples and their descendants. In view of the facts adduced in earlier pages the conclusion is irresistible that the individual burials were those of a people who had indeed adopted something of Christianity, but had not by any means discarded all that belonged their earlier paganism.[1]

Archaeology tells us that in pagan times a barrow was raised over the grave of the mighty dead; that the dead man's grave (primary) was central to the barrow; that this central grave was the *mynwent*; and that lesser folk resorted to such mounds as burial-places. The evidence further tells us that Christianity adopted the circular form of the burial-place and also the central *mynwent*. This grave-mound at Warren shows the pagan and the Christian faiths and practices inter-blending. It had been built originally to be the burial-place of that nameless person whose *cist-vaen* occupied the central position, the 'honour-point.' He was buried in the huddled attitude of the Stone-age folk, in a cist of Stone-age type,[2] with the relics of his funeral feast about him, with the shard of pottery, and with the pagan symbol of the cup-marked stone. Each and all of these features were inherited from an immemorial pagan tradition. But the body had not been burnt, there was no funeral furniture in the shape of weapons and other personal worldly treasure, and, most significant of all, side by side with the cup-marked stone was another marked with the cross and circle, i.e. the older pagan symbol surcharged with that of Christianity. The dead man therefore was a Christian, but one at whose heart-strings the older faith still tugged hard ; or possibly at his burial his pagan kindred did what they dared to bury him according to pagan tradition, just as happened, we are told when Feidhelm and Ethne were buried at the Well of Clebach (ch. xvii). Either way his burial was the consecration of that circle of ground, and made it a *locus consecratus*. Thither therefore were brought others after him,[1] and in increasing numbers, until they lay three and four deep ' like pigeons in a pie ' ; but none dared trespass upon the *mynwent*, the primary central burial, the consecration grave, even as none dared trespass upon the spot set apart in his churchyard of Towyn for its founder St. Cadfan (p. 111, note 7). These later comers were all Christian : they carried with them no grave furniture, they boasted no monuments, they lay all duly east and west, they were laid ' earth to earth.' This was unquestionably a Christian graveyard, and unquestionably one of the very earliest. And it was neither more nor less than a barrow.

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[1] The earlier spelling of Warren was Woran, 'what language I know not,' writes the late Henry Owen. In his *Pembrokeshire* (Cymmrodorion Record Series), pt. ii, p. 342, note, he suggests that the original may have been some such form as Myfran, mutated to Fyfran, and finally written Woueran, which form is actually found in the *Black Book of St. David's* (1326); and he cites (op. cit. p. 314) other local names such as Crickwarren (Crugmaharren, Cilmarren) in Carm., Crickmarren (Crukemarran, Crugmaharen). There was a chapel at the last named place. These all point to a personal name, and some such original as Llanfyfran or Llanfaharren, would explain the mutation.

[2] Cist-burial died out because Christianity insisted on earth-to-earth burial, but in Wales cist-burial continued to be practised even by the commonalty until the most recent times, and in the Latin church it is to this day the privilege of the chosen few. The cist has become a sarcophagus, but there is no other difference. Both St. Cuthbert (687) and St. Etheldreda (695) were buried in sarcophagi (Bede, *Vita St. Cuthberti*, xxxvii; *H.E.* iv, xix, § 311).

The excavators found no trace of building upon the mound, no ' church,' because the whole dates back to a time when as yet churches were not. Later it would seem was built an oratory, a mere cell 16 by 12 feet, placed east-and-west ' at the further end of the tumulus.' Not in the centre, be it observed, for the centre still belonged as it had always belonged, to the nameless occupant of the *mynwent*. It was not even within the *original* circular precinct at all, for that was already full of burials which must not be desecrated. So the cell was built as it were on the edge of the barrow, and a new *limes* was presumably demarcated embracing within it the older one. In time there was made a new *locus consecratus* half a mile away, and a new church (St. Mary) was built there. The older one was supplanted, and at last forgotten, precisely as occurred at Eglwys Cymmin. But the name of the field preserves its memory to this day, for 'Churchways' is a transparent corruption of Church-haye, 'the churchyard.'

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[1] Laws remarks that the bones of the later interments were in a far better state of preservation than those of the primary interment, whence he argued that there was a considerable interval of time between them. But as even the central interment was Christian, the interval cannot have been very long. The difference in the bones is probably explicable by the different methods of burial : bones within a cist would perish far more quickly than others laid actually in the dry sandy soil.

The first Christian place of burial in Ireland that we hear of was the *fert* at the Well of Clebach, and that was nothing but a pagan barrow under a new dedication. Here in Wales the earliest example forthcoming is again nothing but a barrow. In Scotland we shall find the same thing. It is plain that in each country Christianity took over the accustomed externalities of sepulture, and made them its own. This is not the same thing as to assert that Christian burials within pagan burial-places were officially sanctioned, but it is as certain as can be that in the days when adequate provision for the burial of Christian dead was still lacking, some of these would be laid by default within pagan tumuli.

Why was the original site at Churchways abandoned? Possibly the reason was the advent of some new 'saint' who made his *llan* by choice, not beside the older *limes*, but at another spot, and in course of time brought this into precedence. Possibly there happened here the same thing that occurred at Eglwys Cymmin, and the sanctity which had belonged to the barrow at Warren was transferred to another *mynwent*. Or possibly the transfer was analogous to that promoted by archbishop Cuthbert in England in the eighth century (ch. xxv). One way or another such transfers did happen, as the many *parcau yr eglwys* suggest,[1] and as the case of Llanelwedd (p. 103) proves.

If fortune had willed it otherwise, and that nameless barrow at Churchways had continued to be the centre of the Christianity of its district, there would have come a time when authority or sentiment required that it should be decently fenced. Then the edge of the spreading mound would have been trimmed, a revetment built, and there would have resulted something precisely like hundreds of Irish *killeens* and scores of Welsh parish churchyards as they now stand.

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[1] At Dolwyddelan (Carn.) local tradition declares that the parish church, now situated in the town in the valley, once stood on the top of a hill known as Bryn y Bedd, 'Grave Hill.' There is no reason at all to question the truth of the tradition, with the proviso that it need not mean that there was ever any structural church on Bryn y Bedd. A burial-place there certainly was, and therefore a *place* of worship (*eglwys*), but not necessarily any *building* at all.

The little church of Old Llandrindod, Radnorshire, is unquestionably built upon a simple bowl-barrow which formed the central feature of the tiny churchyard, itself also circular in the main, albeit distorted by recent small additions.[1] The church of Llanyre, in the same neighbourhood, stands upon the remains of a similar barrow, and has similarly suffered enlargement on a circular plan, the scarp of the original barrow remaining intact for most of its periphery.

Certain alterations made in 1890 in the church of Llandyssilio Gogo (Card.), ‘ made it desirable to move the pulpit, which was found to rest upon a huge unhewn stone, so large as not to permit of its being taken out of the building ; and it was buried where it stood.’[2] There can be very little doubt that this unhewn stone was the grave-mark of some nameless great one there buried. In course of time there was built a church, seemingly actually over the *mynwent*, as at Clynnog and at Eglwys Wrw. Long afterwards, when pulpits came to be required, the stone was used as a convenient base whereon to set the pulpit. An earlier generation of Christians did not remove that stone because they knew what it really was. A later generation declined to remove it because it had always been there, though they had forgotten why. Last of all came our own generation, to whom neither reason was sufficient, and the most ancient stone in the whole fabric of the church, the veritable corner-stone, was 'buried' under the plea of 'restoration.'[1]

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[1] The rounded summit of the barrow makes an arc of a height of 5 ft. along the north wall of the church, which still retains its rectangular plan, and another arc only less pronounced along the east wall. Owing to the *natura loci*, the levels of the adjacent ground vary from as little as 2 ft. (south) to as much as 15 ft. (north) below the summit of the barrow. The church was restored in 1894, when there was found embedded face-down in one of the walls an extremely gross phallic slab. That the mound is of made earth and of considerable depth is proved by the fine growth of the trees (oak and ash) which spring from its edge, only some 6 ft. away from the western corners of the building, and by the presence of graves close up to the eastern and southern walls. Elsewhere the natural rock lies very near the surface. Local tradition declares there was a yet older church of Llanfaelog (St. Maelog, a saint of sixth cent.) near by. Its site is described as ‘ almost suggesting a small encampment ’ (*Arch. Cambr.* 6th ser. xvii, p. 400).

[2] *Arch. Cambr.* 1918, p. 143. The shape of the churchyard is circular.

The pagan barrow sometimes displayed as it were a revetment in the form of a peristalith.[2] This type was always rarer than others, but there remains at least one indubitable example in the churchyard of Yspytty Cynfin (Yspetty Cenven or Kenwyn; Y Spittye Kinwen, 1646), a chapelry of the parish of Llanbadarn Fawr (Card.), near the Devil's Bridge. Here the church (St. John) stands within a mounded circular[3] yard, and built into the dry-stone revetment are several[4] immense blocks, one of them doing duty as a gatepost at the entrance. The largest, which stands in the wall of the churchyard on the east, rises 11 ft. above the ground. Local tradition declares that there used to be many more of these megaliths, and that some were broken up to furnish material for the repair of the church or to build the retaining wall.[5]

This burial-ground at Yspytty Cynfin was evidently a peristalithic round barrow. Whether it was built to cover the bones of a pagan or of a Christian may never be known, but manifestly it came to be used as a place of Christian burial, and therefore of Christian worship; and in due course therefore it required to be fenced. It was fenced like other Welsh churchyards with a stone revetment, and this was naturally made by filling-in the intervals between the megaliths.[6]

Two very remarkable facts are recorded of this same chapelry. Firstly, the members of the community claim and exercise the right to choose their own Vicar ; and secondly, there was annually held in the chapel a meeting ‘ for the purpose of athletic contests.’[1]

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[1] Had this stone once itself served as the preacher's platform? At the entrance to the hamlet of Iveston, parish of Leadgate, Durham, stood (or stands) a solitary monolith, and 'at the end of harvest one of the villagers used to get upon it and address' the others; whence came 'the tradition or fable that St. Ivo preached from it.' (Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, i, 506). The church, a modern one is dedicated to St. Ivo.

[2] See above, ch. iii.

[3] G. Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire, Its Antiquities*, p. 131. The author tells me that the churchyard was enlarged in 1901 and that the older part is well-nigh circular in form and mounded up.

[4] They are usually accounted three; others make them five, by including fallen blocks now embedded in the wall.

[5] See *Cambr. Journ.* 1858, p. 205; *Meyrick's Cardiganshire*; Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire* (1903), p. 180. Cynfin is usually taken to represent Cenvaen, 'Stone ridge.'

[6] The name Yspytty is usually referred to *hospitium* in the sense of property of some Latin abbey. G. Eyre Evans (*Cardiganshire*, p. 180) would so explain it here, the place having been a hospice of the Cistercian house of Strata Florida; and thus he would also account for the dedication to St. John. Conceivably the name may be older, and this church, like that of Macmoil, was founded by some saint *quo hospitaretur*; see above, p. 113, n. 2. The Roman trunk-road (Sarn Helen) passed at no great distance from the spot.

Writer after writer during the past century has spoken of this spot as an indubitable example of the conversion of a druidical circle into a Christian church.[2] Whether such a view is right or wrong, depends entirely upon what the writers mean by a ‘ druidical ’ circle. There is no doubt at all that it is a genuine case of the Christianisation of a sepulchral cromlech identical in appearance with those of paganism. There is a persistent tradition that the churchyard of Llanfihangel Nant Melan, Radnorshire, was made within the ceinture of a stone circle. The garth is still circular, albeit no trace remains of any peristalith.

A third form of the pagan sepulchral *limes* was the simple ring of standing stones without a mound, the cromlech or stone circle proper, rarely of great area. In the parish of Llangenydd, Glam., is a field known by the name of Cae’r Hên Eglwys, ‘ Old Church Field,’ in which stand the remains of a stone circle, itself known as Yr Hên Eglwys, ‘ The Old Church.’[3] Another, in the Vale of Neath, is called Yr Hên Llan.[4] Of yet a third, near Bridgend, also called Yr Hên Eglwys, the local tale is that here the inhabitants worshipped before the present church (at Lalestone) was built.[5] On the mountain between Llanwddyn and Pennant Melangell is ‘ a circular enclosure surrounded by a wall, called Hên Eglwys, supposed to be a druidical relic, or probably the remains of an ancient cemetery.’[6] On the Eglwysegl rocks near Llangollen are the remains of a large stone circle.

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[1] G. Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire*, pp. 179, 180. ‘ Probably,’ he writes, ‘ it is the only parish in Wales which elects its Vicar on such a democratic system . . . The parishioners used to remain in their chapel through the night, trying their skill in such pastimes as casting the bar.’ Yspytty Cynfin is not now a parish. He mentions (*loc. cit.*) that there used to be sports of the same kind at Yspytty Ystwyth.

[2] *E.g.* Malkin, *Scenery and Antiqs. of South Wales* (1807); p. 187; Curtis, *Antiqs. of Laugharneshire* (1880), p. 64; Prof. Tyrrell Green, *Aberystwyth and District*, p. 114. When (1797) the old cathedral of Arras was demolished, it was found that the foundations of the apse rested upon huge monoliths, upwards of 15 ft. in length. The site (on Baudimont, where stood the Gallo-Roman capital of the Atrebates) was ‘ traditionally a scene of worship since pre-Christian times,’ and the monoliths have been interpreted as the remains of a stone circle.

[3] *Royal Commission Anct. Hist. Monts. Wales and Monmouth ; Minutes of Evidence*, i (1912), no. 1898.

[4] ibid.

[5] Malkin, op. cit. p. 187 ; Johnson, *Byways*, p. 31.

[6] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* s.v. *Llanwddyn.* This village and its original church are now drowned under the waters of Lake Vyrnwy.

Still more suggestive is the occurrence near Towyn (Merion.) of three sites bearing the name of Eglwys y Gwyddel.[1] One of these is a small circle with a diameter of 26 feet only, and of the six stones remaining the highest stood in 1874 but 3 ft. 7 ins. out of the ground.[2] Seeing that the word *eglwys* was never, so far as is known, applied profanely, it is difficult to explain its use here except on the supposition that the people who so used it either knew stone circles to have been places of worship, or saw in the circular plan of this cromlech the familiar symbol of their own creed, the circular *limes*. In either case the name bears out the writer's argument. But if it be remembered further that *Gwyddel*, commonly now rendered 'Irishman,' is in reality the English word 'Goidel,' the question arises whether the names were not given to these circles by a people which had indeed adopted Latin Christianity, but remembered the essential difference between the Latin and the Celtic forms of the faith. In Celtic Christianity

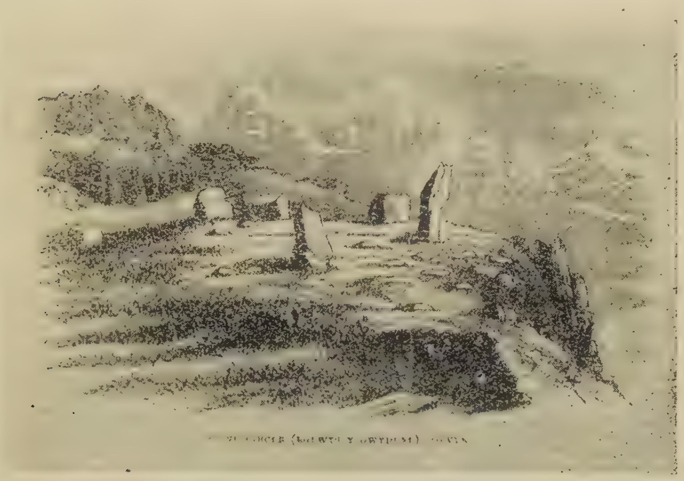

FIG. 5. EGLWYS Y GWYDDEL, TOWYN, MERIONETHSHIRE.
From a drawing by J. T. Blight in *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1874, p. 235.

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[1] Baring Gould and Fisher, *British Saints*, iv, p. 196. They stand respectively on Mynydd y Bwlch Glas, in Coed Perffednant, and on Mynydd Ty'n Llwyn, and the name appears to vary between *Gwyddel* (sing.) and *Gwyddyl* or *Gwyddelod* (plural). The site in Perffeddnant is marked by the remains of a very small building: *Inventory Merioneth*, no. 543.

[2] *Arch. Cambr.* 1874, p. 234. There are signs that the number of stones was originally greater: *Inventory Merioneth*, no. 533A.

the church was of no importance, the circular *limes* was everything. This was a circular *limes*, and therefore by inference a place of worship, or of burial, or of both. It was in fact such a structure as might, by a Latinised Welsh Christian, contemptuously be said to be the sort of thing which, to the Irishry and their kindred Goidels, served for a church—Eglwys y Gwyddel.

There is another circle of stones on a hill near Yspytty Cynfin, said to be called 'The Temple,' and yet another in the same locality is termed 'Gilgal.'[1] Circles in Tir-y-Myneich (Llanbrynmair) and in Breconshire go by the name of Yr Allor, 'The Altar' (ch. x). A passage in one of the so-called poems of Taliesin contains the words *eclie retunde*, *phalatie Cesarie*[2] (*? ecclesiae rotundae*, *palatia Caesarea*), and while the poem as a whole seems thus far to have baffled the translators, the phrase quoted appears to mean 'churches round and palaces of Caesars.' Inasmuch as Wales is almost wholly innocent of any trace and any tradition of a circular structural church,[3] it is unwise to cite the line as evidence that the earliest Welsh 'churches' were of that plan.[4] It would be far more agreeable to the evidence to translate the words *eclie retunde* as 'circular meeting-places,' and to maintain that the writer of the poem was speaking of such things as the *Eglwys y Gwyddel* above described, or of those circular churchyards which are to this day ubiquitous in Wales, *eclie* (i.e. *ecclesiae*) being used in the original sense of places of Christian assembly. As the poem is as yet unexplained, and withal of unknown date, it is not worth further notice.

Welsh writers repeatedly assert that the Druids of Siluria embraced Christianity, that Christian worship was performed in the circles which were beforetime the scenes of druidic ritual,[1] and that the first priests of the new faith in Wales were themselves Druids. It were much to be wished that authority for these statements were forthcoming; in default it can be said only that they seem to be extremely probable. So much one may admit without committing oneself to all the claims of Bardic writers. Nothing would be more likely than that Druidism should seize upon the new and vigorous faith, seeking thereby to recover the position it had lost.

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[1] Horsfall-Turner, *Wanderings in Cardiganshire*; G. Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire*, p. 180. The term *gulgul* is given as a Breton name for a stone circle. One suspects a reference to *Joshua* iv.

[2] Skene, *Four Anct. Bks. Wales*, ii, 111. According to one view it is one of the most ancient poems of those which bear Taliesin's name, dating from sixth century at latest; according to another, it was written in the thirteenth century.

[3] The only ancient church in Wales showing even a circular apse is said to be that of Llanfair P.G. in Anglesey, of which the foundations underlie the present building. (*Trans. Cymmrodor. Soc.* 1916–1917, p. 60).

[4] As does Williams (*Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry*). 'Probably,' he says, 'the first churches were of circular form'—(p. 173). So they were if 'church' or *eglwys* be taken in the only sense which the words can have borne at the date intended, *i.e.* circular barrows at which Christians met for worship.

'Near Mare Cross [i.e. March Croes, now Marcross, near Llantwit], Glamorgan, is an ancient cromlech [dolmen] called the Old Church, the inhabitants believing that these rude structures were once places of worship.'[2] In Llanhamlech, Brecon, a ruined dolmen goes by the name of Ty Illtyd, 'St. Illtyd's House.'[3] Like the Irish *teach*, the Welsh *ty* was frequently used of churches, and it is not impossible that dolmens so styled may at an early period have served the purpose of oratories.[4] The church of Stainton, near Haverfordwest, is built over a pair of dolmens.[5]

Pillar-stones are extremely common in Wales. Numbers of them stand within the churchyards, ranging from the rudest untooled blocks to the most elaborate 'Celtic' crosses like those of Penally. They bear every kind of lettering from simple ogams through bi-linguals to pure Latin. 'Rude pillar-stones with inscriptions are sometimes found side by side with those having an incised cross, but no lettering, as at Trawsmawr in Carmarthenshire, and the inference is here also that both were erected at the same period.'[6] A stone at Llanerfyl (Mont.) has the inscription: HIC IN TUMULO IACIT ROSTECE FILIA PATERNINI AN. xiii IN PA[CE].[1] The wording declares that Rostece was a Christian and that she was buried 'in this barrow.' The 'barrow' in question was possibly what is now the churchyard of Llanerfyl: it is circular, and the stone stands upon it. At any rate here was a Christian who was buried in a 'barrow.' The same formula occurs elsewhere in Wales,[2] and notably on the Porius stone at Trawsfynnydd[3] (Merion.), and there is no showing that either monument is pagan. If it be objected that *tumulus* in these inscriptions means merely 'grave' (*sepulcrum*), that objection will not apply to yet a third case at Penmachno (Carn.), where is a stone bearing the Christian symbol of the *labarum* and the inscription: CARAUSIUS HIC IACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM (here within this pile of stones lies Carausius).[4] The symbol declares that Carausius likewise was a Christian, and his gravestone actually surmounts a small cairn. Names of Christian import attach to many a Welsh cairn to this day, as to Tomen Sant Ffraid, 'Saint Bride's Grave,' in Cwm Teuddwr. A small tumulus, crowned by two large stones 6 ft. apart, in the parish of Glyn in Brecknockshire, used to be pointed out as the grave of the great St. Illtyd.[5]

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[1] Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry*, pp. 61, 69, 169; W. Owen Pughe, *Introd. to Llywarch Hên*, p. lx.

[2] Nicholson, *Cambrian Traveller's Guide*, 2nd ed., p. 491.

[3] Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs.* p. 173. Camden (*Britannia*, ed. 1722, ii. 707–8) calls it 'St. Illtyd's hermitage or cell.' It is described by Westwood (*Lapidarium Walliae*, p. 67), who illustrates from the *graffiti* within it two figures analogous to the circle-and-cross design found at Warren (p. 263). He adds that 'within a few paces of it was a circle of stones called Maen Illtyd, some of which were remaining in Lhwyd's time.'

[4] *Arch. Cambr.* 1919, p. 541, where is cited also, from Landeleau (St. Teilo) in Brittany, the small dolmen called Ti Sant Heleau, 'St. Teilo's House.'

[5] *Arch. Cambr.* 1896, p. 354; 1898, p. 182. They were found about 4 ft. below the floor of the nave and were of small size, 'either small dolmens or large cists.' A fine ogam-stone bearing the wheeled cross was standing in 1876 'in the middle of the churchyard,' doing duty as a modern gravestone. (*Arch. Cambr.* 1880, p. 292; 1881, p. 217).

[6] Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* p. 85.

'In a field in the grounds of Court Herbert, near the Abbey of Neath, stood some years since, and probably still stands, a tall upright menhir raised upon a small mound of stones, doubtless of pagan origin, but upon which, at a more recent period, the emblem of the Cross had been inscribed by early Christian converts.' So wrote Westwood in 1877, voicing the then accepted view that any such monument must, if uninscribed, have been necessarily pagan, if inscribed, necessarily a palimpsest. In the light of what has been said and seen in previous pages, this view becomes unconvincing. The usurpation of a pagan monument—menhir or otherwise—by Christianity may have happened sometimes; but that every such monument which bears a Christian symbol has been so usurped is a matter which possibly could not be proved, and in itself is highly improbable. The early Christians appear to have used precisely the same sepulchral monuments as their pagan forbears and contemporaries, and the presumption is that in the first instance they would not add any Christian inscription or symbol, this being a later development.

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[1] *Inventory Montgomeryshire*, no. 398. The older reading of the name was RESTICE.

[2] Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*, p. 64.

[3] The old reading of this stone was PORIUS HIC IN TUMULO IACIT. HOMO XTIANUS FUIT. Later authorities prefer to read the penultimate word as PLANUS, although unable to explain the meaning until Egerton Phillimore in 1919 suggested that it was an attempt to latinise the not uncommon Welsh *Wyneb clawr*, Irish *Clarainech*, a *sobriquet* meaning 'flat-faced,' *i.e.* disfigured by leprosy, a leper. See Westwood, *Lapidarium*, p. 161; *Arch. Cambr.* 1885, p. 143; ibid. 1919, p. 252; ibid. 1920, p. 223.

[4] Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*, p. 175; Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, p. 89. Westwood remarks that this case 'proves that the raising of cairns or mounds of stones is not necessarily evidence of the paganism of the person interred beneath the mound,' referring to *Arch. Cambr.* 1863, p. 257. For another example of an undoubtedly Christian stone standing upon a cairn, see *Lapid. Walliae*, p. 82.

[5] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

The old Welsh saying that '’Tis a good enough stone provided it be Christian' (*Da yw'r maen gyda 'r Efengyl*), would seem to be a genuine memory of those days of transition in which all the manifold variety of stone structures—menhirs and dolmens and cromlechs and the rest—erstwhile regarded as the necessary apparatus of paganism, were slowly winning to a new consecration. If a Christian stone were 'good,' the implication is that there were other stones which were non-Christian and therefore 'bad'; and it is further implied that the consecration alone mattered. Thus the saying becomes an explicit admission that there had been a time when menhir and circle might be indifferently pagan or Christian, and there was no outward feature to distinguish the one from the other. And this is precisely the conclusion to which independent evidence has brought us. None the less the words would seem to imply further that, though stone might be tolerated, there was something preferable, that is to say, the wooden structures which were, so to speak, the peculiar mark of the *regula Scotica*.

In the light of these and similar instances it becomes idle to discuss the question whether a Christian church ever usurped a pagan site. We have churches standing upon barrows of every kind, and in the closest association with every recognised form of pagan monument. We see the forms of the same monuments perpetuated in those above Christian graves, as the circle of the barrow is perpetuated in the circular churchyard. We have traced the Christian *mynwent* back to the primary interment, and at

Churchways in Warren we have seen a primary interment attended by abundant tokens of paganism and also by the Christian token of the wheeled cross. Further than this it is hard to see how it were possible to go, unless the dead were to rise up from their dust to tell us more. It would seem that there can be found in Wales an unbroken continuity of certain religious forms from the remotest days of paganism to this present year of grace. Mr. W. Clarke found, when professionally engaged in connection with the rebuilding of the nave, anhistoric urn-burials laid at a depth of 25 ft. below the present surface under the floor of the cathedral church of Llandaff. This may not prove a purposed continuity through the ages, but on the other hand a purposed continuity can hardly be disproved.

If the churchyard was originally a barrow, this at once explains the constant finding of urns and other evidences of supposed 'pre-Christian' interments within such precincts. At Llangorwen, 'in cutting a foundation for this church (1840) an urn containing some human bones was dug up on the south side, between the porch and the east gable of the nave; and since then, in digging a grave about 15 yds. from the church, and between it and the little river, more bones were found. In both places the earth was blackened, and appeared to have been acted on by fire.'[1] The case of the churchyard of Penmynydd in Anglesey, where each burial was accompanied by a white quartz pebble, was mentioned above (ch. iv). The churchyard of Marros (Carm.) was unenclosed in the first half of last century, and when the present enclosing wall was built (1868), there were found a number of large sepulchral urns.[2] The details of this discovery are unluckily not so precise as could be wished, but it points plainly to the fact that this churchyard also was once a barrow; and that the barrow had become so much spread that in building the wall the line was drawn across a part of it. The same explanation may cover such cases as that of Wing, Bucks, where a number of skeletons were found outside the churchyard wall, but so near to it that they could only be regarded as 'strays,' and were duly re-interred within the churchyard.[1] It is known however that interments were frequently made, not in the actual barrow, but around it, and it is quite possible that in this practice is to be seen the origin of urn-fields, of which the original nucleus, the central barrow has disappeared. As the evolution of the barrow was steadily towards a less and less elevation, such a result would in some soils inevitably follow.

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[1] G. Eyre Evans, *Cardigan, Its Antiquities*, p. 243.

[2] Curtis, *Antiqs. of Laugharneshire*, p. 322; *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 621, note.

The wall of the churchyard at Eglwys Cymmin used to be kept in repair by the farmers occupying the parish lands, each of whom was liable for the upkeep of a section proportionate to the extent of his holding. Built into the revetment are blocks bearing the initials of some of those responsible in the eighteenth century, the junction between one section and the next being sometimes very clearly marked. The same custom prevails, or has prevailed, in English churchyards, e.g. at Areley Kings in Worcestershire, and at Cowfold in Sussex.[2] In Ireland the Brehon Laws required each tenant to construct his share of the lord's *rath*, and in the Isle of Man 'owners of *Treens* were obliged to keep their portions of the churchyard and its fence in order.'[3] It can hardly be doubted that the custom, attaching to churchyards, goes back to the provision made in the Brehon Laws, and is yet another trace of Celtic influence in the Church of the British Isles.

At Areley Kings the limits of the various sections of the wall—the garth is still in great part circular, but most of the wall has disappeared—were marked in the eighteenth century by 'mere-stones,'[4] now no longer visible, and possibly sunk into the ground. They were perhaps of no great size. But supposing they had been fairly large and durable stones, set upright along the boundary of a circular churchyard, one can easily see how later generation might find herein the vestiges of a true cromlech. Such a happening as this will hardly account for the immense 11 ft. megalith in the ceinture of the garth at Yspytty Cynfin, but the facts inevitably raise the question whether possibly there was some connection between the number of stones in a genuine stone circle and the numbers of the community to whom it belonged, whether as graveyard, moot, or temple.[1]

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[1] De Baye, *Industrial Arts of Anglo-Saxons* (1893), p. 125; *Archaeologia*, xxxv. pp. 379–381. De Baye says: 'it is found that the churches were built, if not on the sites of ancient cemeteries, at least very near them.' He cites further examples at Mentmore, Bucks, and at Lewes (? S. Malling). The same thing has been noticed in the case of many Manx *keeills*.

[2] Other examples are given by Addy, *Church and Manor*, pp. 133–134. A particularly good instance occurs at Llanwyddalis (Card.), where 36 parishioners were liable, their liabilities ranging from ¼ or ½ share to a whole 'perk' (perch), or even a second perk. (Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire*, p. 219).

[3] A. W. Moore, *Manx Place Names* citing from the *Ballaugh Register* of 1600.

[4] Burton, *Hist. of Bewdley*. Each section here was known as a 'panie' (? panel). Amongst those responsible in the seventeenth cent. was one Sir Harry Coningsby, who died 1701. He chose to erect as his portion of the fence a solid wall of red sandstone blocks, some 16 ft. long and 4 ft. high. The other persons concerned were presumably content with less enduring materials; at any rate there is no other trace of a wall around the garth, and to judge from the position of Coningsby's 'panie' the garth had already lost part of its circularity in his time. When he died he

There has been mentioned in connection with Yspytty Cynfin and Yspytty Ystwith (p. 125) something that looks like a survival of the funeral games which were a necessary adjunct of all commemoration of the dead. In Ireland the custom is scarcely yet defunct, and there are abundant traces of its survival up to recent times in all parts of England and Scotland. As regards Wales the evidence does not seem to have been so carefully collected, but there is no reason to doubt its existence. As these games in Ireland developed into the great fairs of the country, it is in the Welsh fairs that the evidence must be sought. There used to be a great annual sheep-fair at Marros (Carm.) on the patronal day (St. Lawrence), and the scene of it was round the churchyard. It was discontinued only some fifty years ago. A few fairs are still kept up, as for example that of Llanuwchllyn, near Bala.

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caused himself to be buried under this wall of his building, and to be carved upon it the polyglot rhyming legend: LITHOLOGEMA QUARE REPONITUR SIR HARRY (A pile of stones. And why? Here doth Sir Harry lie).

[1] This suggestion has been often mooted; e.g. Hutchinson (*Hist. Cumberland*, I, 250) surmised that the number of stones forming the circle of 'Long Meg's Daughters' at Salkeld might 'denote the number of delegates entitled to be present at the convention there held.' As the Celtic tribal system otherwise set considerable store by numerical proportions (as in *tref*, *cantref*, etc.), there is no obvious reason why such a theory should be altogether wrong. The normal number of stones (10 to 12) in the Aberdeenshire circles may very well have corresponded with some *theoretical* unit of population in that locality, and the frequent nineteen stones of the Cornish circles to another and larger unit in West Wales. The ancient Welsh name of the present parish of Monington (Pemb.) was Eglwys Wythur, 'the Ecclesia of the Eight men,' which seems to suggest that when that *ecclesia* came into existence, the number of freeholders was eight only. We find similar variations in the numbers of the responsible persons in English parishes: 24 is a common number, 16 not uncommon, and the figures vary from as few as 12 to as many as 48. See Addy, *Church and Manor*, pp. 257–267, and cp. the *Douzainiers* of the Channel Island parishes, whose number is usually 12, but may be 16 or even 20.

Known as Ffair Wyl Ddeiniol, it preserves the church's dedication to St. Deiniol.

Possibly a trace of these ancient games is to be seen in the name of *Maen* (pl. *meini*) *Campau*, 'Stone of games,' attaching to some of the Welsh megaliths, as for example near the great circle on the lower slopes of Penmaenmawr (ch. x), almost in the shadow of the great anhistoric fortress crowning the hill.[1] There being no space on the hill itself for such amusement, and no nearer open ground available, it is probable enough that this circle—it is known as the *Meini Hirion*—was in fact a *rendezvous* for something of the kind,[2] whether or no the participants remembered that the origin of their sports was a funeral-feast. They may very well have forgotten it, as the Romans had forgotten the origin of their *circus* and their amphitheatre. On the other hand such names may have arisen from the actual use of such spots as *rendezvous* on holidays—not at all unlikely in a thinly peopled land and amidst a scattered population—or from the same association of ideas as led Cornishmen and Mecklenburgers to dub so many of their stone circles 'Dances.' Yet even here the association of dancing with such monuments may itself be a case of genuine folk-memory: dances were as much a part of the old Celtic ritual as of that of the Greeks or of the Jews, and we know that they were part of the *cuitech fuait* of the Goidels of Ireland.[3] We have seen dancing associated to this day with the *circus* at Ham Hill (ch. ix.), and we shall find other sorts of games associated until the last century with the once peristalithic ring-work at Kirkby Ireleth (ch. xxiv). Dancing was part of the Beltane sports of Scotland, which were themselves connected with 'druidical' remains (ch. viii), and in Iona St. Michael's Hill was the annual scene of a curious kind of cattle-dance. These odds and ends of evidence are the very flotsam of Time, but they are none the less evidence of what has been.

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[1] There seems to be a good deal of doubt to what megalith the name really applies. Some speak as if it were identical with the *Meini Hirion* at Penmaenmawr. Others say it was a single pillar-stone a little distance from the *Meini Hirion*. The author of the *Gossiping Guide to N. Wales* states confidently that it is a pillar-stone by the path from Penmaenmawr to Talyfan, and that beside it are the remains of another great circle.

[2] The usual place for all such constructions was outside the walls of the community, but a great stone *in the churchyard* at Efenechtyd, Denbighshire, known as the Careg Gamp, was 'formerly used in the rustic sports of the village' (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*).

[3] For some curious talk about the possible origin and import of old Welsh dances, the 'Cheshire Round' and others, see Peter Roberts, *Popular Welsh Antiqs.* Morris dancing was the traditional pastime at Whitsuntide, he says, and 'in many parts of the country there were formerly patches of ground levelled for dancing, (*op. cit.* p. 127). In Homeric language the Welsh had their own *χοροί*. 'Till within the last few years it was customary for the young people of the parish [Meifod, Mont.] to assemble at this place (Ffynnon y Clawdd llesg) on the eighth Sunday after Easter to drink the water, and afterwards to retire to some green spot and spend the remainder of the day in dancing; a similar practice prevailed near a fountain of clear water on Gallt y Main, at the other extremity of the parish, whence, after drinking the water, the company retired to a fine green fenced on four sides like a Roman camp and called Bryn y Bowliau, where they spent the rest of the day in athletic exercises. . . . The practice has been discontinued for some years.' (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* 1843).

The Welsh name of *Meini campau* recalling that of *Plane an Gwariou* ('place of games') applied to the Cornish 'Rounds,' and that of Plaistow, which recurs in many parts of the English map and bears precisely the same meaning ('place of play'), it becomes a question whether the 'plays' in Cornwall too were not originally of some other kind than the miracle-plays of the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries. It may be added that one explanation suggested for the name of Maumbury (ch. ix), connects it with 'Maumet,' whence come also 'mummer' and 'mummery.'[1]

Welsh speech has the words *cron* (*gron*) and *crwm* (*grwm*) meaning 'a round,' 'circle,' 'sphere'; and *crwn* (f. *cron*), 'round,' 'circular,' 'spherical,' *crwm* (f. *crwn*), 'bent,' 'curved.' These are all related to Latin *corona*, Greek κορώνη, English *crown*, and *crwm* is the first element in *cromlech*, as is the Irish equivalent in *Crom Cruaich*. Castell Crwn was the name given to two circular ringworks, each with single vallum and fosse, in Mynachdy ('Monk's Town') in Anglesey,[2] and in Scotland the same term is said to be applied to any circle of stones.[3] Welsh has also the substantive *cant* (*gant*), 'an annular fence,' 'ring-work,' The Latin *circus*, *circulus*, reappear in the forms *cyrch*, *cyrchell*, equivalent in meaning to the more common *cylch*, itself said to be related to κύκλος.[1] None of these appears to be applied specifically to any particular antiquity in Wales.

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[1] In Chaucer's time *maumettrie*. The word really signifies 'worship of Mahomet,' and arose at a period (twelth cent.) when the Moslem creed was regarded as the type of all 'idolatry,' or worship of false gods. In view of the attitude assumed by the earliest Christian writers, alike in Italy and in England, towards 'amphitheatres' generally, it is not altogether impossible that the name of Maumbury may be an echo of a similar feeling, and may preserve the popular belief that such a place was above all a *deofulgild-hus*.

[2] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* Cae Crwn is a field containing hut-circles in Merionethshire (*Inventory* no. 159).

[3] Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*.

'West Wales' once included not Cornwall only, but much of Somerset and all of Devon, an area throughout which the Celtic element was very strong and very persistent.[2] Until the fight at Dyrham (577) Glastonbury[3] was a stronghold of Celtism, and latterly at least of Christian Celtism, taking rank as one of the 'Three Perpetual Choirs' and boasting itself the oldest Christian church in England. Ina and his Saxons reached the Parrett and fortified Taunton about 700. Thereafter 'West Wales' meant the smaller area beyond the river. It was still readily accessible from the real Wales, for the sea-passage from Glamorgan was but 15 miles or so. The modern name reflects the earlier, for Cornwall literally means 'Peninsular Wales.' The final conquest of the country by the Saxons only occurred in the time of Athelstan (926).[4]

Tradition is full of allusions to the active intercourse between Welsh and Cornish Christianity. Cystennyn, surnamed Gorneu or 'The Cornishman,' is the reputed progenitor of at least ten great Welsh saints, including St. Cybi. Tradition tells of the activity of Saints David, Teilo, and Samson, in Cornwall, and existing dedications confirm tradition. As Llancarfan lies in that part of Wales which is nearest to Dyfnaint (Dumnonia), it is no matter of surprise that St. Cadoc should be represented as travelling hither. He particularly affected the islands of Flat Holm and Steep Holm in the Severn Sea. On one of these, then called Echni, he is said[5] to have displayed his miraculous powers more than once, and there also was buried one of his disciples, Gwalches by name. In the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*anno* 918) one of these islands appears under the name of Bradanrelice[1] ('the isle of the grave of St. Bradan'), apparently Steep Holm; so that the Celtic name would seem to have been for a time adopted by the West Saxons until supplanted by the Norse *holm*; and further there must have been some sort of Christian settlement upon the island. It is said that there are still the remains of an ancient burial-ground to be seen there.[2] The later priory of St. Michael on Steep Holm very probably occupied the site of that earlier foundation.[3]

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[1] So Sylvan Evans and Sir John Morris Jones. Possibly *cylch* may be but another spelling of *cyrch*, just as in Switzerland we find *kilch* instead of *kirch*, both from *circus*. In *Triad* 23 of Dyfnwal Moelmud (*Myvyr. Archaiol.*, ii, 922) both words appear with identical meaning, *cylch* once, *cyrch* twice, and the sense in all cases is 'moot.' In the parish of St. David's the word survives in a sense analogous to the English 'township': the parish is divided into four *cylchau*, respectively distinguished as *Cylch y* Drêf, Mawr, Bychan and Gwaelod.

[2] There is a considerable number of purely Celtic church dedications in Somerset.

[3] McClure (*British Place Names*, p. 275) endorses the view that its original name was Glastenic (*glasten*, Corn. and Bret. 'oaks').

[4] Athelstan appointed to the see of Bodmin the Cornish bishop Conan, on the latter's submission to the see of Canterbury in 936. The Celtic Church of West Wales had been independent until that date, except for a temporary submission under bishop Kenstec before 870. Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, p. 4.

[5] *C. B. S.* pp. 25, 26.

W. C. Borlase remarks[4] on the triple division of Cornwall according to the prevailing church-dedications and other indications. In West Cornwall and the region of the Land's End these are preponderantly Irish[5]; in North Cornwall they are Welsh; and in South Cornwall, and the vicinity of St. Michael's Mount, they are Breton. This is precisely what one would expect. The county was one in which met three several streams of influence from those three lands over-seas, and it is from the literature of those lands that we learn what little we know of the lives and acts of the saints of Cornwall. Literature of her own she has none to speak of. But the stubborn Celtism of the people is remarkable. 'Here at the quiet limit of the world' the Brython found in his turn an asylum with the Goidel whom he had supplanted, and here he has left some of his very finest moot-circles. The Saxon made but small impression here. There are a few names in *-stow* (Virginstow, Morwenstow, Warbstow, etc.) in the north, creeping down the western side of the peninsular as far as Padstow. In 1291 Padstow (St. Petrock's Stow) was already known as Alderstow (The Old Stow), for it had been superseded by the new church of St. Petrock—a Welshman, says Leland, who had spent twenty years in Ireland—at Bodmin. But the only purely Saxon saints to leave their mark in the land were Dunstan,[1] Werburgha,[2] and Neot, the alleged kinsman of king Alfred.[3]

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[1] In one MS. only. As the others have Steep Holm, the identification is clear. The final *e* of Bradanrelice may represent—*ea*, (island). Bradan can scarcely be Saxon, and is presumably Celtic. Kirk Braddan in I. of Man was anciently Keeill Vraadan (Braddan's burial-ground); which is exactly the meaning of Bradanrelice. But who this Bradan was is unknown. There are said to have been 14 saints of the name. The church of the parish of Brendon, near Barnstaple, is dedicated to St. Brendan.

[2] Murray's *Somersetshire*.

[3] Rev. E. H. Bates Harbin in *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* lxii (1916), pt. ii, pp. 26–45. Leland is the sole authority for the statement that Gildas at one time took refuge on the island and there wrote his *De Excidio* (*c.* 560). A tombstone decorated with a cross is said to have been found on Flat Holm (*C. B. S.*, *Vita S. Cadoci*, c. 25, note), but it seems to have been lost.

[4] *Age of the Saints*, p. 122. He has chapters on Welsh, Irish and Breton Saints in Cornwall.

[5] See H. Jenner, F.S.A. *The Irish Immigrations into Cornwall* (presidential address. Roy. Corn. Polytechnic Soc. August, 1916).

All over West Cornwall occur the most striking remains of circular fortifications of the typical Irish kind. Long before Polwhele's time it was surmised that these must be of Irish origin, and the belief that they are so is now fairly general. H. Jenner has pointed out[4] that the well-known group of 'huts' at Chysauster, to which still attaches the popular name of 'The Chapels,' is to all appearance the ruin of an Irish monastic 'cashel.' This Irish influence belongs to the later part of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries, the period of the first enthusiastic outburst of Scotic missionary zeal, and it came mainly from Munster.

*Lan*—(the Welsh *Llan*) is to be found all over Cornwall; it occurs more than 160 times, and frequently in parish names, e.g. Lanherne, Lanhydroc, Laneast, Lanlivery, Lanreath, Lansallos, and Landewednack. It was once still commoner; for example, Gulval was Lanesly in 1291.[5] Even when the *lan* has dropped out of the parish-name, it frequently survives in that of the church-farm. The Welsh *Merthyr* reappears in Merther (with church of St. Cohan or Coan), a parish five miles west of Tregony, in Merthyr Uny, parish of Wendron, and in Mertherdarva, parish of Camborne. The last-named appears also as Menadarva, where *mena* represents the Breton *menehi*, *menechi* ('place of sanctuary'); and this again gives such other modern forms as *Menhays* and *Menas*. As in Wales and Ireland, the *ecclesia* word is rare: the Cornish form is *eglos*, which appears in Egloshayle and Egloskerry, and in Treneglos, Treveglos (cf. Welsh Trefeglwys), and Lanteglos (Welsh Llaneglwys). It was commoner however at one period: in *Domesday*, for example, the modern St. Buryan figures as Eglosberrie.[1] *Kil* is about as frequent as in south Wales, though it does not occur as a parish-name: Killannoon in St. Erth (the *kil* on the Down), Killagerrick in Duloe (the *kil* of the rocks), Kilgear in Boconnoc (the *kil* of the fort), Kilhellan in Tywardreath and Killahellan in Camborne (the *kil* of St. Hellan), Kilmar and Kilmarth (? the *kil* of king Mark), and Killyow, a plural form corresponding to the Irish *cealla* (Kells). *Lis* is very common. *Rath* appears not to occur at all, and *cashel* only in its Brythonic form of *castell*; but Dinnurrin (i.e. Dingerein, Dinas Geraint) was the name of a famous monastery of the ninth century, and may suggest the conversion of a secular *caer* or *rath* to ecclesiastical purposes. St. Dennis in mid-Cornwall is probably another example of the same thing, the Norman dedication having been prompted by the sound of an earlier *dinas*. There is still a circular entrenchment surrounding the church.[2]

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[1] See Arnold Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii, 102.

[2] Eponym of Warbstow.

[3] He has churches at Lanlivery and Lanreath.

[4] *Roy. Corn. Polytechnic Soc.* 17th July, 1913. He further suggested that the name of Chysauster might possibly mean 'House of the Sisters,' i.e. sisterhood, and point to its having been a primitive nunnery. A piece of land near the old manse at Aberdour, Fife, was still (1842) known as 'Sisters' Land,' as having once been the site of a Franciscan nunnery (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*). The name of Chysauster is said however to be Chy Sylvester in a Subsidy Roll of 1327, and the change is entirely accordant with Cornish phonetics. (Information of C. H. Henderson).

[5] Madron, says W. C. Borlase (*Age of the Saints*, p. 128), was perhaps once Landith. But Madron itself, he states (ibid. p. 164), stands for Llanbadarn. Bridgerule was earlier Llan-Bridgit, and Perranzabuloe was Lanpiran in *D.B.*

These facts leave no doubt that early Christianity entered Cornwall, or re-entered it, with precisely the same outward seeming as it bore in Ireland and in Wales—in the form of the circular monastic precinct (*llan*) and the circular burial-ground (*kil*). There is a scrap of folk-memory pointing the same way in the local tradition that the chief of the Scotic saints of Cornwall, St. Piran (Kieran), taught the Cornishmen to build their peculiar 'rounds.'[3] He had, says the story, already taught them the art of tin-mining, and to protect the mines he introduced the 'round.' The Celts of Cornwall had mined tin for centuries before the saint was born, and they had also built Celtic *duns* as long or longer; but nothing is more probable than that St. Piran played a chief part in introducing amongst them the peculiar Irish monastic cashel.

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[1] Elsewhere Eglosveryan. Other instances from *Domesday* are Heglosenuder (manor) representing the present St. Enoder, and Egloshos, representing Eglos-Rose (Philleigh). Church-farms so named are common; e.g. Eglosderry ('Oak Church') in Wendron, Eglos-crow ('Shed Church') in St. Issey, Eglos-Erme in Erme, Egloshayle in Roche, Eglos-Merther in Merther, Eglos-Hellans in St. Stephens-in-Brannel. I owe these examples to H. Jenner, F.S.A.

[2] *Report Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, xv, 108.

[3] Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* (1881), p. 275.

It may be added that the occurrence of the vocables *din*— (= *dinas*, *dun*) and *gear* (= *caer*, *cathair*) in the names of places which are known to have been at one period monastic settlements, is proof that their peculiar fortifications were a principal feature in such settlements in West Cornwall.

The ‘ rounds ’ at St. Just and Perran seem to be as old as any of the kind. Each is a perfectly circular enclosure contained within a vallum of earth and stone, and each has an exterior fosse. The arena at St. Just is 126 feet across, the height of the wall 7 feet above the arena and 10 feet above the fosse without, its width at the summit 7 feet; that of Perran has a diameter of 130 feet, a fosse 5 feet deep, and the wall rises 8 feet above the area. Each, when first constructed, might have passed for a native Irish *rath*, and each is sufficiently near to St. Patrick's norm of 140 feet over all. Both have been converted into amphitheatral arenas by the simple expedient of setting tiers of seats along the inner face of the vallum. At St. Just there are six such tiers built of stone, each having a ‘ tread ’ of 14 inches wide and a rise of 12 inches, the flat summit of the vallum providing another tier. That of Perran has also seven rows in all,[1] but here there is no evidence of stones having been used. The seats are merely cut in the soil of the vallum.

When St. Gouzenou, the Cornish Winnow, was about to make a monastic establishment, he directed his brother St. Majan to take a pitchfork and draw it in a circle round the site selected. ‘ St. Majan did so, and lo! the fork formed a deep moat, and cast up a mound of earth within, resulting in a circular enclosure defended by moat and embankment.’[2]

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[1] The details are from Borlase (*Antiquities* and *Nat. Hist. Cornwall*) and Polwhele (*Hist. of Cornwall*, vol. i), who give plates illustrating both. Polwhele thought them to have been ‘ origianlly designed for British courts of judicature,’ referring to Gibson's *Camden* p. 17. The number of ‘ rounds ’ now remaining (according to *V.C.H. Cornwall*) is but five, of which two (at Newlyn East and at St. Columb Major) are said to be undoubtedly modern. There were others, now destroyed, at Landewednack (near the church), at Ruan Major (also near the church), at Ruan Minor, and at Treleaze. They are almost confined to West Cornwall.

[2] Baring-Gould, in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii, 267, quoting from Le Grand, *Vie des SS. de Bretagne* (1837), p. 660.

The work known as Upton Castle, near Lewannick, would seem to be nothing but a typical Scotic *cashel* with its (later) oratory, of the approved type to be found alike in Ireland and in Scotland. The interior circumference of the *cashel* (which is very regular in plan, and built of dry stone roughly piled between two facing lines of flat elvan stones) is 240 feet. The entrance seems to have been at the north side, covered by something which in its ruinated condition suggests a bastion and is perhaps not original. Within are two buildings: the first is a cell (24 feet square) abutting upon the face of the *cashel*; the other, also rectangular, but much larger (42 feet by 24 feet) and disposed east and west, occupies the centre of the *cashel*. Both buildings, the larger in particular, are of far later date than the surrounding wall. Local tradition declares that the place was used as a cell of the Priory of St. Stephen in Launceston, and it is probably correct.[1] There is nothing upon the spot to traverse the view that it was originally the *desertum* or *mansio* of some early Christian recluse, subsequently reconstructed and appropriated by later monastics. That all memory of the founder's name should have perished is not surprising. Cornwall, Wales and Ireland have saints in legions, but all have scores of such ring-works whose founders are wholly forgotten.

There is probably no English county in which there survive so large a number of smaller and feebler enclosures, mostly of circular plan, and all alike in their construction; ‘ Simple walls of earth and stone, with a ditch outside . . . scarcely a parish in the Launceston Division but has one or more.’[2] They are commonly written down as ‘ village-sites,’ and in some instances they probably were such, but it is remarkable that a very large number of them are closely associated with a present-day ‘ church-town,’ as at Linkinhorne, Lawhitton, and Crowan; while at Sithney, near Helston, is one which is now enclosed as ‘ a small field, roughly circular,’ and known as ‘ The Garland.’ ‘ There is a local tradition that it was once a graveyard. It is the property of the churchwardens.’[3] The writer of the above suggests that ‘ Garland ’ may represent *caer-llan.* It is much more probable that it stands for *gorlan*, which Polwhele gives as meaning 'church-yard, sheepfold.'[1] The same writer remarks upon the undefensible position occupied by many of these works: 'they stand on low ground, and in most cases where the land slopes to a river or a stream . . . commanded on all sides. . . . From this it would seem that, to the men who threw up these earthworks, the hills with their castles were of no moment.' On the other hand it is a regular characteristic of the early Christian settlement, alike in Ireland and in Wales, to affect the vicinity of wells and streams, and to avoid the higher ground.[2]

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[1] *Journal Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, ix, 344; xv, 114.

[2] *Report Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, xv, 108.

[3] J. B. Cornish in *V. C. H. Cornwall*, i, 470.

In West Cornwall there are no 'nucleated' villages. Each parish is divided amongst a number of farms, one of which stands beside the church and is therefore known as the 'church-farm' or the 'church-town'; but the genuine Cornishman will speak of any one of the others, with its commonly diminutive cluster of barns and byres, as equally a 'town.' He has forgotten his Celtic term, has adopted and keeps the Saxon term as it was understood before Chaucer's time. But further, on scores of such farms is to be found a field called in the tithe-maps the 'church field,' or equally often 'round field,' i.e. the field where once was a 'round.' Whatever these may represent, whether the original circular homesteads (*tates*) of the Irish townlands as described by Seebohm,[3] the circular moot of a Celtic community, or that circular place of burial which from the eighth century was essential to every township, it is fairly clear that the Cornishman had learnt and still retains the word 'church' in a sense which it has ceased to bear in English for some 500 years—'the round.'[4]

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[1] *Cornish-English Vocabulary*, in his *Hist. Cornwall* (1816). Similar place-names are common is Cornwall, e.g. Tregorland (anciently Crucgorland) in St. Just-in-Roseland, Gorland or Gurland in St. Just-in-Penwith, Gurlan or Gurlyn in St. Erth. They are exactly parallel to the survival of *Church* and *Kirk* in place-names upon the Saxon map, often where there is no discoverable church. In Devonshire, three miles west of Church Staunton, occurs Garlandhayes, which both in formation and in meaning is apparently an exact parallel to the common English Church-hay(es).

[2] In some of the coastal parishes the church, as at St. Just-in-Roseland and at Mylor, stands actually on the shore and barely above tide-mark, exactly where one may believe a Christian missionary to have made his first landing and his home. Beside the church of Mylor stands an unusually lofty wheel-headed cross, 17 ft. in height, with a cup-and-circle mark decorating the front of the shaft. Tradition declares it to mark the grave of Mylor.

[3] *Village Community*, pp. 223, *sqq.*

[4] For the suggestion that such fields were so named as being made over to the parish-church in lieu of tithes, there is no warrant whatever.

The raised, revetted, circular or oval[1] churchyard is so common in Cornwall, in that part especially where Irish influence was most felt, that most people have never noticed it, or if they have, have not thought it deserving of comment. The assertion of Polwhele that in Cornish the same word (*gorlan*) did duty for a churchyard and a sheepfold indifferently, points in the same direction as does his further observation[2] that in Cornwall 'we use *lhan* for church, probably because the Druids . . . buried their dead in a *circle* or enclosure of stone.'

Amongst many examples of the kind may be mentioned the churchyards of St. Buryan and Newlyn East. There are others less perfect at Lamorna, Landewednack, Wendron, St. Erme, Madron and Towednack. Gunwalloe,[3] originally circular, was altered in 1889; and the long-desecrated burial-ground of Merther Uny in Constantine, now used as a garden, is still of irregularly oval plan and still goes by the name of the 'churchyard.' Those of St. Mawnan, Philleigh, St. Allen and St. Dennis still show the circular area surrounded by a considerable vallum more or less well preserved. It is hardly too much to say that the circular area is recognisable in the case of almost every old churchyard, except where a temporary prosperity has swept away its traces.

The garth of Lewannick also is circular and revetted. The name commemorates St. Winnoc, a Breton of the fifth century, by marriage related to St. Non the mother of St. David, whose name is preserved in that of Altarnon. The church itself is dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, and was very early a place of pilgrimage. It boasts two ogam-stones, the vicinity abounds in wheel-crosses of the Irish type, and outside the schoolhouse still stands a pillar-stone, beside which was found an interment in a cist-vaen.[4]

The salient characteristics of the early Cornish oratories are thus summarised.[5] The plan is that of a simple parallelogram of from 20 by 10 feet to 35 by 17 feet, the length being commonly just twice the breadth. The eastern portion was the chancel, demarcated by a slight stone step, for the chancel-arch is the rarest exception in Cornwall. The door is on the south side, and 'I have invariably found a stone bench running along the base of the wall on the inside, and the floor sunk 2 or 3 steps lower than the ground without the edifice.' As with the oratories of Ireland and Wales, there is always a well or spring close at hand. They are thus in all the more important features precisely like the earlier Scotic oratories.

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[1] There is a marked tendency in Cornwall towards the oval rather than the circular plan, and W. C. Lukis remarked (*Prehistoric Monuments of Cornwall*) that the 'ovate' form of barrow is 'usual in Cornwall.'

[2] *Hist. Cornwall* (1816), i, 133.

[3] Illustrated, with other examples, in Blight's *Churches of West Cornwall.*

[4] F. Nicholls and H. Dewey in *Journ. Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, lviii, 44.

[5] By Rev. W. Haslam in *Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.* vol. ii.

The chapel of St. Piran, amongst the sandhills by Perranzabuloe ('St. Piran in the Sands'), undoubtedly stands upon an ancient site, quite possibly as old as the saint's era, but it is not in itself an original fabric, as the architectural details sufficiently prove. So says W. C. Borlase,[1] and he cites as perhaps the most ancient buildings in Cornwall the Chapel at Madron, that of St. Dellan in St. Buryan, and a third on Gurnard's Head, where the building, which stands within the vallum of a cliff-castle, is associated with a cluster of hut-circles.[2] None of these however shows any trace of the bee-hive method of building, for which one must go a mile south to Bosporthennis in the same parish (Zennor), where are two conjoined huts in bee-hive style, one circular, with a diameter of 13 feet, the other rectangular, measuring only 9 feet by 7 feet. There seems no avoiding the suggestion that these represent respectively the *habitaculum* and the *oratorium* of a recluse of the very earliest days of Christianity.[3]

W. C. Borlase excavated in 1879 the stone cairn of Carn Brea[4] near the Land's End. Upon this had stood a 'chapel' of unknown dedication, which was destroyed about a century ago. The cairn was found to be sepulchral, and to have been used as a burial-place by peoples of very different periods. The surface-soil revealed relics of comparatively modern date, below which was a stratum containing remains attributed to the Roman era; below this again was a cist-vaen; and at the bottom of all an elaborate interment in a rude square stone-built pit covered over with its own oval mound. It would seem then that the barrow marking this original interment had, as so frequently occurred, attracted other burials in succession, the mound being raised with each fresh burial until it grew to be a conspicuous cairn—the first land to be sighted by home-coming sailor-folk. There seem to have been other cist-vaens, besides the one explored, which had been wholly or partially destroyed in the process of building the chapel.[1]

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[1] *Age of the Saints*, p. 107.

[2] ibid. pp. 51, 181.

[3] The ground on the south is ploughed (1919) up to the wall of the 'bee-hive,' and here the writer has picked up scraps of pottery of Romano-British type.

[4] Not the more famous hill of the same name near Camborne, which ranks as one of the finest hill-forts now remaining in Cornwall. The other was likewise fortified, and there are ruins of circular huts within its wall.

J. T. Blight[2] raised the question whether this was a case of the accidental usurpation of a pagan *locus consecratus* by Christianity, or whether it was intentional. In view of the evidence it is at least possible that some of the burials in the cist-vaens were Christian; that these had been placed *more gentilium* in an existing barrow; and that the subsequent chapel was a purposed occupation of a site known by tradition to have been hallowed by Christian burial. That the nameless person who built the first chapel[3] here should have been ignorant of the real nature of the mound is wholly improbable.[4]

At Porth Curnow, a few miles away, in the parish of St. Levan, another chapel stood upon a mound in which was found, two or three yards from the walls of the building, the sepulchral urn accompanying the original interment.[5] The size of the chapel (48 ft. by 20 ft.), and the facts that it had a chancel-arch, and that the chancel was of different width from the nave, prove that it was of no very great antiquity. Again it may be urged that the builders were ignorant of the true nature of the mound which attracted them. It is conceivable, but it is in the last degree unlikely.

Here at any rate are two Christian places of worship reared upon mounds which are known to have been barrows, in which the interments had all the usual evidences of pre-Christian date. Anyone who looks at the churches of Cornwall, of West Cornwall in particular, will feel a doubt whether the greater number of them do not stand upon barrows. There is no other way of accounting for the curious recurrence of the rounded precinct, its markedly raised area, and—in most instances—its dominating position.

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[1] W. C. Borlase, *Age of the Saints*, pp. v–x.

[2] *Churches of West Cornwall*, p. 91.

[3] The architectural features of the building shewed that, in its existing form, it was not of the earliest date. It had, for example, a string-course round it (*Age of the Saints*, p. 181).

[4] cf. the case of St. Guthlac at Crowland (below, ch. xxiii).

[5] *Age of the Saints*, p. x.

There remains however evidence yet more convincing —*littera scripta manet.* Amongst the admittedly most ancient of the inscribed stones of Cornwall is the Carnsew stone at Hayle, which records that HIC IN PACEM (*sic*) REQUIEVIT someone,—a lady apparently, a Christian most certainly—who lay 'in the barrow beneath' (HIC IN TUMULO IACIT).[2] The stone was found in, and still stands close beside, a tumulus, now largely destroyed, and it explicitly tells us that the earliest Cornish Christianity permitted the burial of the *fideles* in barrows.

The parish of St. Issey was in early days Egloscruc (Bp. Brantingham's *Register*, 1375–1410) or Egloscruke (Stafford, 1410—1420).[3] This means the 'Church of the Barrow,' or the 'Barrow-church'; so the barrow was also an *ecclesia*, i.e. it was a Christian barrow. The name of the parish of Altarnon points the same way: it means the 'Altar of St. Non,' and 'the earliest stone altars were tombs.'[4] In this case the origin of the name is to be found most probably in the existence of a barrow consecrated by the saint and bearing as token thereof an *al fresco* altar like those to be seen at Inismurray. Borlase[5] points out that the Cornish form *Altar* is Irish (*altair*), not Welsh (*allor*). Cornish tradition declares that St. Non, the mother of St. David, was buried here, but the tradition probably arose out of the name.

The peculiar wheeled-cross of St. Patrick is more common in Cornwall than in any other part of England, and a notable example of its rudest and earliest form,

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[1] *Journal Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, 1872, p. 71.

[2] Hübner, *Inscript. Brit. Christianae*, p. xx: cf. the examples from Wales, above, p. 273.

[3] *Age of the Saints*, p. 135.

[4] ibid. p. 138.

[5] He bids us also 'remember fables of saints like St. Crantock bringing their alters with them, *around which to raise their churches*' (*Age of the Saints*, p. 130). These are no fables, but refer to the Scotic portable altars. Anyhow they reared their 'churches' literally round about their altars, for the church of those days was the barrow itself, within or upon which stood the altar, itself destined in some cases to be the saint's tomb. 'Tombs seem to have been the first altars, and mausoleums the first churches of Christendom,' wrote Lord Lindsay (*Christian Art*, i, pp. 6, *sqq.*)

a mere pillar-stone with the *roth-fail* head, is to be seen at St. Clement's, the shaft bearing in degraded Latin capitals the inscription IGNIOS VITAL FILI TORRICI. It is rather singular that ogam-stones are decidedly rare in the county.

## Chapter XXI.

### SAXON PAGANISM.

*Saxon Religion—The 'Hearg'—Bede's account of Godmundham—Roman Buildings as 'Fana'—St. Pancras' Church at Canterbury—Gregory's Letter to Mellitus—St. Gall at Bregenz—Gregory not concerned with Stone circles—Saxon burials—'Byrgels'—Cremation and Orientation—King Radbod of Frisia— Saxon Terms for Barrows, etc.—Alfred on Barrows—Saxon Cemeteries remote from Villages—Their Relation to Roman Roads—The Moot-System—Hundreds and their Names—Guildhall of York—Stone Circles not used as Moots by Saxons—The Saxons' debt to the Celts.*

When once it has taken a definite shape, the religion of man is one of the most stubborn things in his life. It rarely changes except under pressure of force or of policy, and even then it changes probably in its outward form only, not in its essentials. It is otherwise with a religion which has not yet attained the rigidity of a system. When the Saxons[1] came to England they brought with them their religion indeed, but it was a scarce-formed thing, likely to be modified with ease. And it appears that it was easily modified, although there was no direct attempt to do this for a hundred and fifty years. Such of the Romanised British population as remained in the land—and they were numerous in all but a few exceptional areas—were either the confessed serfs or the professed foes of the newcomers; they lacked the means to impose Christianity upon their masters by force, and they refused, at least officially, to attempt to do so by other means.[1] The Saxon, so long as he thought of the Briton as an enemy, and withal a beaten enemy, was not likely to forsake his own victorious gods in favour of the God of the defeated race. Not until he saw his king make this exchange would the thegn feel tempted to follow suit, and the ceorl presently follow the thegn; and no Saxon king is alleged to have taken this momentous step until Ethelbert of Kent was baptised by Augustine on Whit-Sunday of 597. A week later died Columba in Hy. Thirty years elapsed before Edwin of Northumbria was baptised at York (627) and the missioner who there reaped where Columba's disciples had sown[2] was the Roman Paulinus. There was a brief relapse in the northern kingdom under Edwin's sons, until in 635 Oswald succeeded, and inviting help from Iona, founded in that year the Scotic bishopric of Aidan in Lindisfarne.

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[1] 'Saxons' and 'Anglo-Saxons' are convenient expressions, but it is certain that the invaders represented many other tribes than Saxons, Angles, and Jutes only, and equally certain that there was little uniformity amongst them, religious or otherwise.

The various tribes whom for convenience we call Anglo-Saxons were stragglers in the great push which (412) divided Gaul amongst Franks, Burgundians, and West Goths. For the Saxons there was no room in Gaul, so of necessity they drifted west into Britain. Not having filtered through Gaul they came as Teutons in the raw, but settled here they fell at once under the influence of the Celt, and the history of their gradual reclamation from barbarism to civilisation is the history of their gradual acceptance of Celtic culture. That story reached its conclusion when they laid aside their old gods and accepted the Christianity which was the Celts' last gift.

J. R. Green has remarked that the bitterness with which the Saxon fought the Dane, and the rapidity with which the two peoples presently coalesced, are alike to be explained by their being both of one blood.[3] It was the same with the Saxon and the Celt, save that their differences were greater because older.

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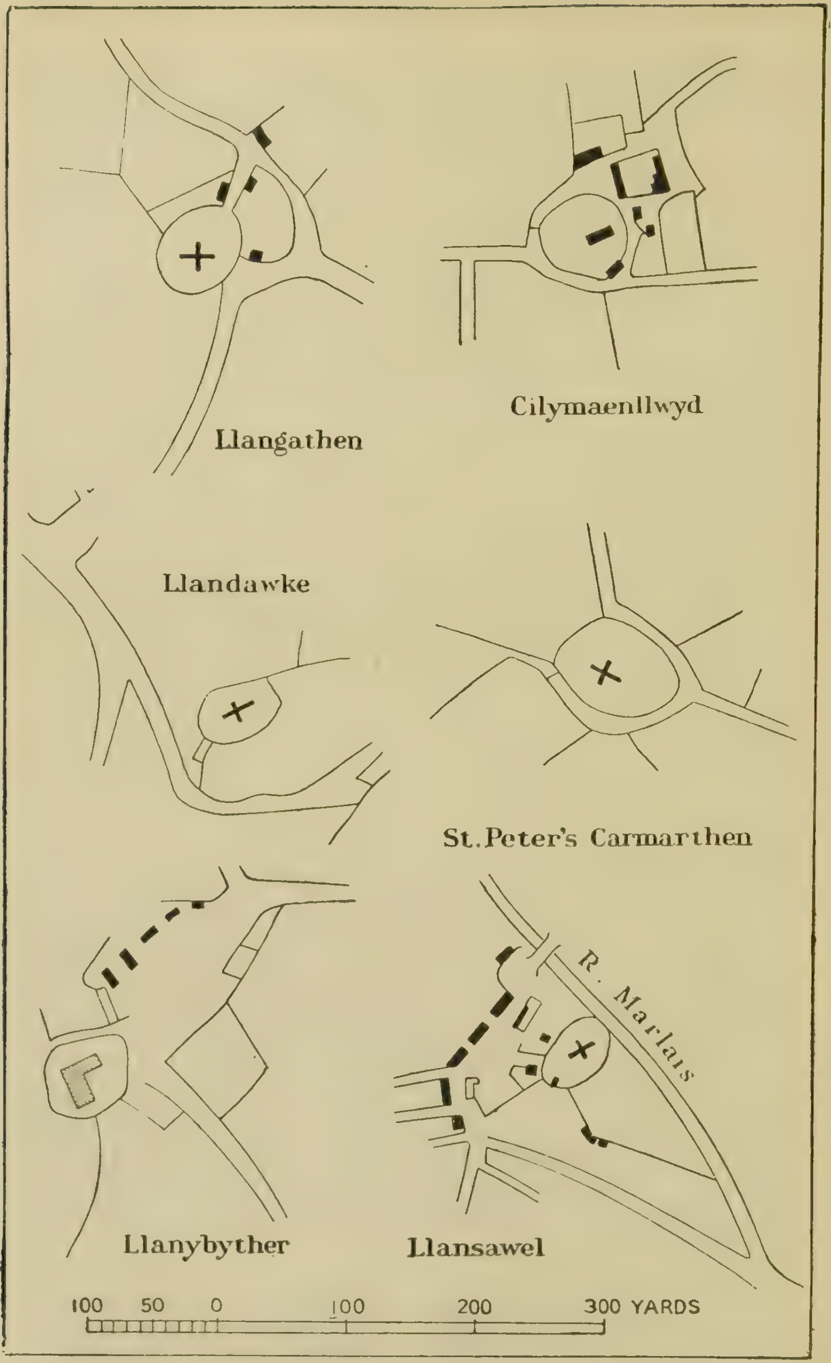
[1] Bede *H.E.* II, ii, § 93: cp. ibid. II, xx, § 147: *cum usque hodie moris sit Brittonum fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere.* So the attitude was still the same more than a century after Augustine's time.

[2] Above, ch. xvi.

[3] *Short History of the English People* (1881), p. 43.


Llangathen
Cilymaenllwyd
Llandawke
St. Peter's Carmarthen
Llanybyther
Llansawel
R. Marlais
100 50 0 100 200 300 YARDS

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS IN CARMARTHENSHIRE.

(*From the Tithe maps*).

Two facts made such coalescence the easier. One was that small bodies of Teutonic immigrants had long been drifting westward along the same route, settling in Britain, and necessarily merging into the Celtic mass of the population.[1] The other was that, even when the invasion was at its height in the fifth century, the newcomers were not one homogeneous and co-ordinated mass, but a number of independent bodies whose collective weight was largely lost in their mutual jealousies. Settling here and there amongst the native Celtic population, they offered themselves individually to the influence of Celtism, which rapidly made itself felt. Nowhere apparently is the Saxon element so strong as in Sussex, and the reason is simple: in Sussex the Briton had been exterminated.[2]

So far as is known the Saxons of England in the fifth century were precisely as were the peoples of Tacitus' Germany in the first century. Had we more details we should doubtless be able to recognise differences in the degree of culture of the various tribes, or even to determine this or that trait as peculiar to Jute, Angle, Saxon and so on.[3] But between 410 and 597 this land had no Tacitus. It had not even a Bede. The names of the days of the week, and that of the feast of Easter,[4] epitomise for most of us most of what we know of even their gods. There is nothing to show that their religion differed from that of the other German and Scandinavian tribes,[5] and so late as 600, it has been said, 'it had very slight hold upon the affection or the superstition of the people.'[1] Assuredly there was nothing in it resembling the systematised religion of the Celts, for that was organised to abet a political system to which the Saxons had never approached. England did not again come near to any such thoroughness of organisation until the fifteenth century, and forthwith rose against it at the Reformation.[2] Few peoples are more essentially religious than the English, yet no people is more impatient of religious *formulae*. Both qualities are inherited from their teachers, the Celts. The Celt taught the Saxon his first Christianity: there would therefore be nothing surprising if he taught the Saxon also something of his earlier faith. And the evidence suggests that this was the case—that what religion the Saxons developed before their conversion was to a considerable degree modified by Celtic paganism.

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[1] The archaeological evidence for this statement is abundant, in the eastern counties especially, as is natural. The original Teutonism of the Jutes had been largely modified in the course of their passage westward. Earlier sporadic settlers under the Roman *régime* would learn the ways, not of the Roman, but of the Romanised Briton; and distributed amongst the other *pagani* such earlier settlers would themselves remain *pagani*, with little if any knowledge of Christianity. There is a good deal about the survival of British blood, custom, and even speech, amongst the Saxons, in Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*.

[2] Above, ch. xvi.

[3] Archaeology can do something of this kind with such concrete matters as a brooch; with abstract matters the typological method fails. It is a fact that the culture of the Jutes was much above that of the Angles or the Saxons, and Thurlow Leeds has suggested that this may be due to that tribe's having for some time been settled in N. Gaul (*Archaeol. of A.-S. Settlements*, ch. vii). This might be invoked to explain how Augustine came to find traces of Romano-British Christianity surviving in Kent, and why the Kentish Saxons so early adopted the ruins of Roman buildings as *fana* (ch. xxii). But even the South Saxons, who seem to have been as uncivilised as any, had their contacts with the outer world, as the treasures recovered from the cemetery at Highdown Hill sufficiently prove.

[4] Even of Easter the etymology is disputed. The usual view is that it preserves the name of Eostre, a goddess of the springtime.

[5] Traill and Mann, *Social England*, i, 217–222.

In effect these 'farmers from Sleswick' on their first arrival here were in possession of no political institutions whatever[3] and no religious system. A religion they undoubtedly had, but that is a different thing from a religious system; and in the same way they had a common instinct in dealing with matters such as the making, interpretation, and administration of what little law had as yet taken shape in custom. They began at the very bottom of the ladder of evolution with the family as the unit, and each such family was itself an embryonic state, the head whereof was judge, priest and king.[4] Exactly how these families grew to be tribes, peoples, kingdoms, we can only surmise, seeking analogies, perhaps, in the fashion in which the first English colonists of America, or the first fore-loopers of Dutch South Africa grew into states. The evolution of either of those was the work of generations—not less than one and a half centuries. That of Saxon England could not be more speedy. Bede lived and wrote when the process was still unfinished. He might have told us much about it, but he has told us nothing at all.

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[1] *Op. cit.* i, p. 226.

[2] Compare Dean Merivale's remarks upon a similar sequence of events in the case of the Old Saxons of the Continent in *The Continental Teutons*, p. 124.

[3] Bede (*H.E.* V, x, § 381) expressly says that even in his own time the Old Saxons still had no kings, and Henry of Huntingdon explicitly asserts that the East Saxons on their arrival here were without a kingship. J. R. Green (*Short Hist. Eng. People*) argued that monarchy was not developed amongst the Saxons until after the conquest of Britain. So also Palgrave. The real power was with the ealdormen, who answer to the *senatores* of Caesar's Belgae. Like the Belgae the Saxons chose their leaders, and these elected chiefs gradually became hereditary monarchs with very limited powers. The ealdormen claimed to be the sons of Wotan, and answer to Homer's σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες.

[4] Rhys, *Lectures*, p. 226.

If the head of the family was at once judge and priest, it will follow that each family had its holy place, and that as the family developed into the village, and that again into the tribe, there would be developed also holy places of the village and of the tribe, just as we know that there came to be special moots for village, hundred and county. Possibly this was so, but these holy places would for the most part be literally places only, and nothing more. There would be no buildings, ornaments, or accessories. The most to be looked for would be some sort of *limes* marking the *locus consecratus*, some sort of fence perhaps enclosing a small area about a tree or stone. That the Teutonic tribes in England ever built roofed temples, or fashioned anthropomorphic figures of their deities, it is impossible to prove.[1] Their chief objects of worship, as the laws of Cnut declare,[2] were the sun and the moon, fire and water, springs, stones, and trees; none of these objects lend themselves to roofs, nor very readily to representation by idols. The continental Saxons of the eighth century had indeed a wooden temple and a wooden figure of their great god Irmin. It stood near Marsberg on the Diemel, and was destroyed by Charlemagne in 772.[3] This, however, is readily explained as due to later imitation of examples Gallo-Roman or Roman. But even so late there seems to have been little or no change in the essentials of their religion: 'Their superstitions and their cult, as described in the ancient chronicles, seem to have been generally identical with those reported of the tribes which occupied the same seats in the early days of Germanicus and Varus.'[4]

The most usual Saxon term for a 'holy place' is

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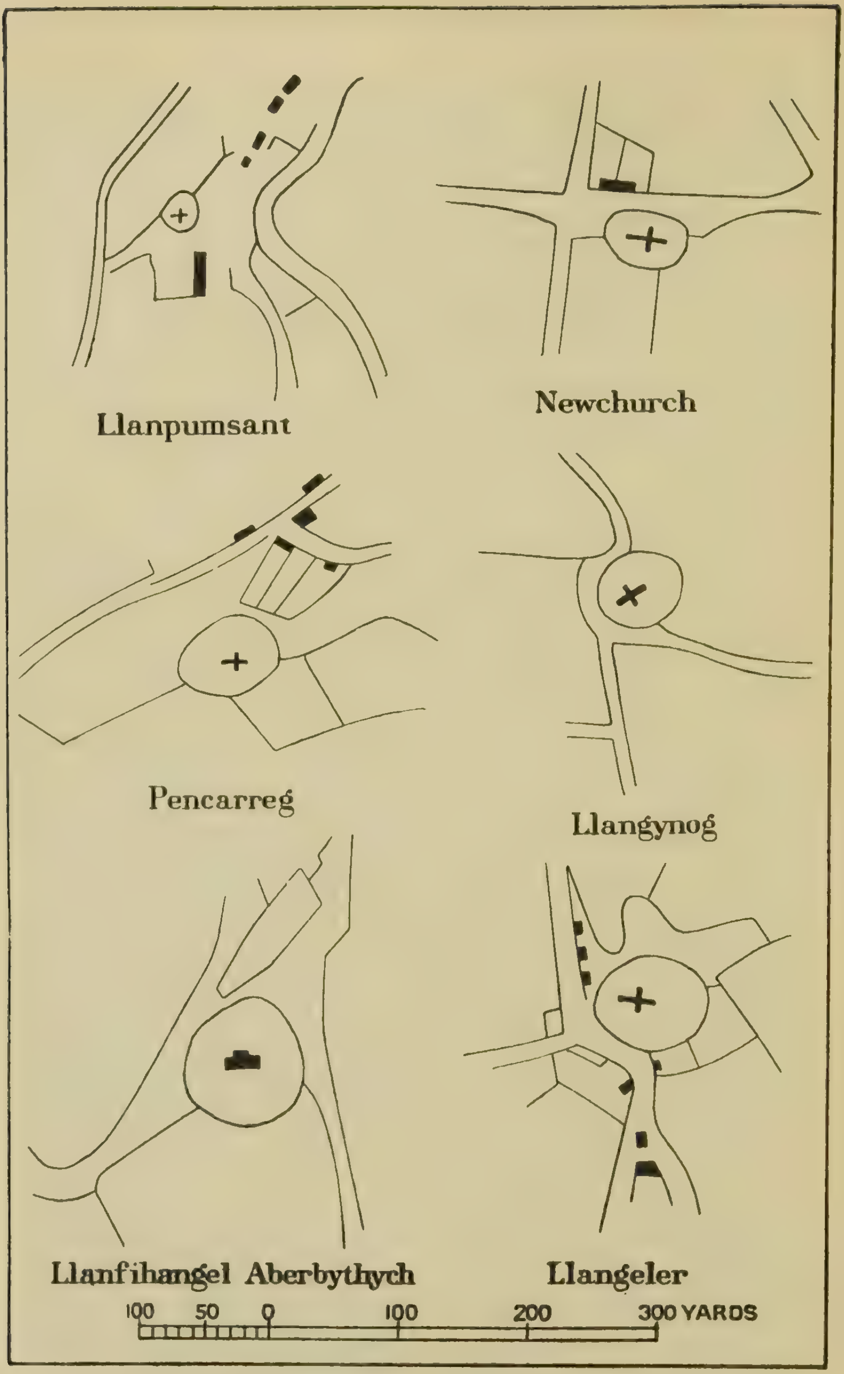
[1] No such thing as a Saxon idol has yet been found in England. The frequent assertion that the early Teutonic tribes made idols is probably largely due to the use of *idola* in old writers (*e.g.* Bede, *H.E.* V, ix, § 384, and Cnut's *Laws*) for 'false gods.'

[2] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 379. In the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* (ibid. p. 416) occur injunctions against the worship of idols (§ xlviii) and another (§ liv) makes it an offence 'if there be a *frith-geard* on any-one's land about a stone or a tree or a well, or any such folly.'

[3] The idol was the famous Irminsul, 'Pillar of the world.' The figure, carved of wood, held in one hand a rose, in the other a pair of scales, and wore a helmet crested with a cock. It was decorated with ornaments of gilded bronze.

[4] Merivale, *The Continental Teutons* p. 121.


Llanpumsant
Newchurch
Pencarreg
Llangynog
Llanfihangel Aberbythych
Llangeler
100 50 0 100 200 300 YARDS

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS IN CARMARTHENSHIRE.

*(From the Tithe maps).*

*hearg*, the Icelandic *hörgr*, usually rendered 'temple' or 'shrine.' Both renderings involve a *suggestio falsi*, for the *hearg* seems to have been roofless, and probably the Latin *lucus*[1] is nearer the meaning. In modern English the word assumes the form *harrow*, seen in such place-names as Harrow-on-the-Hill, Harrowden (older, Harrowdun), Peperharrow, and Arrowfield.[2] The suggestion that the word was occasionally applied to Christian shrines, as in the case of Anglezargh or Anglezark, a village in the parish of Bolton, three miles east of Chorley, Lancs., and in that of Guthlacesarc, the sometime name of the modern parish of Golcar near Huddersfield,[3] is scarcely warranted: there is no reason to suppose that the Guthlac here concerned is identical with the saint of Crowland, and both names may be otherwise explained.[4]

There is no evidence that the *hearg* was commonly on a hill rather than on low ground. There are no hills in Sleswig, and a large part of the eastern coastal areas of England is almost equally flat, so that there could be no 'high-places' there if hills were needful. Very possibly the *hearg* was nothing more than, as suggested in the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests*, an enclosure surrounding a stone, a tree, or a well. If this was all, there would be nothing upon such a spot to reward the excavator for his pains. Even the stone which may have been the central feature in some cases, will long ago have been removed,[5] and excepting a few ashes, and perhaps traces of incinerated bones, we know of nothing which the ritual of Saxon paganism was likely to leave behind.[6] It would seem that metal was taboo in such places,[1] and there is no evidence that the Saxon ever used his *hearg* as a place of burial. There is no reason to think that the Saxons would go to any great trouble in the way of raising earthworks about their holy places. They seem to have had a general antipathy to any such form of labour. Only when compelled by the *force majeure* of the Danes did they take to rearing any considerable fortifications about their *tuns*, and only by rare exception did they trouble themselves to rear conspicuous barrows over their most exalted dead. Alike in their general contempt for funereal pomp and their refusal to think of a god who might be confined under a roof, they were exactly like the Germans of Tacitus' time. In the latter point they were also exactly like the Celts.

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[1] As suggested in Wright-Wülcker's *Glossary*.

[2] The etymology of *hearg* is quite unknown. A connexion with Latin *carcer*, 'a place enclosed and set apart,' has been suggested. In a *Corpus MS.* (? ix cent.) the word appears to translate the Latin *lupercal*. Alfred in his *Orosius* uses it of the holy places of certain Balkan tribes, but never of Greek or Roman temples; and in his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral*, where the English version (*E.E.T.S.* xlv, p. 152) renders 'idols of the people of Israel were painted on the walls' (*tha beargas* [v.l. *bearga*] *Israhela folces*). See McClure, *British Place Names*, pp. 209-216. The word does not occur in Middle-English lexicons.

[3] Taylor, *Names and their Histories* (1896), p. 390.

[4] By reference to the O.N *erg*, 'a shieling.'

[5] The early Church issued repeated orders for the destruction, removal, or burial, of all sacred stones. How stubbornly such objects resisted is illustrated by the case of the famous Venus of Quinipili in Brittany, which is to this day the object of the secret worship of the neighbourhood. See Baring-Gould, *Book of Brittany* (1895), pp. 26-28.

[6] 'The *hörg* was a sacred altar built of stones, often mentioned in the *Eddas* and *Sagas*, but never described . . . Freyja says, "Ottar made me a big *hörg* reared of stones . . . He reddened it with fresh ox-blood" ':

Their barrows excepted, the rigidly circular *limes* of Celtic ritual was not essential to the Saxons. Yet the evidence of language declares that to the Saxon's mind the strictly circular plan was nothing novel and remarkable; for even in the case of the largest stone-circles this feature in no wise stirred his wonder. Mostly such circles have no old Saxon names at all. Stonehenge indeed was a thing to marvel at, but what struck the Saxon was not the plan of it or even the size of its monoliths, but the peculiarity of the impost. This was a novelty indeed, so he called the place the 'Stone Gallows.'[2] As no similar name is elsewhere recorded, it is the more likely that the impost was in fact a new departure and unique in the Britain of its day.

Bede, who was born in 673, must have talked with many a man who could remember the time when paganism was almost universal in England, yet his language when speaking of it is always curiously vague, perhaps purposely so. The Saxons, he says, had *fana*, *delubra*, *templa*, *idola*, *arae* and *arulae*. His Saxon translator is vaguer still: occasionally he speaks of *hearg* (*herge*) and *wigbed* (' altar '), but more commonly writes the colourless word *deofolgyld*, ' devil-worship.' Redwald of East Anglia, a pervert who died in 617, had within the same *fanum* an *altare* for the worship

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Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, p. 356. According to Cleasby and Vigfussen (*Icelandic-English Dict.*), the *bōrg* was ' an altar, holy circle, or any roofless place of worship.'

[1] This follows from the story of Coifi at Godmundham, cited below.

[2] Stane-henges. This is a more probable rendering than the alternative 'Hung (suspended) Stones.' The worshippers of Odin had an intimate acquaintance with gallows, but a gallows of stone was verily a novelty to them.

of Christ and an *arula* for the worship of 'devils'; the Saxon Version writes *wigbed* for both.[1] According to the lexicons *fanum* means merely a sacred place, a *locus consecratus*, irrespective of any building thereon, and neither *delubrum* nor *templum* necessarily connotes any building. On the conversion of Edwin of Northumbria and his high-priest Coifi, the latter proceeds forthwith to desecrate the *fanum* of the creed he had disowned. This was at Godmundham (Goodmanham) near Market Weighton, E.R.[2] In it were *arae et fana* (*heargas*) *idolorum*, and Coifi rides off *ad idola destruenda*. The Latin phrase suggests actual 'figures,' but a few lines further on we read *pergebat ad idola*, which looks as if *idola* was merely another term for *fana*; and the Saxon Version throughout has *deofolgyld* only. Coifi desecrated the precinct by hurling into it his spear[3]: the weapon *sticode faeste on thaem herige*. So says the Saxon Version, but Bede's own Latin has nothing of the sort. If *herige* here means anything more than *fanum*, it must denote something into which the spear could fix itself. Was it an 'idol' or a tree? We know the Saxons worshipped trees; we have no proof that they ever made 'idols' as we understand that term. So it was probably a tree, unless indeed the *herige* was merely the soil of the *locus consecratus*.

The place was surrounded by *saepta* (*heowum*, 'haws,' 'hedges'), which is good Latin for a fence made of any sort of timber, but not commonly of stone or earth. It was destroyed 'together with its fences' by fire; so again the fences were definite objects.[4] There was seemingly no roofed building,[5] nor was there anything which could not be destroyed by fire.

This event happened in 627, when Northumbria was both in extent and in power the greatest of the Saxon kingdoms. Yet there is no hint that the chief holy place of its Bretwalda was anything that could in modern language be called a temple. It was apparently merely a *hearg* of the usual kind. Clearly the Northumbrian Saxons were in point of religion and ritual still savages, a century and a half after their migration. This is the solitary holy place of paganism about which Bede speaks with anything to be called detail, and Coifi is the solitary pagan priest whom he mentions.[1]

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* II, xv, § 134.

[2] ibid. II, xiii, § 131. Greenwell (*Brit. Barrows*, p. 286) remarks that this, from the evidence of barrows, etc., was the centre of a large population and a place of special sanctity in times far antedating the Saxons. How is this continuity of sanctity amid successive conquests to be explained?

[3] But conversely the young Cuthbert, still a layman, before entering the 'church' of Melrose to pray, hands his spear to his servant (Bede, *Vita St. Cuthberti*, c. 6).

[4] So in Icelandic paganism (ix-xi cents.) the *hof* was surrounded by high wooden fences which could be locked and were accounted as holy as the *hof* itself (Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, i, 360).

[5] In *Beowulf* occurs the expression *hearg-trafum*, which is explained as 'idol-tents,' i.e. shrines.

There is a doubt about the nationality of Coifi, whose name Toland identified with the Gaelic *Coibhi*, said to have been synonymous with 'arch-druid.'[2] Bede's account leaves the matter in doubt. If Toland be right, the Northumbrian Saxons must have gone some considerable way towards adopting Celtic paganism, as seems to be suggested by other facts. The interest of the matter lies in the further possibility (above, ch. xvi) that Celtic Christianity also had retained a footing at York ; in which case the position of Edwin, who had to choose between the two, was very much that of the later Oswy, who had to choose (664) between the rival claims of the Celtic and the Roman churches.[3]

There is evidence that the Kentish Jutes, the East Angles, and possibly the East Saxons also, had likewise made progress. Living where the Roman influence had been most virile, they had so far departed from their original Teutonic attitude as occasionally to appropriate ruined Roman buildings and turn them into *fana*. That of Redwald was still remembered by some of Bede's contemporaries[4] : he was very possibly dealing with one Roman ruin as Queen Bertha certainly did with another, the famous church of St. Martin. In Thorne's *Chronicle* (fourteenth century) it is said that king Ethelbert had a pagan place of worship (' fanum sive idolum ') of his own. It was a building, for it had a southern porch ; and in that porch stood a *simulacrum* which Augustine broke to pieces. Then he 'made a Christian meeting-place of the pagan place of meeting' ('synagogam mutavit *in ecclesiam*'), and dedicated it to the Roman boy-martyr St. Pancras. Augustine appropriated Ethelbert's *fanum* as a church, but for what purpose the original building had been intended by its Roman builders we are not told. It was very soon superseded by the larger monastery-church of SS. Peter and Paul, which Augustine built beside it.[1] Himself a monk of St. Augustine's, William Thorne was in the best position to know, if not the facts, at least the tradition of his house.

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[1] It is to be noticed that the *fanum* was not at York, which lies 18 miles N.W. of Market Weighton. If Edwin's 'capital' was near his *fanum*, he had avoided the Roman city. On the other hand Paulinus at once seizes upon York as the scene of the king's baptism and the site of the first Christian 'church.' The northern Saxons had seemingly shown no tendency to adopt Roman ideas, and Paulinus deliberately set himself to reverse that attitude. A Roman road ran past Market Weighton, a mile to the west, leading to the shores of the Humber at Brough.

[2] *Hist. Druids*, p. 279.

[3] On the occasion of the Synod of Whitby.

[4] Bede, *H.E.* II, xv, § 134.

Bede gives[2] a transcript of the letter sent (601) by Pope Gregory to the abbat Mellitus directing him how to deal with the *fana idolorum* in England. The *idola* are to be destroyed, but not the *fana*. If these can be utilised as Christian churches, they are to be sprinkled with holy water and then provided with altars and relics. Reasons are given for this course: if the *fana* are well built, they ought to be adapted to the service of the true God; and the heathen may the more easily be converted if they are encouraged still to frequent the familiar scenes of their pagan devotions. Gregory well understood the power of the *religo loci*. Even the pagan festivals are not to be rudely forbidden: they are to be transmuted into Christian festivals. In an earlier letter the same pope had urged[3] king Ethelbert to 'hunt down the worship of false gods (*idola*) and overthrow the buildings (*aedificia*) which are their temples (*fana*).' Milman suggests that he diplomatically laid upon the king's own shoulders the invidious task of destroying such *fana*, while advising his missionaries to adopt a more conciliatory attitude.[4]

Gregory is clearly answering a precise question, viz. What was to be done with the *fana* of the pagan Saxons?

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[1] *Monast. Anglic.* I, 23. The event is not dated in the *Chronicle.* According to one view it was in 598, three years before the writing of Gregory's *Epistle to Mellitus*; according to another view, it occurred in the year following that *Epistle* (602).

The building was 'about midway between the church of St. Martin and the walls of the city.' It was also 'the first church dedicated by St. Augustine.' The statement is not inconsistent with Bede's narrative, who says (*H.E.* I, xxvi, § 56) that St. Martin's had been 'dedicated of old,' and does not make mention of St. Pancras' church at all. For both these churches, see Canon C. F. Routledge, *The Church of St. Martin, Canterbury* (1898).

[2] *H.E.* I, xxx, § 74. Mellitus was going to assist Augustine, who presently (604) made him bishop of London, and in 619 he became archbishop of Canterbury.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* I, xxxii, § 76.

[4] *Hist. Latin Christianity*, ii, 232.

There were, so far as can be guessed, only three possible varieties of *fana* in the England of that day, namely the Saxon *hearg*, the earlier *locus consecratus* of the Britons, and here and there a Roman ruin which had been adopted as a *fanum* by the more progressive Saxons such as those of Kent. Gregory's words declare that he was thinking of buildings, and it being impossible that any one could regard a *hearg* as a building, or that a pope of Rome at that date could regard a stone circle as something convertible into a church as he understood it, the conclusion is that he had in mind the last-named variety of *fana*, Roman ruins which had been converted into pagan places of worship and might be re-converted into Christian churches. He must assuredly have heard of the case of St. Martin's church. Presumably he had heard also of Ethelbert's *fanum*; and the action of Augustine in forthwith breaking Ethelbert's idol and reconsecrating the building to St. Pancras, looks like a direct outcome of the pope's letter. The stubborn tradition that St. Paul's in London occupies the site of a Roman temple,[1] and the cathedral of Winchester also, may have the like origin.

To suggest that Gregory, that 'Argus full of eyes,' erred through ignorance of the forms of Saxon paganism and thought that it commonly constructed roofed temples, cannot be right, for he was otherwise a very well-informed man, and the less likely to have laboured under such a mistake four years after Augustine's arrival in Kent.

Nothing is said of any interments in the pagan *fana*. This confirms the view that with the Saxons the *hearg* and the burial-place were different things. On the other hand Gregory insists on the introduction of relics of the saints into all converted *fana*. In other words the Latin Church of 600 was in complete agreement with the Celt in the feeling that interments or their equivalent were essential to any proper *locus consecratus*. The Saxon seems not to have so closely identified religion with death, but having no dogma of his own he was open to new ideas, and presently adopted this feeling in its entirety. In the same way, having no fixed prepossessions about such matters, he was clearly by way of adopting a Roman fashion of temple.

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[1] The balance of evidence going to show that Londinium never lost its Romano-British population (ch. xvi), and was never left a desolation, Mellitus would have to deal with a goodly number of Roman buildings, temples and others.

There is evidence that other Teutonic tribes displayed a like adaptability. The case of the Irminsul has been mentioned (p. 167). We have an earlier instance from Switzerland: St. Gall, seeking a site for a monastery, finds a desecrated 'church' in the neighbourhood of Bregenz. It had been turned by the natives into a *fanum*, and certain bronze figures which hung upon the walls were the objects of their worship. The saint brays to pieces the figures, purifies the building, and reconsecrates it by introducing certain relics of SS. Mauricius and Desiderius, 'which he carried hung about his neck in a little case.'[1] Similarly, at a date much later than that at which the Old Saxons did so, their neighbours in Denmark and Norway had likewise adopted some sort of structural temple, the *hof*, which they introduced in the ninth century into Iceland.[2]

It has sometimes been argued that stone circles are fewer in the north of England than in the south because Paulinus deliberately destroyed them, and that he did so because they were *fana* of the Saxons. There is very little reason for supposing that Paulinus' attitude was any different from that of Augustine, and he was probably guided in his conduct by the same advice which Mellitus had received from pope Gregory. He certainly contributed to the destruction of king Edwin's *hearg* at Goodmanham, but the description proves that that was not a stone circle. Nor is it literally true that the circles south of the Humber are so markedly more numerous and finer than those north of that estuary. Derbyshire, for example, has more circles to a given area than any part of England, and those of Cumberland are amongst the finest of the whole series. If there do not happen to exist traces of similar circles in certain large northern areas, e.g. Durham, Northumberland, and parts of Yorkshire, the fact admits of explanation.[3] There are few or none in East Anglia, in Mercia, and in Sussex, which are all in the south of the island. In some of these areas this peculiar form of moot may never have established itself, at any rate on the scale in which it is to be seen in other regions.

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[1] Walafrid Strabo, *Vita S. Galli*, xi. St. Gall flourished *c.* 600, and the building must have been a relic of some earlier (Latin) missioner.

[2] Above, ch. ix.

[3] See above, ch. xi.

If the Church, whether in the person of Paulinus or at some later time, had so to say declared war on the circles because of their alleged connexion with devil-worship, they must long since have perished, not partially only, but entirely, for their construction was not such that they could possibly withstand an ordered campaign for their overthrow. That so many of them survive, and in some cases survive almost intact, is proof that there can have been no organised effort to remove them ; and this again is proof that the Church did not particularly associate them with the practices of Saxon paganism.[1] There is abundant evidence that their destruction has been in great part the work of the last two or three centuries, due to nothing more systematic than the activities of farmers, road-menders, or even idle holiday-makers. It may be demonstrable that the stones of Arbor Low have been overthrown with systematic intent, but there is no proving at what date and by whom it was done ; and in any case Arbor Low, with its great fosse, is a circle of different purpose from the unfossed moot-circles. If the stone circles were necessarily symbolical of what was un-Christian, it is very remarkable that the best of them, and the best preserved, are to be found in just those parts of England in which Scotic Christianity took first and deepest root. If on the other hand they were not regarded as symbolical of paganism their survival is understandable enough, in contrast with the case of the *hearg*. The disappearance of the latter is, as says Prof. Ekwall, ' by no means remarkable,'[2] simply because it was the embodiment of Saxon paganism. At any rate there is not known a solitary instance of its survival.

All that is known of Saxon burial-customs bears out what Tacitus says of the German tribes at large : they made little account of death, small fuss of burial. Exception might be made naturally in the case of the great ones of a tribe : Beowulf has his own barrow and is buried with full honours, but his barrow is of the primitive type, the familiar ‘ hill ’ of earth ; for the Anglo-Saxon seems never to have developed any distinctive type of monument, or anything more elaborate than the ‘ bowl ’ and the ‘ bell.’ Of dolmens, menhirs, cromlechs, and disc-barrows he knew little, if anything. Even his ‘ bowls ’ and ‘ bells ’ are commonly of insignificant size, and rather than build a new one he would lay his dead within the barrows of any earlier races.[1] Often he laid them in mounds which were never meant to be sepulchral at all, or within the ‘ camps ’ of older races, as at Highdown hill in Sussex. Most frequently he laid them in urn-fields or grave-fields, of which no visible *limes* remains. The dead lie as close as may be in such cases, yet very rarely does one interment interfere with another ; which lends colour to the belief that there must have been some external sign to mark each grave. If so it was neither elaborate nor abiding, for it has left no recognisable trace.[2] In some Kentish cemeteries each grave seems to have had its own tiny mound, as in a modern graveyard.

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[1] There appears to be no capitulary or other Church edict which expressly orders the destruction of stone circles.

[2] *Introd. to Study of Eng. Place-Names*, p. 38.

There is a similar absence of all rule in regard to the orientation of the graves[3] and to the choice between cremation and inhumation. Thurlow Leeds asserts that, so far as there is any discoverable rule, the Angles burned, the Saxons buried, their dead. This deduction is possibly vitiated by the inclusion of cases both Christian and non-Christian, for, as will be seen, there is rarely any means of distinguishing the one from the other. The Church, so soon as it dared, forbade cremation, but until that time either fashion appears to have been very much a matter of choice.[4] Similarly the Church discouraged the burial of any grave-furniture with the dead, but it is hardly to be thought that it would in the early days of Christianity take up too rigid an attitude in this, or indeed in any matter relating to burial. All that we really know of these days goes to show that the Church compromised in very liberal fashion; and it is more than likely that the archaeological dogma which writes down as pagan any Saxon interment inconsistent with present-day rules in regard to orientation, or revealing any trace of funeral furniture, is guilty of an intolerance unknown to England until at least the middle of the eighth century.[1] The case of king Radbod of the Frisians has in it probably a good deal that is applicable to Teutonic paganism at large. The first missioner to the Frisians was the Saxon Willibrord, after whom followed Wulfram of Sens. The latter had persuaded the king to consent to baptism, when Radbod suddenly asked, Where were his forbears? 'Shall I find them also in this Heaven you promise me, or are they in that Hell you speak of?' 'In Hell with all the unbaptised,' replied Wulfram. 'Then I will follow them thither,' said the king, and declined to accept a faith which would separate him from his kindred. Wulfram's intolerance postponed the conversion of Friesland for many years. Without doubt many a Saxon would have sympathised wholly with Radbod, and without doubt the Christian missionaries in England, more particularly those of the Scotic Church, exercised a more tactful discretion than did the overzealous Wulfram.

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[1] ‘Wherever the invaders penetrated the barrow areas of England, they made use of the barrows for the interment of their own dead.’ This is particularly noticeable in Derbyshire and Yorkshire: ‘On the great barrow-area of the Derbyshire moors, secondary interments in Bronze-Age barrows are very common, but the use of them as general grave-yards, as in the remarkable instance at Driffield, seems to be confined to Yorkshire’ (Thurlow Leeds (*Archaeology of the A.-S. Settlements*, p. 71). In the British Museum *Guide to the Early Iron Age*, p. 112, it is remarked that these Yorkshire interments lie ‘as in a churchyard.’

[2] St. Boniface (*Ep.* lxxxi) mentions, and condemns, the practice of fixing on stakes near graves the heads of the (animal) victims of the funeral-feasts. This practice would ensure that a grave was not lost sight of so long as such funeral-feasts continued.

[3] Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeology of the A.-S. Settlements*, pp. 27-8, 105.

[4] Thurlow Leeds, op. cit. pp. 26 *sqq.* To assist at a cremation was made a capital offence in France of the eighth century (Charlemagne, *Capitulary* viii).

When Hakon the Good was buried at Seaham in North Hordaland 'his friends brought his body and raised there a great howe, and laid the king therein all armed with the best of his array, but no wealth therein besides. Such words they spoke over his grave as heathen men had custom, wishing him farewell to Valhalla.'[2] King Hakon was on the border line betwixt old and new: he was by way of being a Christian himself, but could not prevail upon his people to be so. His burial was in keeping, neither altogether pagan, nor wholly Christian, showing the older practices blending with the new.

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[1] cp. the cases above cited (ch. iii) of radial burials, and the finding of urns and other grave-furniture in unquestionably Christian graves at Warren (ch. xx) and at the Knowe of Saverough (ch. xxii).

[2] *Story of Hakon the Good* (Saga Library), c. 33.

Saxon speech bears out the evidence of archaeology. The language has none of that variety of names for graves and grave-monuments which is so prominent in Irish, and to a less degree in other Celtic tongues. It has indeed no standard word at all. *Beorh* and *hlaw* and *howe* and *hyll* are used indifferently, and all mean the same thing, the 'hill' of earth which we now call a barrow.[1] More generic than any of these were *byrgenne*, 'grave,' and *byrgels*, 'cemetery.'[2]

In early Saxon Charters such phrases as *on ðaem haeðenan byriels*, 'to the heathen cemetery,' occur frequently; e.g. in a charter of Aethelwulf of Wessex, 854. 'Heathen Burials Corner' is still a well-known spot in the parish of Steyning, Sussex, possibly the only one to retain its early name. A spot in the adjacent parish of Upper Beeding, 1½ miles east, is known as 'Christian Burials.' The ground adjoining some conspicuous barrows on Longmynd, near Ratlinghope, Salop, is called 'The Old Burials.'[3] The word sometimes developed into Burrell or Burrells; cf. the Scottish Burreldales, where are remains of a (? sepulchral) circle. In Gibson's *Camden* (1753), p. 990, Burrells in Bath is explained as a corruption of Borough Walls, and the same explanation is offered for Burrells near Appleby; but Sedgefield[4] prefers to derive this from the personal name Burrill or Borrell. In *D.B. Sussex* is Burgelstaltone (now Burgh Hill), i.e. byrgels-steall-tun, 'the *tun* by the burial-place,'[5] which suggests that the Saxons had no aversion from such places. The local name Britmeresburieles, 'Beorhtmaer's burial-place,' is cited in Buckinghamshire, *c.* 1250.[6]

It is quite in keeping with the facts of archaeology that *graef*, 'grave,' has outlived all the other terms. Alfred, in his version of Orosius' *History*, provides a curious illustration of the unfamiliarity of anything like the imposing individual barrow of Celtic times in the England of his own day. Orosius had repeated from Livy the story how one of Hannibal's sailors, bidden climb aloft and report what he could see of the adjacent shore, said that he had sighted a ruined tomb (*sepulchrum dirutum*). Alfred faithfully translates the text, and adds the gloss 'such as it was the custom to rear of stones in memory of great men.'[1]

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[1] Dr. Grundy, however, thinks that the terms *blaw* and *beorh* at any rate meant 'two different types of barrow' (*Arch. Journ.* lxxvii, p. 123).

[2] See ch. xxv. The word is a derivative of the same root as that of *burgh*, 'borough,' from *bergan*, 'to shelter'; whence also the verb 'to bury.'

[3] *Shropshire Shreds and Patches*, vii, 78.

[4] *Place-names of Cumb. and Westm.*

[5] Taylor, *Names and Their Histories*, p. 390.

[6] *Place-Names of Bucks*, p. 260.

The Jutish cemeteries of Kent abound in examples of grave-furniture which prove that here the new-comers stepped straight into the heritage left by the Romans.[2] Here and there too are interments which perplex those archaeologists who accept the dogmatic assertion that Christianity allowed no grave-furniture such as is held to mark a pagan burial. Near Strood, for example, was found in 1852 a Saxon burial accompanied by 'the ordinary weapons of iron' and other typically 'pagan' relics, and with these a cylindrical object of bronze bearing, embossed upon it six times over, an indubitably Christian subject, viz. three figures, 'one seated and nimbed, the others standing with hands crossed on the breast; above the head of one is a cross, of the other a bird carrying a wreath.'[3] This burial was close to the site of a Roman cemetery.

Like most other pre-Christian peoples of these islands the pagan Saxons made their burial-places remote from the dwellings of the living. There are few recorded cases of the finding of demonstrably early Saxon interments close beside old Saxon habitation-sites, whereas there are many examples of cemeteries lying a mile or so away from the village which may be supposed to represent the original *tun*. There is no doubt that the Saxons' advance over the country was largely guided or determined by the lines of the Roman roads. They did not as a rule place their *tuns* actually upon the course of the trunk roads, but on either side thereof at a distance of half a mile or so from the road, making use of the road itself as a convenient boundary line[1] for the territory of the *tun*. To maintain that they did not also use the roads as a means of communication is to argue the Saxons a people of fools. But while the *tun* lies off the road, the cemetery is found again and again close beside it, as if purposely placed at the very edge of the *tun's* land. Sussex provides a good illustration: a Roman road is traceable from Chichester eastward by Ford and Angmering through Portslade and Brighton to Lewes and on to Glyndebourne Cross; thence through the village of Glynde, up the Downs behind West Firle, and along the high ground south-eastward to the Long Bridge at Alfriston and so to Eastbourne.[2] Saxon cemeteries have been found beside this road at Brighton (Port Hall), at Lewes (Saxonbury), at Glyndebourne Cross, at Glynde,[3] and at Winton Street in Alfriston; while that at Highdown Hill lies but a quarter of a mile from the line of it. The villages to which these cemeteries may be supposed to correspond lie at distances varying from half a mile to a mile away from them, namely East Angmering, Brighthelmston, Kingston-by-Lewes, Glynde, Beddingham, and Alfriston. Each of them, Kingston[4] excepted, has or had[5] an ancient church and churchyard set, as usual, in the very centre of the *tun*. The provision of such grave-yards actually within the *tuns* did not commence until about 750,[6] until which time the villagers must have continued to lay their dead in the older cemeteries. Thus Christian and pagan, possibly for a century or more, would be buried in one cemetery, and herein lies the explanation of the difficulty which archaeologists have found in deciding whether the relics from any particular Saxon cemetery represent pagan or Christian interments.

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[1] Alfred's *Orosius* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 201-202: (*ane to-brocene byrgene*) *swelce biera theaw waes thaet mon ricum monnum bufan eorthan of stanum worhte.* The point of Alfred's remark is probably in the word *ricum.* The early Christianity of England most certainly built barrows for its dead until within a few years of Alfred's time, but it made no distinction between the greater and the less among the *fideles.* But Latin Christianity speedily established the doctrine that burial in an *individual* barrow was a mark of paganism. Thus the Norse hero Lumber: 'He was born in Wangorn, and there lies in a cairn, *for he was a heathen*' (*Arch. Scot.* iii, p. 151). So too Hengist: Aurelius 'commanded him to be buried, and a heap of earth to be raised over his body *according to the custom of the pagans*' (Geoff. Monmouth, *Hist.* viii, 7). When Duke William gave similar orders about the body of Harold, that it should be buried 'on the seashore under a heap of stones,' he probably did so to mark his opinion of the dead king as one who had no more than a pagan's regard for a Christian oath.

[2] See the evidence gathered in *V.C.H. Kent*, i, pp. 343 *sqq.*

[3] ibid. p. 377.

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[1] e.g. the Erming Street from Lincoln to the Humber. 'In thirty miles it does not pass through a single village, except a portion of Broughton and Appleby, nor even a group of houses, except at Spital, twelve miles from Lincoln. In curious contrast with this desolate highway is the quick succession of villages on each side' (Murray's *Handbook of Lincs.* p. 234). So along the Great North Road beyond York and along the Fosse Way in Notts. In many parts of the country it must have been impossible for the Saxons to get away from the ubiquitous network of minor roads, so that too much must not be made of the constant association of old churches with Roman roads and Roman relics. It is nevertheless a fact that very many of the oldest of our churches lie on or beside Roman trunk roads, and the inference is that the Scotic missionaries used these roads in their progress through the country.

[2] *Arch. Journ.* 1916, pp. 201-232.

[3] Actually in the parish of Beddingham, at the spot once known as Mill Hill, now destroyed by a chalk-quarry.

[4] Kingston was a royal manor in Alfred's time, but was part of the parish of Iford until about 1100. As a charter of that date provides for the gift of an acre of land on which to build a church, there was presumably neither church nor churchyard there before.

[5] East Angmering once had its own church.

[6] Below, ch. xxv.

Anglo-Saxon burial-places in this or other countries seem commonly not to have had any *limes* of a sort to survive to the present time. As in the cemeteries of the Yorkshire Wolds and in that of Alfriston, Sussex, the graves seem usually to have been made in regular rows. But in the barrow-districts the Saxon tribes very quickly learnt to make use of existing barrows, and so to associate the circular figure with sacred ground. When Scotic Christianity supervened with its rigidly circular precinct, it found the most pagan of the Saxons so far prepared for the new faith.

The Saxon cemetery at Alfriston occupied ground known for centuries as Hallow Furlong. The name shows that the spot was remembered as a *Christian* burial-ground, and the several interments were all laid in the east-to-west position. Yet on the other hand many of the graves yielded furniture of various kinds, and some of them brooches and other details of exceptional beauty.[1] The reasonable conclusion is that in this cemetery at Winton Street were laid all the dead of Aelfric's *tun* (Alfriston) irrespective of their creed, until the Church provided its own 'hallowed acre' in the heart of the village. That 'hallowed acre' is an indisputable round barrow, but it was reared by Holy Church to receive the faithful dead.[2] The burial of some few Christians—Sussex was converted only in 681—within the pagan grave-field was sufficient to hallow the whole. That was the kindly view of the Celt and the Saxon. It was not the view of the dogmatic Roman: Archbishop Theodore explicitly declared in his *Penitential* that the interment of a single heretic or infidel within the *limes* brought pollution upon the whole. Theodore was neither a Celt nor a Saxon; he was of

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[1] *Sussex Arch. Collections*, lvi (1914), p. 16.

[2] See below, ch. xxv. So, very curiously, whereas the Saxons of Alfriston had till then known nothing of barrows, but used merely a grave-field, Christianity immediately provided them with a communal barrow of its own.

Tarsus and as rigidly Roman as he dared to be. Another saint, Guthlac to wit, Saxon by birth and Celtic by training, actually selected for the site of his own cell what he knew to be a pagan barrow.[1] Saxon barrows are relatively few, Saxon burials within other barrows are common enough. Common also is the name of the Saxon god Woden, usually more or less corrupted, applied to conspicuous barrows. But it is very rare to find any other Saxon god-name so applied, and one infers that such names—Wodensborough, Wanbarrow, etc.—originated in post-pagan times and signify merely that the barrows in question dated from pre-Christian days and were associated with paganism.

But if the Saxon was somewhat indifferent to the generality of his dead, taking little pains to furnish them with any special or abiding monument, he was very jealous of the pedigrees of his great people. The royal houses of Wessex traced their descent from founders to whom go back also the old royal houses of the Danes, to Scyld (Skioldr) and Freawine and Wig ; and the kings of Mercia and of Northumbria had pedigrees equally long. Such jealousy points to a very real and very retentive form of ancestor-worship, for which there is further evidence in such writings as *Beowulf*, and in the edicts issued from century to century by the Church against the rites connected with funeral-feasts. Nothing is more certain than that the Saxons at large habitually ‘ ate the offerings of the dead ’ and that their feasts were attended by various other practices to which Christianity took grave exception. Bede[2] assures us that many of the less offensive practices of paganism continued in use far into the seventh century, and were especially liable to reassert themselves in times of stress : ‘ in time of plague some would abandon the Christian sacraments for the mistaken remedies of paganism, as if they could control the scourge of God by incantations and phylacteries and other such secrets of the black art.’ Councils of the Church in Gaul[3] throughout the seventh and eighth centuries, and indeed long after, denounce a multitude of similar and frequently much grosser *pagania*; such as the worship of trees and stones and wells, sacrifices to false gods, sacrifices and feasts at the graves of the dead, and in particular the eating of horseflesh at such feasts. This latter was apparently an essential in the sacramental ritual of Woden.[1]

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[1] For Guthlac and his foundation at Crowland, see ch. xxiv.

[2] *H.E.* IV, xxvii, 344.

[3] In Brittany the survival of *paganiae* is rather the rule than the exception. ‘ The Bretons still spend whole nights at the graves of their kinsmen and pour over them libations of milk,’ says Baring-Gould (*Book of Brittany*, p. 25), citing Cambry, *Voyage dans la Finistère* (1836), p. 128.

As the Saxon polity developed there was developed an elaborate system of moots. Commencing with the *tun* at the bottom of the scale, we have burgh-moots, hundred-moots, shire-moots, moots representing an entire kingdom, and finally the national moot of the collective nation. As was to be expected, those which came earlier in the evolution, and represent stricter territorial areas, show a fixity which is not found in the later moots of kingdom and nation. Doubtless the Saxon would have developed something of this kind had he been left entirely to his own devices. Living as he did side by side with the British Celt, with whom a similar system of local moots was inveterated, it is at least likely that the Celt's example was not lost upon the Saxon[2]; and when it is found that the Saxon's most frequent place of meeting, for whatever purpose, was a grave-mound, or something exactly like a grave-mound, it looks as if he too shared with Acheans and Hellenes, with Latins and Celts, their peculiar belief in the necessity of 'taking the majority into their councils.'

The hundred-names which contain the words *beorh*, *howe*, *hlaw* and *hill*, all in the sense of places of sepulture, are a formidable list. If there be added further those embodying *-church* and *-stow*, the list becomes yet more considerable. There are also very many hundred-names referring to other objects—to roads, fords, streams, wells, camps, stones, meres (boundary-dykes), and yet more frequently to trees. Now as a moot was necessarily held at one definite spot, it is obvious that roads, streams and

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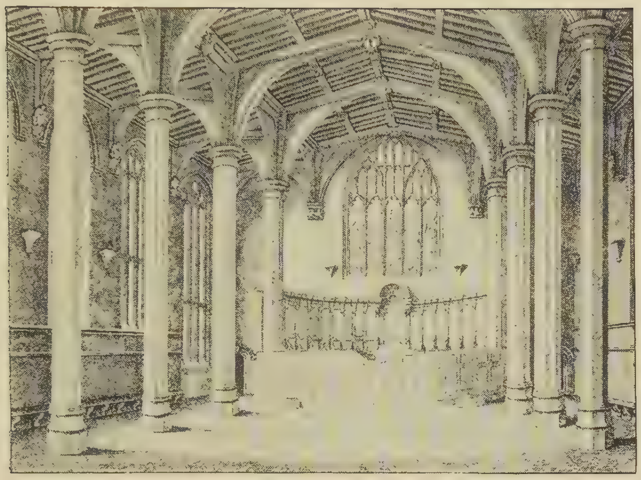
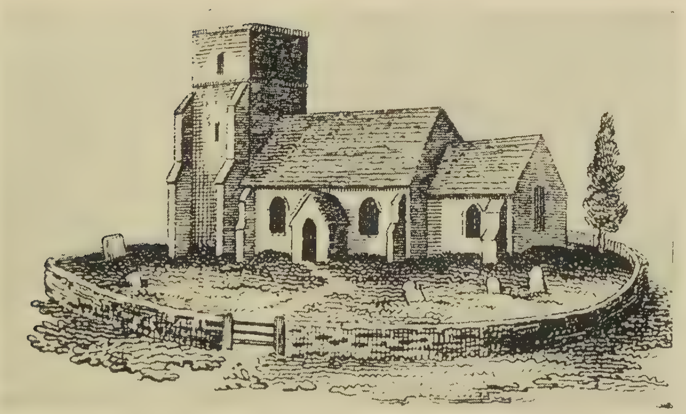
[1] Therefore Hakon the Good refuses to eat horseflesh at a 'blood-offering'; *Story of Hakon the Good* (Saga Library), c. 18. Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, has a chapter (xxxiii) on the survival of *paganiae* in Christian Scandinavia.

[2] Thos. Barnes (*Notes on Ancient Britain and the Britons*, p. 66) was but one of many who have believed the Saxon hundreds to go back to Celtic originals. Peake (*The English Village*, p. 89) would put the origin of the hundred-moot far back in the prehistoric time.



NO. I. THE GUILDHALL, YORK: INTERIOR, 1807.
(By permission of Messrs. Delittle Fenwick & Co., York).



NO. 2. SHOLDEN CHURCH, NEAR DEAL, AS IT WAS IN 1806.
(From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1806, pt. ii, 1017).

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dykes could not in themselves serve the purpose. In these cases the *rendezvous* must have been less the road, dyke, or stream, than some well-known object lying on or near the line of it ; and in all likelihood it was a burial-mound. The same remark applies to trees : at a date when ‘ oak and ash and thorn ’ were vastly more common objects than now they are, it is no less difficult to understand how any such object, unless it were otherwise distinguished, could serve as the trysting-spot of an entire hundred, than to understand how a road or a dyke could do so. It is a fact that a very large proportion of hundred-moots were confessedly places of burial ; it is not at all improbable that originally all were so.

That none of the Saxon hundreds can be shown to have kept a Celtic name is not surprising. Even if the Saxon in a large degree owed to the Celt the development of his hundred-system,[1] he would not be likely to take over the individual Celtic hundreds as they stood. The Saxon hundreds were naturally relative to the Saxon population. If it happened that the new Saxon hundred retained the same trysting-place as its Celtic precursor, it was not to be expected that the Saxon would adopt and retain its name also. The old site would receive a Saxon name, very probably also a Saxon burial to give it a Saxon consecration ; for a ‘ founder ’ who was not of the blood was impossible alike in logic and in fact.

That this view is plausible the term ‘ moot-hill ’ is itself evidence, ‘ hill ’ here having the sense in which it is still used by the older Southdown shepherds, who apply it to any grave-mound however slight in elevation.[2] So essential was the mound to the Saxon moot that the simpler earlier term *mot* or *gemot* was quite supplanted by ‘ moothill,’ which was itself at a later date sometimes reinforced by other terms of the same import, resulting in pleonasms such as Muttilow[1] and Muthillstow. For centuries after his conversion to Christianity the Saxon still held his communal moots at the grave-mounds of the community's dead, i.e. in the churchyard or the church of his *tun.*[2] But that, as is commonly supposed, he had ever habitually concerned himself to build mounds expressly for the purposes of moots, is improbable. He disliked spade-work, and preferred when possible to make shift with the barrows of the men before him. The burial-places which he thus used as moots while he was still a pagan, like those which he used for the same purposes when he became a Christian, were invariably circular, and there are other hints that he long retained something of the Celtic feeling that moots should be of this peculiar plan. The original arrangement of the guildhall of York (plate i, fig. 1)—it was altered only some forty years ago—was very suggestive. A severely rectangular building, erected about 1446, it included a perfectly circular ' ring ' of a diameter of some 24 feet. The ' ring,' the floor of which was raised two steps above the general floor of the hall, was enclosed by wooden panelling, of which the one half was carried up to the full height of the mayoral throne in its centre—the throne backed against the end-wall of the hall—while the other, about half as high, was provided with two small doors whereby the city fathers reached their seats. The plan is curiously reminiscent of that of some stone circles, and not less curious is the fact that the guildhall stands just outside the presumed site of the south-western gate of Roman Eboracum, and close beside the Roman road now represented by the street called Stonegate, that is to say, exactly where one might have looked to find the moot of the ancient city. The building occupied the site of an earlier ' Common Hall,' and was so constructed as to leave beneath it a thoroughfare which is believed to represent the old Roman road and is still known as Common Hall Lane.[3]

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[1] Presumably, like the other Germanic peoples, he already had it in an embryonic form. See above, ch. xii.

[2] cp. *mot-beorh* in a bilingual charter of Edgar (958-975), where the Latin version has *congressionis collem* (*Cod. Diplom*, no. 364 ; *Monast. Anglic.* ii, 364). In Dovedale is a Moot-low (Jewitt, *Grave-mounds*, p. 128), and Mutlow occurs in Ches., Cambs., and elsewhere. In Kemble's *Saxons in England*, i, pp. 55, 56, are cited *mearc-mot* and *mearc-beorh* ; whence it would seem that *mot* and *beorh* might be interchangeable. The fact may throw light on the hitherto unexplained origin of the word *motte* (Norman-French) meaning a ‘ (castle-)mound.’ *Mot-beorh* is in sense identical with the *cryc-beorh* dealt with in chap. xv.

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[1] Mutlow in Cambs., a large barrow, was anciently Muttilow, i.e. Moot-hill-low, and similar redundancies are common. At Normanton, Yorks. is Haw Hill, presumably for How Hill. In some instances the syllable *low* has been rationalised to *law*: thus the mound in Blyth, Notts. now known as Blyth Law Hill, once the site of the manorial gallows, was earlier called Emmerslow (*V.C.H. Notts.* i, 315).

[2] Below, chaps. xxvii-xxviii.

[3] At a subsequent date (until 1811) a building upon the Ouse bridge was used as town hall.

It looks indeed as if, when at last a roofed moot was desired, this was so built as to enclose the site of the community's earlier place of assembly in the open air.

The Celtic name for all moots of whatever type was *cruc*, for which the Romanised Britons substituted the Latin equivalent *circus*. The Saxons, learning both words, quickly dropped the one,[1] but passed on the other as the name of the scene of a specific kind of moot, that 'assembly of the faithful for religious worship' which the old Welsh called *cyrch* and we ourselves call a 'church.' The scenes of his older native gatherings he continued obstinately to call *moots* and *moot-hills*, just as the Dane, with equal obstinacy, continued to call them *tings*.

Reasons have been given for believing that a large number of the stone circles were moots of the Celts. If the Saxon, as here suggested, was led to develop his system of moots by Celtic example, the question arises, Why then did he not adopt the stone-circle ? There are but three possible answers to the question.

Firstly it might be retorted that the question is fallacious—that he did so use the circles. There is ample evidence that in the non-Saxon parts of Scotland, as in Brittany, the traditional use of the circles did not cease until the fourteenth century or even later[2]; but there is no hint of it in the thoroughly Saxon areas. One of the best pieces of evidence against it is the fact that not one single known Hundred-name refers to any such stone circle.

Secondly it has been argued by some writers that the stone circles were not in existence when the Saxon first arrived here. This view is hardly worth arguing to-day. It is probable that some of the best examples in Britain were actually erected after the fifth century in Cornwall and in Cumberland, but the type must have been known and used in these islands for some centuries earlier.

The third, and the only convincing answer is, that when the Saxons arrived upon the scene the stone circles had throughout the more progressive parts of Britain ceased to be in active or general use—that the Roman *circus* had supplanted the stone circle wherever the Roman influence was strongest, i.e. exactly in those parts of Britain by which the Saxon invaders made their entry. In these eastern and south-eastern and southern coastal lands the lack of suitable stone must have made that type of moot always rare and difficult to provide.

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[1] Dropped it in the sense of 'moot,' though he retained it, as did the Celt himself, in the sense of 'grave' (ch. xv).

[2] Above, ch. xi.

In the remoter West, in Cornwall and Wales, as in Strathclyde and in Scotland, they might, and almost certainly did, continue in use, and there, if not sooner, the Saxon must have learnt their purpose. Elsewhere the Romano-British communities had for the most part discarded the circle-moot for the new *circus*, a more modest thing and more accordant with their humbled condition. This, and the earlier and still humbler mound-moot, the Saxon saw in active use on all his borders. The mound-moot he adopted, if only because it was the easier to provide. Of the *circus* he learnt the use and the name; he did not imitate it, but he kept its name in mind for future service.

The Saxon tribes, when first they reached Britain, would seem to have been in much the same state of savagery as were any other Teutonic people when they passed into Gaul, the Belgae not excepted. Celtism quickly modified the Belgae, so that when they again moved on into Britain they came as a highly developed people with a fixed polity, a fixed religion, and fixed ideas on burial. The Saxons had had no chance to learn these things; the Frank had forestalled them in Gaul, so that they came here direct and untutored. But once here they fell, like their forerunners, under the influence of Celtism. They learned and used the Celtic system of moots, they imitated Celtic burial practices; and when presently they learnt Celtic Christianity, this was but the natural corollary to what had gone before. Like his kinsmen in Gaul before him, like the Normans in Ireland after him, the Saxon too fell under the same spell of Celtism,[1] and became *ipsis Hibernis Hibernior.*

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[1] For some remarks upon the enervating influence of Scotic Christianity upon the Saxon, see Sir H. Howorth's *Golden Age of the English Church.*

# CHAPTER XXII.

## ROME AND IONA.

*Christianity in Roman Britain confined to the Towns—St. Ninian at Whithorn—The Reason of his Failure—Bede's account of Romano-British Christianity—The 'Ecclesiae' not Structural Churches—Romano-British Temples—The Term 'Basilica' in Bede—Paulinus and Augustine—The Supposed Church at Silchester—Conversion of Roman Buildings into Churches—Movements of the Northern Tribes—St. Columba at Iona—Iona a Scotic Monastery—'Raths' in Scotland—Kirk-stones of Stroupster—Old Deer—The Death of Odhrain—Aversion to new Burial-grounds—Circular Church-yards in Scotland—The Knowe of Saverough—Hillswick in Shetland—Scottish Churches on Cairns and Barrows—Scottish Grave Monuments—Cist-burial—Orlygr in Iceland—The Apse in Scotland—The 'Mansio' of St. Cuthbert in Farne—The 'Mansio' of St. John of Beverley at Hexham—The 'Mansio' of St. Chad at Lichfield.*

Wherever Christianity has come, the 'elder faiths' have always made a stubborn fight. The old gods may be conquered, but being gods they refuse to die. To this day the peasantry of Tuscany swear by the deities of pagan Rome and practise magic in the names of still older Etruscan divinities, even under the very shadow of St. Peter's; and the like paganism lingers yet more stubbornly in remoter lands, most of all in the erstwhile Celtic lands. The very word 'paganism' suggests that the new faith for many years made little headway outside the towns, and the word 'heathen'[1] conveys the same implication. There were Christians in Britain very possibly for two centuries before they gained public recognition and protection, but there is no shred of evidence that the country-folk were anything but pagans. What Christianity existed was confined to the towns such as Canterbury, Silchester, Verulamium, and perhaps Caerwent.[1] The rhetoric of Gildas is hardly evidence to the contrary, and even his language applies to Bath only.[2] The Gallic revivalists Lupus and Germanus (429) are said to have preached, not in the churches only, but also *per trivia*, *per rura*, *per devia*.[3] This Prof. Baldwin Brown[4] takes as evidence that Christianity was not confined to the towns. It is certainly good evidence that *outside* the towns the *pagani* could boast of few or no churches. In the next year (430) Germanus, wishing to keep the Easter feast, caused his followers to build booths of boughs for themselves and a church of the same fabric (*frondibus contexta*) for the bishop.[5] This was in north Wales. Evidently there was no existing church within some distance. Evidently also the temporary 'church' so constructed was not such as could accommodate a congregation, and the mass would be celebrated *more Scotico* under the roof of heaven.

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[1] A needless attempt has been made to derive this word, like 'church' itself, from the Greek, but in any case there was always a felt association with 'heath.' See *N.E.D.* Sozomen's assertion that Theodosius (*circa* 390) 'forbade the unorthodox to hold assemblies in the towns' implies that the country-folk were mostly pagan still.

Bede records[6] that Ninian, himself a Briton who had been trained and consecrated at Rome, 'built a church of stone after a fashion unfamiliar to the Britons.' This was before 432. Ninian selected a spot in Galloway then known as Rosnat. He named his church *Candida Casa*, translating the name of the place near Ligugé where he had received his missionary training[7]; and its present name of Whithorn (A.-S. *Hwit-aern*) is again a translation of the Latin name. This is the first structural church in the British Isles for the building of which we have any evidence. Bede does not call it a *basilica*, and its name of *casa* suggests that it was very small.[1] There must have been a Christian population in Galloway if, as the usual story goes, a few miles away was born (*c.* 372) St. Patrick, 'son of Calpurnius the deacon and grandson of the priest Potitus'[2]; yet Ninian's foundation failed to make good.[3] It was Kentigern,[4] another Briton (but consecrated in Ireland, and therefore of the Scotic rule), who resumed Ninian's work with more success in the latter half of the sixth century.

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[1] An aisleless rectangular building at Caerwent with a western apse and transeptal annexe has been held to be a Christian church (Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, p. 253), and T. S. Muir (*Ecclesiological Notes*) figures an unquestionably early church of similar plan. The late Dr. Haverfield thought that of the smaller towns of Roman Britain 'most . . . had perhaps a tiny Christian church or two' (*V.C.H. Shropshire*, i, 209).

[2] *Hist. Brit.* §§ 12, 24. This was written *circa* 564; cf. Bede, *H.E.* II, xiv, § 133, of the beginnings of Roman Christianity in Northumbria under Paulinus; *nondum oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiae poterant aedificari.*

[3] *Vita S. Germani* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Jul. vii, 224).

[4] *Arts*, i, p. 162.

[5] Bede *H.E.* I, xx, § 44. This chapter is omitted in the Saxon Version. For the procedure—provision of booths, etc.—cf. the remarks of Gregory to Mellitus, ch. xxvi.

[6] ibid. III, iv, § 158, *ecclesiam lapideam insolito Brittonibus more fecerit.*

[7] Archibald Scott, *The Pictish Nation* (1918), pp. 78, etc. Some of the places now called Whitchurch may have the like origin, but see p. 286. If Whithorn is sometimes called *Magnum Monasterium*, the epithet has no reference to size.

Ninian's date being some years prior to the great outburst of Scotic Christianity inaugurated by St. Patrick, the Britons of Galloway must have owed their Christianity, such as it was, to the earlier Romano-British Church. Now Bede is very emphatic in declaring that Ninian's training was strictly Roman: he was *Romae regulariter fidem edoctus*,[5] and in Rome he had been consecrated bishop. If then his procedure was *mos insolitus* in the Galloway of A.D. 400, it is clear that the practice of these British Christians of the North was even at that date very different from the Roman practice. When Augustine met the Welsh bishops at Augustine's Oak (*c.* 602) he could say that their practice was 'in many points' different from that of Rome and the Church at large[6]; and while prepared to waive all other differences, he insisted upon the necessity of their conforming to the Roman rule in regard to the date of Easter and the rite of baptism.[7] The other points of difference we are left to guess.[8] One would certainly be the fashion of the tonsure ultimately settled in favour of the Romans at the Synod of Whitby (664). The British tonsure was probably derived from that of the Druids, or at any rate was objectionable to the Roman Church as reminding them of the druidical tonsure[1]; yet Augustine, who had been counselled by pope Gregory to be conciliatory, is not recorded to have made any difficulty about it. It is not straining probabilty to suggest that others of the 'many' points of variance would be the prominence given by the Celtic Christians to the burial-ground, the form of that burial-ground, and the method of consecrating it; for all these, like the Celtic tonsure, were inherited from a paganism that was not yet dead. Other points would certainly be the insignificant place given to the structural church, the rudeness and simplicity of the Celtic oratory, the performance of all or almost all the ritual in the open air, the neglect of episcopal consecration of all 'churches,' and the use of one and the same building as oratory and dwelling-house. Augustine doubtless felt that he was carrying conciliation sufficiently far in waiving all these points and asking so little in return. But the Welsh, *toti mundo contrarii*, declined to be reconciled.

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[1] The words *casa* and *aern* recall the Irish and Scottish *teach* (ch. xviii). Bingham (*Christian Antiqs.* bk. viii, 1, § 10) remarked that it was 'not very easy to conjecture' why 'churches' should frequently be styled *casae*, and suggested that it was 'because of their plainness and simplicity.' The truer reason was that, in Scotic Christianity, they were originally the actual *habitacula* of the builders, and remained so in some cases down to the thirteenth century even in England (p. 238).

[2] Calpurnius was also *decurio* of his native place, which St. Patrick (*Confessio*) calls Bannauem Taberniae. If it had decurions it must have been a *civitas* with its own *curia*.

[3] It was restored as the seat of a bishopric 727-796, and finally refounded as a Premonstratensian priory (twelfth century). Ninian was buried there in 432.

[4] Cendeyrn, a Welsh Briton, nicknamed Mungo, 'Dear One.' He was consecrated bishop of Strathclyde in 543, and over his burial-place is built Glasgow cathedral.

[5] *H.E.* III, iv, § 158.

[6] ibid. II, ii, § 93, *in multis quidem nostrae consuetudini, immo universalis ecclesiae, contraria geritis.* In II, ii, § 91, Augustine's *multis* is replaced by Bede's *plurima.* Augustine had previously asked pope Gregory's advice in regard to similar divergences between the Roman and the Gallic Churches (I, xxvii, § 60). Cf. again II, iv, § 97 of Laurentius, *Scotorum . . . quomodo et Brittonum . . . vitam ac professionem minus ecclesiasticam in multis cognovit.* He thought the Scoti better than the Britons, but was disappointed in them both.

[7] No one knows in what precise point lay the difference.

[8] Augustine began by demanding further that the Welsh should abandon their policy of ignoring the Saxons, and should unite with him in the work of converting that

Certain other matters of difference are perhaps to be discovered in the canons of archbishop Theodore as given by Bede,[2] so far as they relate to the discipline of the clergy at large and of the monks in particular, for Theodore seems to have found in England a good deal of that individualism which characterised the Irish and Welsh Churches. Possibly also the practice of associating both sexes within the same monastery was in debate, and certainly the confirmed nomadism of the Scotic monastics.[3] That there was even after the Synod of Whitby (664) a strong feeling of antagonism between the Celtic and the Roman rules in England is further indicated by what happened in the case of Wilfrid. Bright[4] speaks of the 'deep and persistent antipathy' to that Romanising bishop, adding that 'in

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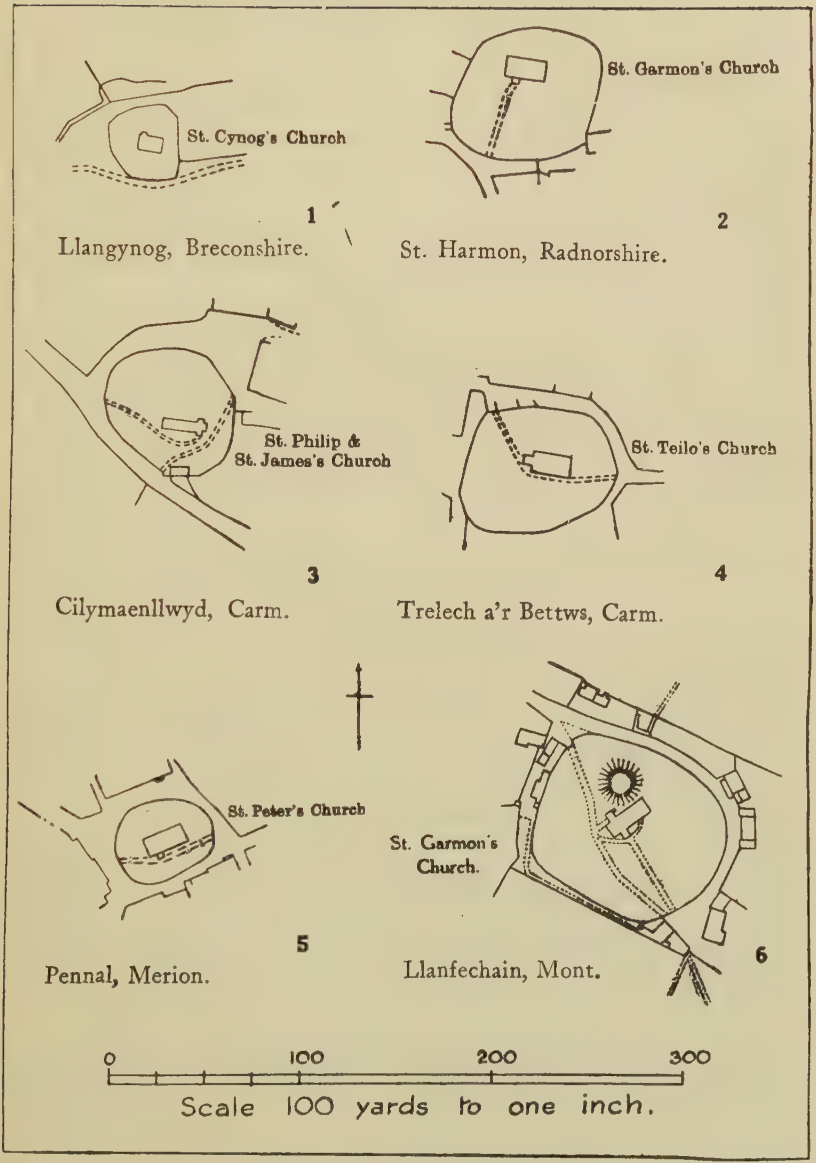
people. This, however, was hardly a matter coming within the *regula* and the *mysteria veritatis*, and moreover it did not apply to the Celtic Church at large (St. Columba's disciples in Bernicia and Deira, for example).

[1] The Druids seem to have shaved the front of the head from ear to ear, leaving the hair to grow long over the rest of it. *The Book of Armagh* says that this tonsure was known (to the Christians) as 'the fillet of Hell.'

[2] *H.E.* IV, v, § 269.

[3] cf. the story of Colman's monastery in Inisboffin (Bede, *H.E.* IV, iv, § 266).

[4] *Lectures*, p. 398. Archibald Scott, *The Pictish Nation.*


St. Cynog's Church
1
Llangynog, Breconshire.
St. Garmon's Church
2
St. Harmon, Radnorshire.
St. Philip & St. James's Church
3
Cilymaenllwyd, Carm.
St. Teilo's Church
4
Trelech a'r Bettws, Carm.
St. Peter's Church
5
Pennal, Merion.
St. Garmon's Church.
6
Llanfechain, Mont.
0
100
200
300
Scale 100 yards to one inch.

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS IN WALES

*(From the Ordnance Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office)*

Northumbria at any rate there was a powerful mass of opinion which in a practical sense might be called anti-papal.'

Bede's language in reference to Ninian's 'church of stone' at Whithorn is commonly taken to imply that the native Britons—as distinct, one must suppose, from the Romanised British population of the towns—knew nothing of churches built of stone or brick; it being tacitly or explicitly assumed that they were perfectly familiar with churches built of timber and wattle. There is ample evidence that the earliest Celtic 'churches' were commonly of wood, but there is little or no evidence that the earliest of these goes back to Ninian's time; and one fact which is prominent in Bede's pages is that to build a church of any kind was *mos insolitus* until the beginning of the eighth century.[1] But inasmuch as for centuries after the triumph of the *regula Romana*, churches continued to be built of wood and wattle, it is scarcely credible that the use of timber or of stone was a vital question between the Roman and the Celt. Bede was himself wholly Roman in his views: he scouted all that was not strictly Roman, and it is abundantly clear from his writings that to his mind a primary essential in orthodoxy was a structural church sufficiently large to accommodate a congregation, and preferably, though not necessarily, of basilican plan. Therefore when the Roman Paulinus builds a 'church'—it is called both *ecclesia* and *oratorium*—at York for the baptism of king Edwin, Bede apologises for both its circular plan and its wooden fabric as due to the need of haste.[2] Later he tells us that the same Paulinus built another *basilica* at Campodonum, apparently of wood, but he does not sneer at it therefor, nor indeed does he anywhere scoff at wooden churches merely because they are of wood.

Having regard to the essential difference which the evidence shows to have subsisted between the Celtic and the Roman way, it seems more reasonable to understand

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[1] The same feeling lingered in Ireland until the twelfth century. When archbishop Malachy of Armagh built a church of stone at Bangor, 'an opponent protested against the innovation; *Scoti sumus, non Galli . . . Quid opus erat opere tam superfluo?*' (St. Bernard's *Life of Malachy*, c. 28).

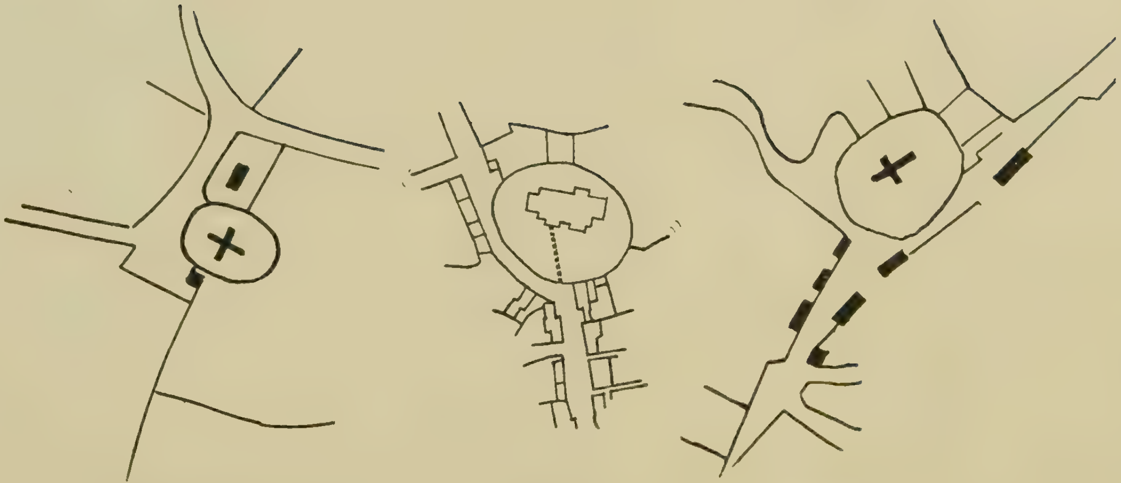
[2] *H.E.* II, xiv, § 132, *citato opere.* That it was circular is stated in the account of the subsequent building of the larger basilican church of stone; *praeparatis ergo fundamentis in gyro prioris oratorii, per quadrum coepit aedificare basilicam.*

Bede's remark about Ninian to imply that he attempted to introduce the Latin way amongst a people who at that date knew nothing thereof; and read in this light the emphasis laid upon Ninian's strict Roman training acquires a point which otherwise is wholly lacking. Ninian failed at Whithorn just because his was not the Celtic way, which began with the graveyard and attached small importance to any building within it. Kentigern succeeded because he followed the Celtic way. It would seem indeed that Ninian himself was forced ere long to abandon the Roman practice, for we read that when Kentigern came to Glasgow some century and a half later, he found there, not a 'church,' but merely a cemetery formerly consecrated by Ninian. That had survived and retained its sanctity for a hundred and fifty years, whereas the 'church of stone' at Whithorn had failed.

This reference to Ninian and his work being the last which Bede makes to that earlier Christianity which had once prevailed in *Britannia Romana* and had been overwhelmed by the Saxon invasion, it will be well at this point to review the matter in the light obtained from the history of Christianity in Wales and Ireland.

It has been shown that the earlier Christian *loca consecrata* in Wales and Ireland were barrows, and that the structural church in both countries was a late development. As the Christianity of Wales is believed, and seemingly upon good grounds, to have been derived in the first instance from Roman Britain, however slight may have been the connecting thread, there arises the question, How came this early Christianity of Wales to be so unlike that which is asserted to have obtained in Roman Britain? Is it possible that one's mental picture of the Christianity of the Romano-British likewise requires to be modified?

Both the pagan Celt and the Christian Celt—the Cymru—paid extraordinary regard to the grave, small heed to any structural place of worship. The Romano-Briton was the heir of the one people, the parent of the other—it might indeed be said that he *was* the Cymru, for between Roman Britain and Christian Wales there was no hiatus of time or of blood. It would be very strange if in matters of religion he did not inherit something of the ways of his forebears; stranger still if the Christianity of the Cymru



Llanfihangel Rhos-y-Corn, Carm.  Llangadock, Carm.  Myddfai, Carm.

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS IN WALES, SAME SCALE AS ON P. 179.

*(From the Ordnance Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office).*

were not very like his own. The Cymru had their *eglwys*, which assures us that the Romano-Briton had likewise his *ecclesia*. But what exactly was the *ecclesia* of the Romano-Briton ?

In the language of Christianity the word *ecclesia* meant originally the ‘ congregation,’ and this is the only sense which the word bears in the Scriptures. From this was early developed the meaning of ‘ place where the congregation met.’[1] The meaning of a roofed building, a structural ‘ church,’ is a yet later development and is no part of the word's earlier connotation. In the Greek East it was permissible, at least as early as 300, to use it in the sense of a special building,[2] but there is no reason to suppose that the word's evolution was equally rapid in all lands to which it came. In Latin Italy indeed the evolution may have been almost as swift, because the civilisations of Greeks and Italians were in those days pretty much on one plane, and the forces working for Christianity amongst both peoples were largely identical and fairly synchronous. But the civilisation of Roman Britain, high though it may have been, was by no means on the same plane : the mass of the population, even in the most progressive parts of the province, was wholly different in culture[3] as in race ; and any forces there working for Christianity, if identical in kind, were far feebler and came much later into the field. We should not expect the evolution of a structural church to have been as rapid here as in Italy and the Greek lands, and there is no evidence that it was so.

The point may be illustrated from Roman paganism in Britain. That system had a clear field and a continuous career of at least 250 years, during which time it was the official religion, and was further backed by all that policy could do to help it.[1] The temples therefore of Roman Britain should have been both many and magnificent. They were mostly neither the one nor the other. One of the outstanding facts of archaeology is the fewness of the remains of indubitable Roman temples here, and the comparative poverty of the few that are known. There seem to have been few even in the great cities of the island, and those in no wise large or elaborate. In the smaller towns we must perhaps admit that they existed, but their *reliquiae* are extremely small. In the villages which covered the country they do not seem to have existed at all except in the humble form of *nymphaea* and *sacella* attached to this or that great villa, e.g. the temple of Nodens at Lydney, Glouces. and the little *nymphaeum* lately identified within the ringwork of Chanctonbury in Sussex[2]; but as the villages could not rise to the ownership of *fora*[3] it is the less remarkable that they did not build temples. The *circus* which served them for the one purpose probably served them for the other also, officially at any rate. It will not suffice to urge that the temples once existed, but have been destroyed. The 250 years of Roman paganism here were precisely the years of Rome's most efficient building, and it is incredible that, had she built here anything at all approaching the temples of Italy, so few traces of them should be forthcoming.[4] If then the official religion made so poor a display, is it likely that the struggling and persecuted faith of Christ could advertise itself in what we should call 'churches'?

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[1] Smith, *Dict.Christian Antiqs.* i, 366, etc.

[2] See further below, ch. xxviii, where it is shown that the evolution of the building out of the grave was precisely the same in the Christianity of the East and of Italy as it was in that of the Celtic lands. The only difference was in point of rapidity, as was to be expected from the differences in civilisation. In the Greek East ἐκκλησία did not begin to mean a structural church until 250 years after the death of our Lord : it had not wholly usurped that meaning until at least another 50 years later. So with the Latin *ecclesia* in Italy. The basilican plan did not become dominant until about 400, at the very moment when the Romans were beginning to think of leaving Britain. They did not return (in the person of Augustine) for 300 years, and by that time the Roman *ecclesia*, like much else in Roman Christianity, was stereotyped.

[3] The latest pronouncement on this matter is by Prof. F. Haverfield in *The Romanization of Britain*, and from the evidence there assembled it would seem that the culture of the province was by no means as high as the author would wish it to appear. For another estimate, much less flattering, see Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor* (1905), pp. 37 *sqq.* : J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire* (1913).

Yet indubitably there were Christians—a few—here in the third century. If so, there were also *ecclesiae* in the sense of ‘ congregations,’ and therefore also *ecclesiae* in the sense of ‘ places of meeting.’ It does not follow that there were *ecclesiae* in the sense of structural ‘ churches,’ and it is very unlikely that there were. There is no explicit mention of them, no trace of them, and no reason to think that the Romanised Briton, seeing that he was still a Celt, would require them. *Ecclesia* to him meant only the place of meeting for Christian ritual. In that sense he learnt to use the word and took it with him (*eglwys*) when later he withdrew before the Saxon into Wales. If he followed the example of the first Christians in Rome, whose first ‘ churches ’ were in the tombs of the catacombs, he would make his meeting-place where he buried his dead ; and as this had likewise been the way of his forefathers in pagan times, it is the more probable that he did so. Further, as his forefathers had from immemorial time laid their dead in barrows, presumably he did the same. So his *ecclesia* (*eglwys*) must have been a barrow—the circular mound or the ring-work which still marked the graves of his dead, because he had never known any other way of marking[1] them. The evidence shows that this was actually the case in Wales in days when Christianity was no longer subject to persecution.[2]

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[1] Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.

[2] *Sussex Arch. Collections*, liii (1910), pp. 131-7.

[3] See above, ch. ix.

[4] Three temples were disclosed in the excavation of Silchester, of which one had a *cella* 24 ft. by 21 ft., another 13 ft. by 11 ft. See plans in Haverfield, *Romanization of Britain*, 1912, p. 31. The third was circular and larger. In *Archaeologia*, lxiv (1912-13), p. 449, is a plan of a round temple at Caerwent. Another at Caerwent had a *cella* 20 ft. square, with an apse 8 ft. across the gorge. At Corstopitum (Corbridge) also was a building which may have been a temple. All that remains of any temple at Bath, the pleasure-city of the province, is the great head of Sol, which probably decorated his fane. The largest known rectangular temple in the island is that lately found at Uriconium (Wroxeter). Its *cella* was 25 ft. by 20 ft. and it differed from the others in standing within 'a cloistered *temenos*,' 93 ft. by 55 ft. See *Reports of Research Committee, Lond. Soc. Antiqs.* 1913-14.

After 311 things in Britain were different, for Constantine had given to the Christians liberty to follow their creed without molestation, and in effect Christianity became then and there the official creed of the province.

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[1] It seems to be commonly assumed that Christianity at once swept away all the accessories of pagan burial. The thing is unthinkable, nor can there be cited any case where such a line of action was crowned with success. Christianity would assuredly have failed had it taken such a line, and it would have deserved to fail. There is no destroying at one blow the burial-customs of a people when they have any worth calling so, least of all those of the Celts.

[2] If *ecclesia* be taken, as archaeology suggests that it should be taken, not to have yet developed the sense of ‘ structural church,’ all difficulty disappears from a number of statements, as for example that in *Menologia Graeca*, 16th March (cited in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* i, p. cii), of Aristobulus, one of the Seventy sent by St. Paul, *ἐκκλησίαν συστησάμενος καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους ἐν αὐτῇ καταστήσας, κ.τ.λ*, and of St. Peter *ἐκκλησίας τε συστησάμενος ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους χειροτονήσας, κ.τ.λ.* The word *ἐκκλησία* here probably has the same sense as in *N.T.* (‘ The Church which is in Ephesus,’ etc.). There is no evidence whatever to support e.g. Milman’s imaginary picture (*Hist. Lat. Christianity*, ii, 227) of a Roman Britain in which ‘ churches and monasteries existed in considerable numbers.’ So Baring-Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th Ser. xvii, 273 ; ‘ So far no evidence has been produced of any churches erected by the Britons themselves of stone or brick.’ The Aristobulus of the above citation has been identified with the Arwystli Hên of Welsh tradition, Bran’s spiritual instructor, and with the person mentioned in St. Paul’s *Ep. to Romans*, xvi, 10. See Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry*, p. 57.

Then at last there might be built structural churches, for the upper class of converts would not relish the rigours of worship *sub divo* in this climate. These of the upper class would be largely non-Celtic,[1] if not actually Italian. Just about the same period the Christians of Rome also set the fashion for building such edifices,[2] and began gradually to evolve the peculiar form of church styled the basilican.[3] This too would find its way to Britain, but slowly, for distances were great and communications slow. But by the time the *basilica* reached him, the Romano-Briton had already become accustomed to speaking of any structural church as *ecclesia*, for he never adopted the new name (*basilica*).[4] More than that, he never adopted the type either. He went on, as in Wales he still goes on, building *ecclesiae* of the type he had first known—the type still to be seen in the Chapel of St. Agnes in the Catacombs—a mere rectangular box.[5]

Bede, writing of the altered state of things, makes a marked distinction between these two types of structure. The persecutions over, the Christians in Britain, he writes, 'repaired their *ecclesiae*, which had been levelled to the ground ; they founded and built and completed *basilicae* to the blessed martyrs.'[6] The difference in the terminology is proof of Bede's veracity : there had heretofore been no basilican churches in Britain, but *ecclesiae* only ; but after the declaration of religious tolerance the British Christians, drawn more closely into the Roman organisation, followed so far as might be the new Roman fashion and built *basilicae.* There was one at Silchester, believed to date *c.* 350. Bede does not say that every church built in Roman Britain after 311 was a *basilica*, nor is it likely that all were such: even the building erected over the spot where St. Albanus died he calls only an *ecclesia*, albeit it was 'of admirable workmanship and full worthy of the martyred saint.'[1] Basilican churches would be found only in some of the wealthier and more populous cities, and only there too is it likely that there had been many martyrdoms.

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[1] The monumental proofs of the prevalence of Christianity in Britain in the fourth century are almost exclusively in forms which bespeak them the property of the upper and wealthier class, seals and rings bearing the Christian monogram, and tessellated pavements which reproduce it. See Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* pp. 12-19, 20-31. Newell (*Hist. Welsh Church*, p. 21) thinks differently in regard to Wales, where, he says, the evidence shows that early Christianity 'lived apart from the patronage of wealthy Roman residents.'

[2] 'Church-building, as we understand it, did not begin in Rome until the fourth century' (Ditchfield, *English Village*).

[3] On the lack of any uniform plan in the earlier Christian churches, see Bingham, *Christ. Antiqs.* VIII, iii. Constantine's original church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was circular (Eusebius, Walafrid Strabo) : but the same emperor built an octagonal church at Antioch and a cruciform church (of the Twelve Apostles) at Constantinople. Others again were square (*forma quadrata*, Sincerus in *Thesaur. Eccles. s.v. ναὸς*), and were oddly styled *δρομικά*.

[4] Its appearance occasionally in Ireland (*basleg*) is artificial only.

[5] William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1125), speaking of the well-known basilican church at Deerhurst near Tewkesbury, calls it *antiquitatis inane simulacrum*, 'a meaningless piece of ancient symbolism.' Did he mean that it was a style of building which was exotic in England ? (*Gesta Pontif.* ii, 76).

[6] *H.E.* I, viii, § 22, *renovant ecclesias usque ad solum destructas ; basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt.*

Bede uses the term *basilica* twice again, and in both cases of churches built by the Roman Paulinus.[2] He never applies it to any church built by the Scotic missioners or their disciples, although some of these were of considerable size, as for example that of Aedilburga at Faremoutier.[3] All these he calls *ecclesiae.* Clearly the word *basilica* has reference solely to the plan of the building, but not to the size or the material: Paulinus' *basilica* at Campodonum is of wood, but Ninian's stone church at Whithorn is *ecclesia.* If elsewhere Bede calls the *basilica* at York by the term *ecclesia*,[4] this is not incorrect, for every *basilica* was an *ecclesia*, though not every *ecclesia* was a *basilica.*

None of Augustine's churches at Canterbury is called a *basilica.* All are *ecclesiae*, as also the cathedral churches built by his colleagues at London[5] and Rochester.[6] Yet in the case of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, now St. Augustine's, he had an entirely free hand, and as excavations have proved, the church as first completed was actually a *basilica*; and why Bede should style it *ecclesia*[7] is not clear. Is it possible that Augustine had not designed it so ambitiously?[8] He began it in 601, but died in 604, and the building was only completed under his successor Laurentius in 613; and even so it was not a large building. It is not easy to understand the length of time occupied unless there were some very material alterations in the design. But Bede, who never left his home on the Wear, had no personal knowledge of Canterbury, and could not always be infallible when relying upon the information of others.

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[1] *H.E.* I, vii, § 20.

[2] Below, p. 218.

[3] *H.E.* II, viii, § 174.

[4] ibid. II, xiv, § 133.

[5] ibid. II, iii, § 95.

[6] ibid. *loc. cit.*

[7] ibid. I, xxxiii, § 79: II, iii, § 96.

[8] Prof. Hamilton Thompson (*Ground-plan of the English Parish Church*, p. 15) takes this view. The complete history of the site is to be found in *Archaeologia* lxxvii (1927), pp. 201-218.

King Alfred, in translating the *History* of Orosius, uses *cirice* for both *ecclesia* and *basilica* indifferently. So does Bede's Saxon Translator, and when met with the need of distinguishing between the two, as in the case of the earlier *ecclesia* and the later *basilica* at York, calls the former *cirice*, the latter merely *maran cirican*, 'a bigger church.' A Saxon of Scotic bias, he saw no difference save in point of size between the one and the other. As the Welsh used *eglwys* for any sort of church, so the Saxon used *cirice*, and just as the Welsh use of *eglwys* must have been established before the word *basilica* was introduced into Britain in the fourth century, so the Saxon use of *cirice* must have been established before Paulinus re-introduced the basilican type, i.e. before A.D. 627.

Within the walls of Canterbury Augustine 'recovered' a church which he understood to have been built in the old days of Roman Christianity, and reconsecrated it as Christ Church. This is the only reliable mention of a structural church of that date in Britain. It lay beneath the nave of the present cathedral, a small basilican building with short nave, side aisles, western apse, and probably an eastern *narthex* flanked by square towers. King Ethelbert had perhaps made some secular use of it: his 'temple' appears to have been outside the walls (at St. Pancras').[1] Beyond St. Pancras', beside the same Roman road leading to Richborough, lay St. Martin's. Both these are reputed to have been Roman buildings, but there is no proof that either was built to be a church, and both had eastern apses. As the Christians of the fourth century seem to have preferred the western apse,[2] it would seem that both buildings had been converted from some secular use. At any rate it is clear that the Jute had inherited a considerable number of Roman buildings. He had apparently stepped straight into the leavings of the Romans' civilisation, and they were more numerous here in the south-eastern corner of Britain than elsewhere. The Jute himself was far less of a savage than was the Angle or the Saxon, and king Ethelbert was actually married to a Christian queen who was guaranteed religious liberty, brought with her from Gaul her own confessor Luidhard, and used as her private chapel a building which stood where is now the church of St. Martin. Then, as always, culture stood higher in this quarter than elsewhere in the island, and ravage, whether of Pict or of Saxon, did less damage. The Roman tradition must have lingered as stubbornly here as anywhere: to this day two out of four of the great Roman cities of the area are still great, and Richborough failed only when the sea failed it. The fact must have weighed with pope Gregory when he directed Augustine to make his landing here in Kent.

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[1] Thorn's *Chronicle*. It was a basilican building, and the king had an *idolum* in its south aisle. Bede does not mention it.

[2] According to Dr. Haverfield (in *Encycl. Britann.*) this was the fashion until *circa* 420, that is, so long as Britain was Roman.

It is at least probable[1] that the building excavated at Silchester was verily a Christian church. Like the original of Christ Church in Canterbury it was of basilican plan with a western apse and entrance through a *narthex* on the eastern side. The overall measurements were about 42 ft. by 27 ft.; nave and apse together measured 30 ft. by 10 ft.; the nave was 20 ft. by 10 ft. and the two aisles were but 5 ft. wide. It was therefore very small. It is strange that, if Christianity was in the fourth century so general and so vigorous in Britain as it is commonly alleged to have been, there should be so few certain traces of its buildings.

Silchester was a large city. Its walls enclose an area of 100 acres, whereas those of Caerwent and Caerleon—'the city of palaces,' as Giraldus Cambrensis called it—extended over fifty acres only, and those of Eboracum, the administrative capital of the whole of Britannia Romana, embraced no more than 52 acres.

If this small building contented so large a community in the more progressive part of the province in the days when Christianity was triumphant, of what fashion would be any 'churches' in the smaller towns and in the remoter villages? Of what fashion would be any *ecclesiae* which existed in Britain prior to the days of Constantine?

On this point we have no evidence of any sort save the vague statements of Christian apologists and such remarks as that of Bede, that all the *ecclesiae* had been 'levelled with the ground,'[2] in the days of Diocletian's persecution.

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[1] But Dr. Haverfield cautions us that 'there is no direct proof either of the date of the building or of its purpose.'

[2] *Ad solum usque destructas*, *H.E.* I, viii, § 22.

This phrase tells us nothing, for it might apply just as well to a barrow or a stone circle, as to any building of wood or of stone. If, as Bede says, structural churches were still unusual with the Britons of Ninian's time (*c.* 400), we may reasonably believe that they were at least as unusual more than a century earlier; and that being so, we must infer that the Romano-British Christians of the third and fourth centuries as a rule had no 'churches' at all, but meeting-places only. We know that this was the case in Ireland and in Wales in the fifth century, and that the Welsh Christians of that century were of the very same race as those of whom Bede was speaking. We can only suppose, in default of evidence to the contrary, that in matters of religion they did very much as their fathers had done. If so, the *ecclesiae* of pre-Constantinian Christianity in Britain must have been barrows, not buildings, and the meaning of *eglwys* at any time between the second and the fifth centuries—probably very much later—must have been simply this. As a barrow might be of any fashion, mound or disc or cromlech, there would therefore be nothing strange in finding the name of *eglwys* attaching to such monuments, precisely as happens in the Saxon areas with the term 'kirk' or 'church.' Thus such a name as *Hên Eglwys* or *Eglwys y Gwyddel* (ch. xx) is exactly parallel with that of Sunkenkirk, Old Kirk, or The Kirk at Kirkby Ireleth (ch. xxiv).

What became of the *fana* of paganism when Christianity triumphed? The new faith received no immediate license to persecute in its own turn, and there can hardly have been any systematic campaign of destruction directed against the old order.[1] Very likely some Roman *fana* were converted into Christian churches,[2] as had happened in Rome, but we have no positive evidence of it, and if true, it would apply only to the towns. The leaders of the new faith might model their procedure upon that of their fellows in Rome and aspire to basilican churches, but the generality of the flock would be Romanised Celts, *pagani*, who cared nothing at all about structural temples. Quite possibly they actually used for Christian worship some of those moots—*circi* and circles—wherein they had erstwhile sacrificed to Jupiter. Such things lay ready to hand, and as they had never been used as places of interment, they might easily be purified and reconsecrated. If such a change really occurred—and Gregory a little later recommended to Mellitus precisely such a change—it would at once explain the persistent tradition that many of the stone circles were places not merely of worship, but specifically of Christian worship.

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[1] Paganism was only proscribed at last by Theodosius, *c.* 390, but it does not follow that even then all pagan *fana* were actually destroyed.

[2] This is said to have been done by order of the sons of Constantine.

The Saxons as a whole, owing their conversion to Scotic missionaries, took the Scotic attitude as regards the structural church, and made small account of it. When at last they were brought over to the Roman attitude and began to build churches, the ruins of Roman buildings provided them with both models and materials. But for almost 200 years after the Romans left there were no churches at all built in England, and for the next two hundred years thereafter such as were built were almost all of wood.

Ninian failed in Strathclyde because he sought to impose Roman Christianity upon a Celtic people. His failure was hastened by the southward thrust of the still pagan Picts. If Gildas found it well to migrate from Alclwyd to Glastonbury, it was because Alclwyd was no longer safe from Pictish attack, whereas Glastonbury was still remote from the vanguard of the advancing Saxons. If Christianity maintained itself at all in Galloway, its existence was most precarious. Further to the north, beyond the Antonine Wall, it had never extended. Caledonia proper was still, and always had been, pagan without qualification. The dominant race there were the Picts, and the Picts were Brythonic, kinsmen of the Belgae of southern Britain, but belonging to a later wave of immigration.

One cause of the southward movement of the Picts was the invasion of the western sea-board of Caledonia—Dalriada—by tribes from the north of Ireland. Amongst these were the Scoti, who, coming from the Irish Dalriada, carved out for themselves a new kingdom of the same name in Argyllshire,[1] and in the long run imposed upon the whole country their own name. The general movement of these tribes was to the north and east, and they reached as far as the Orkneys. The traditional date for the commencement of their invasions is 498. To make room for the new-comers, the Picts moved eastward and southward. To this day the place-names of eastern Scotland are mainly Pictish, whereas those of the western seaboard and the isles are Goidelic. Names of saints are comparatively few upon the eastern part of the map; the western part bristles with such names, and the saints in question are almost wholly Irish. Most famous and most frequent upon the list, though not the earliest in date, is that of St. Columba.[1]

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[1] Their capital fortress was traditionally the *dun* of Dunadd, which was taken and destroyed by Angus MacFergus, king of the Picts, as early as 736 (*Annals of Tigher-*

Columba was a saint in the Celtic sense of that term: he was a younger son of royalty[2] (O'Donnell), a convert who broke many of the Ten Commandments and founded many 'churches.' He left Ireland because he had to do so He came to the new Dalriada because, amongst other reasons, the inhabitants were of his kindred. He had been bidden not settle within sight of Ireland, so he pushed on as far as Hy.[3] The year was 563.[4]

From this Scotic settlement on Iona—Icolumkille[5]—sprang the whole Christianity of northern Britain for the next 500 years. From the twelfth century onward Latin Christianity began to usurp the field. Icolumkille, after being repeatedly sacked and burned by the Norsemen, was itself refounded as a Benedictine monastery in 1203, just as Whithorn had been refounded as Premonstratensian

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*nach*). The ruins have lately been excavated with illuminating results (*Proc. S.A.S.* lii, 292, *sqq*.). The finds were such as might easily have been put many centuries too early in time, but for their including one or two which bespoke Christianity. Of these one was a small disc of slate lettered in Irish minuscules with the legend In Nomine.

[1] Other missionaries already in the field were SS. Kentigern, Finbar, Drostan, Comgall, Cainnech, and Molaise, whose activities extended from Galloway to Sutherlandshire. See Archibald Scott, *The Pictish Nation*, *passim*.

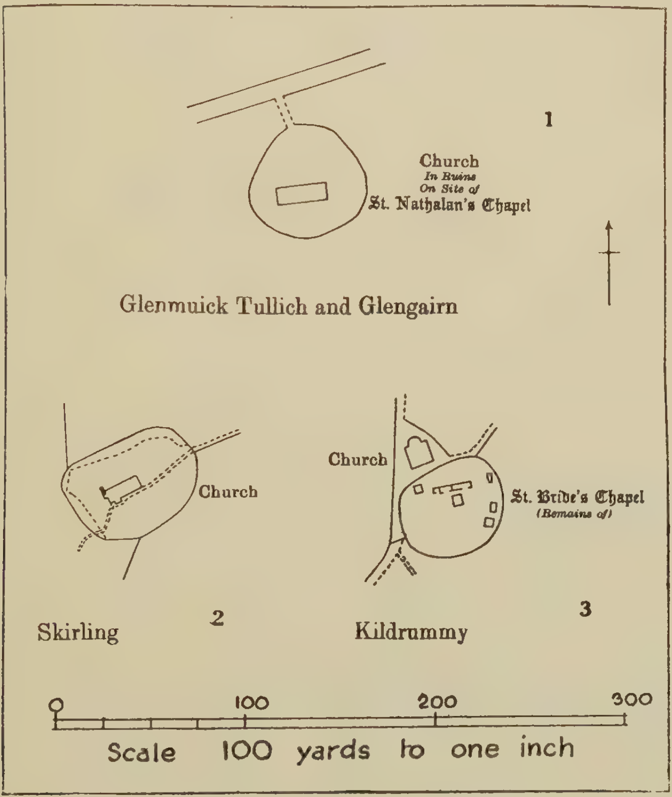
[2] He was great-great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, a king of All Ireland in the fourth century. He was therefore a Brython. Through his grandmother he was 'closely connected with the kings of the Scottish Dalriada.' This explains both why he settled in Hy, and why he at once addressed himself to the Brythonic king Brude Macmailhon (554-584) of the Picts. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, cc. v, vi: Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 151.

[3] The modern name Iona is said to be due to a misreading.

[4] Bede puts it in 565.

[5] The name recurs on many other sites in the Western Highlands and in the Isles (in Skye, Mull, Tiree, Islay, Lewes, and Oronsay). Petrie believed it to have been extended to all settlements founded from the original in Hy, to the traditional number of 300. Of these Warren (*Celtic Liturgy*) pronounces 53 to be historical. Kilcolumkille and Claodh-Columkille, however, need imply no more than a graveyard containing, or claiming to contain, relics of the saint.

(before 1153) in the time of king David I. But the wild coasts which had attracted the Irish pioneers[1] made less appeal to the Latin monks of a later age, who mostly left them alone. The world at large has followed suit, or if it has interfered at all, interfered usually to demolish. But the monuments of St. Columba and of his missionary disciples are still strewn broadcast from Clydemouth to the Orkneys.


1
Church
In Ruins
On Site of
St. Nathalan's Chapel
Glenmuick Tullich and Glengairn
Church
Skirling
2
Church
St. Bride's Chapel
(Remains of)
Kildrummy
3
0
100
200
300
Scale 100 yards to one inch

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS, SCOTLAND

(*From the Ordnance Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*).

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[1] Amongst them were St. Donan who settled in Eigg, St. Brendan in Seil, St. Blaen in Bute, St. Molaise in Arran, and St. Maelrubha in Skye. The settlements on the east coast were made partly direct from Iona by way of Perth and Aberdeen, partly from Lindisfarne, itself a daughter of Iona, northward by way of Old Melrose, Coldingham, etc.

In all external points the early monastic settlements of Scotland were like those of Ireland. Each had its small cluster of bee-hive cells grouped about one or more tiny rectangular oratories, the whole ringed by a circular *cashel.*[1] Remains of all these features are still traceable.[2] Later Roman reorganisations substituted the rectangle for the circle, but not so completely as to obliterate the latter. Enough remains to leave little doubt that the first settlement on Iona was another Inismurray,[3] and that the multitude of her daughter-foundations were of the same plan as was the parent settlement. 'The monastery established by St. Columba was of the usual Irish type. Its buildings were like St. Brigid's at Kildare, of wattles and clay, or at best of oak planks . . . The monastery was still in the same state even when more than a century old, for Adamnan tells of the toil he and his brother monks endured bringing home trees to repair their wooden huts.'[4] The same authority 'repeatedly mentions the church with its *exedra*, or side-chamber, and terms it *oratorium*, which shows that it was a *duirthech*, or oaken building.'[5] St. Columba merely transplanted to new soil Irish monastic Christianity.

'Kirk Stones of Stroupster' is the name of a curious group of remains near Wick in Caithness, where the ruins of four diminutive quadrangular buildings with curiously long and narrow entrance-ways stand within the area of a roughly circular stone dyke (about 50 yards by 30 yards in diameter) upon a low green mound, the whole surrounded by a fosse. The buildings, which are thought to have once been roofed in beehive fashion, revealed traces of hearths, a quantity of shells, and—so it is said—fragments of blue-glazed pottery; and some of them showed also traces of something like the stone bench running along the side walls as seen in 'St. Molaise's House' at Inismurray (ch. xviii) and in other early Irish oratories. They are not set east and west. Two of them at any rate must have been long occupied, for they proved to have had two or three successive floors.[1] The whole description, not less than the name of 'Kirk Stones,' is strongly suggestive of a Scotic Christian settlement.

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[1] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i, pp. 93 *sqq.*

[2] At Inch Columkille in Skye, at Eilean-na-Naoimh in Garveloch, at the Brough of Deerness in Orkney, and elsewhere. By contrast the *cashel* at Columkille in Skye is given as 'about 20 yards by 14 yards only' (Anderson, op. cit. p. 94). At Eilean-na-Naoimh the insulated site rendered needless any *cashel*, as it did on Skellig Michael.

[3] W. G. Collingwood speaks (*Antiquary*, 1907, p. 175) of 'a large flat space, strongly ramparted . . . possibly representing Columba's *rath* in Iona.' See also Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 116-8.

[4] Stokes, op. cit. p. 116, citing Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 195.

[5] Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (1887), ii, 95.

The word *rath*, now obsolete in Gaelic,[2] was in use as late as 1380, when a Court of Regality was held 'apud le standand stanes de la Rath de Kingussie.'[3] Dr. Christison says that the evidence for its use in the Irish sense in Scottish place-names is 'exceedingly meagre.'[4] There are, however, a number of such place-names—Rathen near Deer in Aberdeenshire, Rathillet in Fife, Ratho in Edinburghshire, Rathven in Banff, and Rattray in Perthshire—all in the Brythonic area of Scotland; and with Rathen, Rathven, and Rattray are associated many anhistoric remains and specifically many 'druidical' circles. There is also a Rathmuriel—Rath of St. Muriel[5]—likewise in Brythonic Aberdeenshire. Such association of the names of saints with earthworks is, says Mackinlay, rare in Scotland, citing two other instances, namely, St. Bride's Ring on Kingennie Hill, Monifieth, Forfar,[6] and Caerwinning—St. Wynnin's *Caer*—in Ayrshire.[7] St. Bride's Ring is described as a ruined circular fort with walls 7 feet thick, built of undressed stone, with an inner diameter of 54½ feet. The name of St. Bride, thinks Mackinlay, has been transferred to this spot from a chapel dedicated to her in the vicinity.[8] It may quite well have been the other way about.[9] The fort at Caerwinning appears to have been a typical three-ringed Celtic *dun*,[10] like that at Eglwys

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[1] *Proc. S.A.S.* 1916. In the *Book of Arran* (Glasgow, 1910), pp. 195-213, J. A. Balfour describes a group of ruins on the Leaca Bhreac near Kilpatrick in Arran, overlooking Kilbrannan Sound, and identifies it with the traditional settlement of St. Brandan at Aileach (Culbrandon). It is a dubious case: the area is unduly large (2½ acres) for such a settlement *circa* 680, and the plan has no approach to circularity, while the wall is very feeble. An adjacent hill, however, bears the name of Torr an Daimh, 'Church Hill.' Abutting upon the wall of the enclosure are the ruins of what seems to have been a formidable *broch*, with an interior diameter of 55 feet.

[2] Mackinlay, *Pre-Reformation Church*, p. 388.

[3] Gomme, *Primitive Folkmoots*, p. 190: *Archaeologia*, xx, 200.

[4] *Early Fortifications of Scotland*, p. 317.

[5] Mackinlay, op. cit. p. 387.

[6] Mackinlay, op. cit. p. 416.

[7] ibid. p. 388.

[8] The next parish is Panbride, which is explained as Llan-Bride. There is another Llanbride in Elginshire.

[9] Tradition asserts that there was a settlement of Culdees here (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*).

[10] *New Statistical Account, Ayrshire*, p. 219. The same saint has left his name in Kilwinning also, likewise in Ayrshire.

Cymmin (ch. xix); whereas Carbuddo, otherwise Kirkbuddo,[1] in Forfar—the *Caer* of St. Buite—has reference to the ruins of a Roman *castrum*,[2] and Carluke in Lanark was anciently Eglismalescoc.[3] The only explanation of the change of *eglis* to *caer* must be that here too the *ecclesia* was surrounded by earthworks so formidable as to suggest a veritable *caer*. That this might be so is shown by the case of Carmichael in the same county: in the twelfth century the place was called Plan-Michael, 'St. Michael's *Llan*.'[4] Even in the twelfth century Irish saints were still coming over to Scotland and fortifying each his oratory with 'a *vallum* after the manner of the Irish *rath*.'[5]

One of the earliest Christian foundations in eastern Scotland was that of St. Drostan at Old Deer in Buchan, on the borders of the shires of Elgin and Aberdeen. This settlement retained its original Celtic character as late as the accession of David I (1124),[6] but even so late other Irish missionary-saints were still founding new houses of the same Scotic type.[7] This is a fact to be borne in mind in attempting to determine the age of ecclesiastical remains in Scotland, as is also the fact that the *regula Romana* had in that country a free hand for at most 400 years.[8]

Columba brought with him other things than mere externalities: he brought the immemorial Celtic belief that there could be no consecration without burial. His first act on proceeding to occupy his new home in Hy was to bury one of his own followers, the monk Odhrain

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[1] cf. Cardonell and Kirkdonell, and other examples below, p. 293.

[2] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i, 135.

[3] Johnston, *Place Names of Scotland*.

[4] Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, 159.

[5] Mackinlay, p. 387.

[6] *Book of Deer*. Old Deer lies in the very heart of that part of Aberdeenshire where 'druidical' remains are most abundant, including a number of circles of the 'Aberdeenshire' type.

[7] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 97.

[8] It is 350 years since the death of John Knox (1572), yet to this day the Roman Church remains unchanged and undisturbed amongst many of the northern glens. Things may well have moved as slowly there before the Reformation, and purely Scotic settlements may have subsisted far later than is usually supposed. King Nectan of the Picts, when he requested bishop Ceolfrid to assist him in building churches 'after the Roman manner' which should be dedicated to St. Peter (710), was only 'conforming' to the *regula Romana* in the prime matters of the date of Easter and the form of the tonsure. This involved 'the expulsion of the family of Hy (the Columban monks)' from all Pictland (Tighernach, *Chron.* 717), and for a time the Christianity of Pictland seems to have been represented mainly by the solitary activities of the Culdees, who were rather Scotic than Roman. It was not until the eleventh century that the Roman influence came to be effectively felt. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, ch. vi.

(Oran), whose chapel still stands beside St. Columba's larger (and later) church. Here is the ugly story as retold by Professor Haddon.[1] Arrived in Hy:

> 'Columkille said then to his people, "It would be well for us that our roots should pass into the earth here." And he said to them, "It is permitted to you that some of you go under the earth of this island to consecrate it." Odhrain rose quickly and thus spoke: "If you accept me," said he, "I am ready for that." "O Odhrain," said Columkille, "you shall receive the reward of this. No request shall be granted to any one at my tomb unless he first ask of thee." Odhrain then *went to heaven.* He (Columkille) founded the Church of Hy then.'

Even in England at the present day the parishioners will frequently insist that they shall be buried within the old garth of their parish, be it never so crowded, each stubbornly refusing to be the first to be laid in any new annexe thereto; and if they can be induced to give their reason, it lies in their conviction that 'the Devil gets the first person' buried in the newly consecrated ground.[2] There can be little doubt that this attitude arises from a dim memory of the human sacrifices whereby the first 'churches' were hallowed, and the same memory explains also the clear distinction drawn by the peasant mind between the formal 'consecration' of a new burial-ground and its actual 'hallowing' by the first interment. Of the former is made little or no account, of the latter very much.

This first Christian settlement at Hy was merely a circular burial-place surrounded by a ring of stones. There are many such scattered over the country, and in very many cases they still bear the name of this or that Irish saint. Sometimes it seems no building ever followed. Often there stands a tiny Celtic church, or the ruin thereof, within the circle. In not a few cases there are several such buildings within the one precinct.[1] These details may vary, but not so the *limes*. That is always circular.

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[1] Haddon, *The Study of Man* (1898), ch. xli; cf. Jamieson, *Hist. of the Culdees*, p. 20; Baring-Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* The satirical spirit of a later age gave to the story an amusing turn, for which see the note to Scott's poem of *Glenfinlas*. The chapel of St. Odhrain is still the oldest church in the island, though not the original building. It is possibly as old as the eleventh century. The burial-ground attached to it is called Reilig Oran, the Irish name transferred to Scotland. There is another Reilig Oran in Tiree. That in Iona is (or was) 'surrounded by a circle of stones' (Murray's *Guide*): i.e. it was a sepulchral cromlech. But for the happy accident which has preserved its history, this would have been written down as one of the many 'druidical circles' of Scotland. Skene mentions (*Celtic Scotland*, ii, p. 89) 'a small green hillock surmounted by a circle of stones,' adding that 'it is now called Sithean Mor, but the circle of stones has long since disappeared.'

[2] This was the confessed reason given by an old man of Wybunbury in Cheshire, some few years ago. The prejudice appears to be specially powerful in Somersetshire.

The remains of the monastery of St. Maelrubha on Innismaree, Loch Maree, were described[2] in 1775 as 'a circular dike of stones with a regular narrow entrance. The inner part has been used for ages as a burial-ground, and is still so used.' A desecrated burial-ground in Coll, on Kilbride farm, is 'flat and rather spacious, of somewhat circular shape,'[3] remains of the enclosing wall still showing, though the site has been several times under tillage. Kilmaline, the burial-ground of Salen in Mull, three miles from the village, is a circular enclosure[4] within a rude wall dry-built of stones collected from the moorland about. There is another called Kilfinichen[5] on Loch Scridain, and a third in Ulva.[6] That of St. Kilda in the outermost Hebrides was in 1926 a circular mound overgrown with ragged grass, showing never a monument, nor any trace of a church.[7] The graveyard surrounding the old church of Dipple, parish of Speymouth, Elgin, is circular and revetted, the area flush with the top of the revetment. 'It used to be the custom [at Dipple] to carry the corpse sunwise round the churchyard before interment.'[8] The churchyard of Fodderty, Strathpeffer, Ross-shire, is still partially circular and greatly mounded up. That of Kirkton near Hawick, in Roxburghshire, was perfectly circular until enlarged in 1897. So was that of Linton in the same county. So is, and always has been, that of Skirling in Peeblesshire. James Hogg mentions[9] the remains of the chapel of St. Lawrence at Chapelhope, 'in a small circular enclosure on the west side of the burn.' Chapelhope, near St. Mary's Loch, is usually called Henderland (in Megget, Peeblesshire). Its garth is very small (diam. 25 yards), belted with an unmistakable vallum.[1] Circular in plan and mounded up to a great height is the churchyard of Kildrummy (St. Brigit), near Alford. On the other hand that of Tullich, near Ballater, though almost exactly circular, shows no mound. This 'church' was founded by St. Nathalan (*obiit* 678), and from it has come a long series of carven memorial stones, the oldest a remarkable monolith of Pictish type bearing the symbols known as the 'spectacles,' 'elephant,' and 'mirror.'[2]

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[1] In a burial-ground at Howmore in S. Uist there are five such buildings; in another at Kilbar in Barra there are four. See T. S. Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, p. 50. So definitely circular is the *limes* in each case that he was content to show each by a compass-drawn circle.

[2] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, ii, 330.

[3] Mackinlay, p. 8.

[4] The circle is now broken by an angular annexe on the south side. Within the circle 'are the foundations of a small chapel.' So T. S. Muir (*Ecclesiological Notes*, p. 25), who calls the spot Killinaline.

[5] T. S. Muir (op. cit. p. 26) found here 'no traces' of any building.

[6] The traditional burial places of 'Lord Ullin's daughter' and her lover.

[7] The kirk, a modern building, is at the opposite end of the village, entirely separate from the burial-ground.

[8] Private letter of John Geddie, Edinburgh. T. F. Thistleton Dyer (*Domestic Folklore*, pp. 61-62) mentions a similar practice as formerly prevailing in the north of England, for 'the dead maun aye go wi' the sun'; and cites Pennant as stating that 'when a corpse was carried to the churchyard, . . . great care was always taken that it should be carried the whole distance on the right-hand side of the road.' A woodcut on the title-page of Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631) shows a funeral *cortège* entering a church with a sun-wise turn.

[9] *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, ch. ii.

The Knowe of Saverough, in the dunes half a mile from Birsay in the Orkneys, provides a Scottish parallel to the case of Warren in South Wales (ch. xx). Here was a mound with diameter of 168 ft. and height of 14-16 ft., larger in area than that at Warren, but in proportions much the same. It was filled with interments of all ages and of both sexes, the bodies laid in cists made of flat stones from the adjacent beach. The skulls show that they belonged to those who inhabited the Orkneys at a date prior to the Norse invasion at the close of the ninth century. There was no grave-furniture with the bodies, save in one case, where was found in the cist an urn 5 inches high. Close by were the traces of a building with all the usual indications of a dwelling-place, several querns, a double-edged weaving-comb, implements of bone and of iron, ashes, and the refuse of food; and close beside, in a cist of its own, was found—with no other deposit whatever—the famous Bell of Birsay.[3]

Dr. Anderson is satisfied that the bell—such bells were held in peculiar veneration by the Celtic Christians—was buried there as a holy relic for its greater security at the time of the Norse invasion. The spot was a *locus consecratus* and a barrow,[4] and the bell being without question a Christian relic, the inference is that the barrow was a

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[1] Information of Ian C. Hannah.

[2] *Dee-Side Field* (Aberdeen, 1922), pp. 16-18. St. Nathalan was himself buried here.

[3] *Proc. S.A.S.* v, 10: Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 167. The bell is now in the museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

[4] cp. R. Fenton, writing of Llanbedr in Anglesey; 'In the flat below there is a circular knoll, encompassed by an *agger* such as encloses places set apart for religious ceremonies, which is called Bryn y Clychau, i.e. Hill of the Bells' (*Cambr. Arch. Assoc.* 1917, p. 265). The description is that of a primitive *llan*.

Christian graveyard. Dr. Anderson himself remarked that, when the Norsemen became Christians, a church—Christ's Kirk in Birsay—was built about half a mile away, as if in recognition of the fact that the spot was associated with Christianity.[1]

Here then is another of the very earliest Christian burial-grounds, like that of Warren, Pemb. Both are circular flat-topped barrows; and just as at Warren we find the pagan cup-mark side by side with the Christian wheeled-cross, so at Birsay we have the pagan urn in the same barrow with the Christian bell. The Knowe of Saverough is, however, in point of evolution later than the barrow at Warren, for it was provided with a permanent structure to serve as the residence and oratory of a priest. We have no record of his name, but it would seem that he was the possessor of one of those much-prized bells, and fearing for its safety in some time of crisis, he buried it in the holiest sanctuary he knew of, the graveyard of his flock, which kept it safe for a thousand years.

There are in Scotland, and southward far into Northumbria, many isolated hills to which attach names such as Kirk Hill and Old Kirk. They are mostly of no great elevation, but usually markedly circular, and were it not that their name of 'kirk' has glamoured the judgment of those who see them, it would long since have been remarked that each is just the site for a barrow. Each *is* a barrow, or at least carries or has carried a barrow, and their name proclaims the fact. Sometimes the name goes back to Gaelic times: Knockan-he-glish, parish of Drymen, Stirlingshire, and Knoc-na-eaglais, near Aberfeldy in Perthshire, both preserve the word *ecclesia*,[2] and each is a barrow. There are cairns in Scotland to which still cling the names of saints reputed, and possibly correctly reputed, to be buried beneath them, like St. Donan's Cairn in Eigg and that of St. Duthace at Tain.[3] Mitchell recalls the 'cairn erected in the presence of St. Columba

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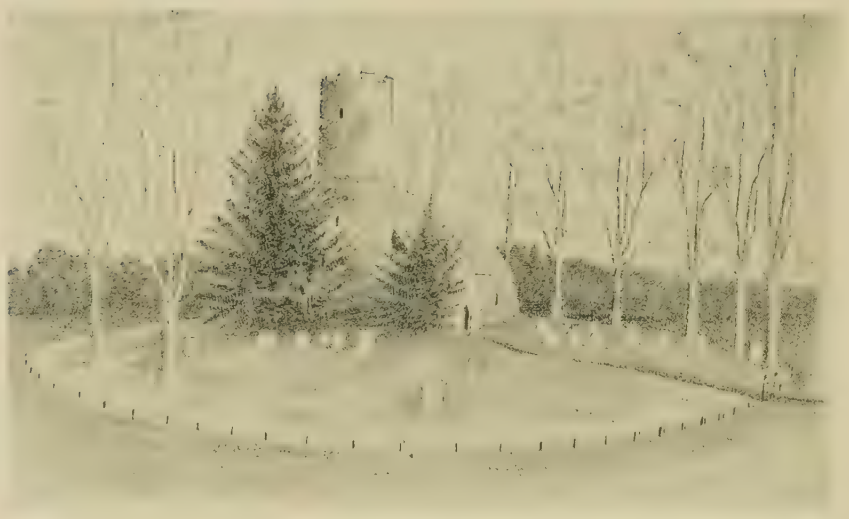
[1] As the existing church of Warren (Pemb.) is some half-mile away from the earlier graveyard (ch. xx). Theodore's *Penitential*, 47, seems to make provision for such changes in the sites of 'churches': *Ecclesiam licet poni in alium locum, si necessitas fuerit, et in loco altaris crux debet poni.*

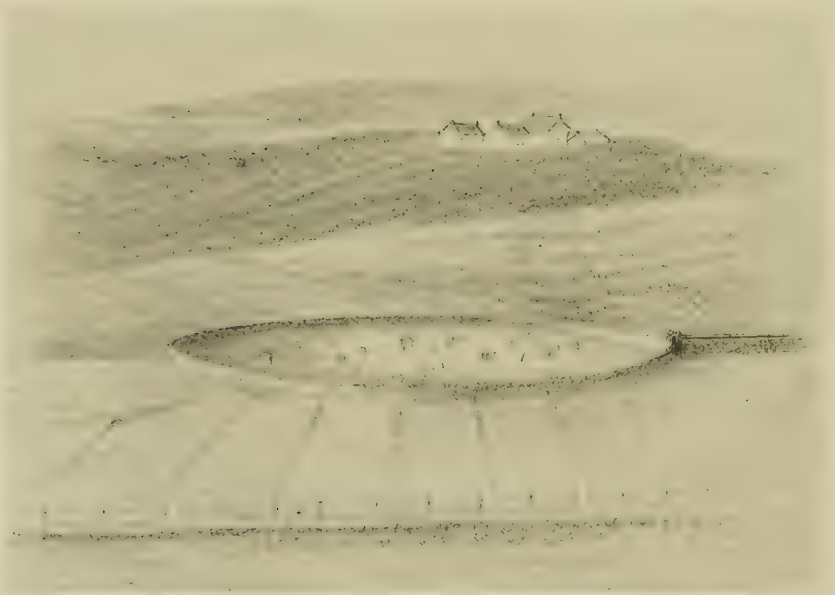
[2] Mackinlay, *Pre-Reformation Church*, p. 66.

[3] *Origines Paroch. Scot.* ii, 427. A Cairn-Iernan used to be pointed out in the parish of Killiernan (Killearnan) in Sutherlandshire.

[illegible]
[illegible]



NO. 1. CRANWICH CHURCHYARD, NORFOLK.
(*Drawn from a photograph dated* 1926).



NO. 2. HILLSWICK GRAVEYARD, SHETLAND.
(*Drawn from a photograph dated* 1919).

over the grave of the decrepit old chief of the Geona cohort by his companions who brought him to Skye to be baptised.'[1]

The ruined church of St. Blane, Kingarth, Bute, stands upon a huge flat-topped cairn 500 ft. in circumference, still showing the remains of an encircling stone revetment.[2] At the opposite side of Scotland, at Strathdon near Alford in Aberdeenshire, at the confluence of the Nochty with the Don, is a conical hill—the Dun of Nochty—some 60 ft. high, flat-topped, and about 170 ft. in diameter. It was once girt by a ditch some 25 ft. wide, and within were to be found foundations of huts. The local tradition is that here once stood the old church of the district.[3] The churchyard of Kennethmont in Garioch is set upon ' an eminence similar to a mount.'[4]

Some fifty years ago it was decided to build upon a new site a new parish church at Hillswick, Mainland of Shetland, keeping the old site for use as a burial-ground; but this being already full of graves, it was trenched over and new soil added. In the course of trenching there was found under the foundations of the old church a ' Picts' House,'[5] a circular wall of great stones (diam. 55-60 ft.), many of them weighing half a ton, with remains of a hearth and quantities of shells. The garth surrounding this building was, and still is, circular, and the facts point to this also having been a barrow, upon which had been set the customary early Scotic something which was at once dwelling-place and oratory.[6] For obvious reasons it seldom happens that an old Christian site is so thoroughly upturned as this, else similar evidence would probably be multitudinous (plate ii, no. 2).

The same forms of grave-monuments are found in Scotland as in Wales and in Ireland, though the dolmen is rarer, the cromlech far commoner. Pillar-stones are very numerous. Commonest of all is the cairn. With each type are found associated the names of saints. A ruined dolmen ‘ close to the ancient burying-ground of Kilmichael in north-western Bute ’ is known as St. Michael’s Grave, and is thought to preserve the name of Maccaille, a disciple of St. Patrick and a bishop, who died at the close of the fifth century. The remains of a cromlech in Banffshire are known as St. Brendan’s Stones, and a neighbouring church is dedicated to the same saint. A grassy hillock in Iona, which once carried a cromlech, is called Cnoc-an-Aingel, ‘ The Barrow of the Archangel,’ and round it at Michaelmas the islanders used to drive their horses. The names of SS. Ternan and Devenick are conjoined with the significant Banchory, and each place is notable for its ‘ druidical ’ circles. Tradition has it that on St. Columba’s own grave in Iona was set as his monument the ‘ black stone ’ which had served him for a pillow. A sculptured pillar-stone at Cossins in Forfarshire, 7 ft. 9 ins. high, bears the name of an unknown Saint Orland (or Airland). It stands upon a ‘ sandy knoll,’ presumably his barrow. Another in the parish of Leslie, Aberdeenshire, formerly surrounded by a small cairn, is called St. Ringan’s (Ninian’s) Stone. A third at Dalry, Kirkcudbright, ‘ once lay in the old church, still to be seen in the picturesque graveyard beyond the Ken.’ It is called St. John’s Chair, and the village of Dalry itself is known as St. John’s Clachan. St. Wallach’s Stone, now lying near the ancient burying-ground of Logie-Mar in Aberdeenshire, was at an earlier date built into the churchyard wall. At Fortingall, Perthshire, is a Clach-math-Luag, ‘ St. Moluag’s Stone,’ and at Portmaluag in Lismore is a pile of stones said to be the ruins of a church and known as St. Moluag’s Seat or Cairn.[1] An eight-foot pillar-stone at Shandrick in Nigg is known as Clach-a-Charridh, ‘ The Stone of the Burial Ground,’ and around it ‘ were for ages buried the Christian dead of the parish.’[2] Archibald Scott observes[3] that the Scottish peasantry ‘ steadily insisted on burying their dead around the spots ’ identified with their earliest Christianity, all efforts of later Roman and post-Reformation clergy to the contrary notwithstanding, just as they continued until Stukeley’s time to bury near the stone-circles. In Scotland, as in Wales and Ireland, the rituals of the older and the newer faiths were interblended. In a grave within the churchyard of Navidale (St. Ninian's) in Sutherlandshire 'were found a bronze knife, a flint implement, and the palmated antler of one of the extinct deer.'[1] From the site of a sometime chapel in Dalry came four urns containing human bones.[2] In and about the churchyard of Kildrummy have been found flint implements in such numbers as to give rise to the belief that it was the site of a prehistoric settlement.

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[1] *The Past in the Present*, p. 89. The reference is to Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, i, 27.

[2] *Origines Paroch. Scot.* ii, 211.

[3] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

[4] Op. cit. *s.v.* Kennethmont.

[5] All anhistoric monuments are so called in the Shetlands.

[6] Information of Thos. Anderson of Laarsund. There appears to be no published report of the matter. The site seems to have been anciently an island in a loch now drained, and there is still traceable the paved causeway leading to it. A short distance to the west has been found and explored a so-called kitchen-midden.

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[1] The above are all cited from Mackinlay, *Pre-Reformation Church*, who gives many other examples.

[2] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

[3] *Pictish Nation* (1918), p. 88.

In Scotland, as in Ireland, the usual practice was to lay the dead within rude cists built of slabs of stone, and this custom continued until very recent times. 'At Ness, in the Island of Lewis, till quite recently no one was buried in a wooden coffin. There was only one big coffin in connexion with every churchyard, which the people called 'The Chest of the Dead.' When the body was brought to the churchyard in this coffin, a coffin of stone [i.q. cist] was made, in which the body was placed.'[3] It would seem that there is but one certain test of the creed of the dead, and that is the finding on or in the coffin or the grave some indisputable religious symbol; but as Holy Church did not countenance any kinds of accessory or ornament save in the case of those of high degree, and those of lesser status could ill afford them, there must in the vast majority of cases be nothing at all to distinguish the pagan from the Christian in death.

In the days of bishop Patrick of the Sudereys (tenth century) one Orlygr Hrappsson, his *protégé*, conceived the desire to go as a missioner to the pagan Norse of Iceland.[4] Approving his desire the bishop gave him 'timber for building a church,'[5] and also some 'consecrated earth to be laid under the corner-posts[6] of the church' in lieu of the usual episcopal consecration of the site. This has been characterised as a ‘strange’ story, but there is nothing strange about it. The missioner, as his name declares, was himself a Norseman, and he wished to convert his Icelandic fellows, settled there since the last quarter of the ninth century; and having learnt his own Christianity in the Scotic Church of the Hebridean Isles, he was equipped with just the bare essentials as understood even so late by that Church, namely, materials for building the still customary rectangular oratory and cell of timber. In lieu of the older barbaric hallowing practised by Columba in Iona, he took with him earth from some properly consecrated ground elsewhere. He was further instructed to dedicate his new church to St. Columkille.[1]

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[1] ibid. p. 85.

[2] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

[3] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, ii, p. lx. Wilson (*Prehist. Scotland*, p. 71) mentions the finding of numerous cists in recent years 'in the neighbourhood of the parish church of Cairnie, Aberdeenshire.'

[4] *Islendinga Sögur* (*Landnáma Boc*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1900) pp. 10, 11; Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, iv, 53.

[5] *Kirkiu-við*. There is little or no timber in Iceland, though there is stone in plenty. So bishop Patrick did not consider stone to be the essential material for a church. This was in the tenth century. Still later (eleventh century) Olaf the Saint sent to Iceland the necessary timber for the church which he caused to be built at the Tingvallr.

[6] *Hornstafi* (Icelandic *horn*, 'corner'). So the church was to be rectangular. When Thorolf Mostbeard removed his pagan

The type of the early Scottish oratory was precisely the same as that of Wales and Ireland, an uncompromising rectangle of the smallest dimensions.[2] It is to be seen in scores of ruins amongst the Western Isles, but these are all of stone, and therefore, be they never so rude, are presumably in most cases far later than the days of St. Columba and his disciples, possibly in many cases as late as the twelfth century. This probably explains why the apse, unknown in Ireland and recorded in only one solitary ancient instance in Wales, is several times found in Scotland, the outcome of Latin influences. There are two examples in the Isle of Arran, namely, Kildonan's chapel, Kilmorie, and St. Mary's chapel at Slidderie in the same parish.[3] In both cases remain the foundations only.

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temple (*hof*) from Norway to Iceland, besides the timbers of it he took also ‘mould from under the stool (altar) whereon Thor had sat.’ *Story of the Ere-Dwellers* (*Saga Library*, vol. ii), p. 7. I owe this parallel to the late Albany F. Major.

[1] Also he was enjoined to place his church where he should find ‘three standing stones.’ As he was provided with the materials for one building only, this is to be understood as referring to some one particular spot, not as a general order ‘to build a church *wherever* he should find three standing stones,’ as was wrongly suggested in *Arch. Journ.* xlix, 154. The site of this church was at Esjuberg, under Mt. Esja, to the N.E. of Reykjavik, and at no great distance from the Tingvallr Vatn. Reykjavik is still the seat of the bishopric of Iceland. F. W. Howell (*Icelandic Pictures with Pen and Pencil*) says there are no remains now to be seen on the site of Esjuberg.

[2] The kirk of Birnie, 4 miles south of Elgin, is said to be ‘unique in the north of Scotland’ in so far as it presents ‘a distinct chancel and nave with separate roofs.’

[3] J. A. Balfour, *Book of Arran*, p. 228. The former was 28 ft. long, the latter 35 ft. by 15 ft., proportions which do not suggest a very early date. Commenting upon the smallness of the early oratories the writer remarks: ‘They were intended not for the accommodation of a congregation, but for the use of the clergy and choir. The buildings were in fact but *the chancel of a church*, *the nave of which was the surrounding ground*.’ Had he added that the ‘surrounding ground,’ i.e. the circular graveyard, was the thing to which the name of ‘church’ originally applied, there had been nothing more to say.

Bede, speaking of the Scotic preachers who presently passed southward from Iona into Northumbria, says in general terms ‘ they were monastics above all else.’[1] They would therefore bring with them all the apparatus of a Scotic monastery—*cashel* or *rath*, huts and oratories. He gives us details of some of the settlements made by these early saints, immediate successors of the original apostles from Iona. Where the Irish and Welsh used the term *desertum* to denote the ‘ place in the wilderness,’ the retreat so much affected by the Scotic recluse, Bede uses the word *mansio*, ‘ place of rest,’ a term found occasionally in the Latin *Lives* of the Welsh saints,[2] and perhaps purposely chosen to emphasise the otherwise homeless nomadism of the earlier missioners. The most valuable description[3] is that of the *mansio* of St. Cuthbert, wherein he died in 687. Every word of it had been submitted to the searching criticism of men who had known the saint and seen the spot. It was ‘ well considered and perfect.’[4]

Farne was a sterile and waterless islet, ‘ the less fit for a human dwelling-place because it was a haunt of evil spirits.’ Having exorcised these, Cuthbert proceeded to construct his *mansio angusta*. It was almost circular in plan (*situ paene rotundum*), ringed with a vallum of earth, undressed stone and sods,[5] the diameter being ‘ between four and five perches,’ i.e. 73 ft. more or less.[6] The material for the vallum was obtained by sinking the floor of the area in the fashion of a Romano-British *circus*,[7] so that, while the wall rose above the ground outside higher than a man's stature, it was 'much higher' above the inner area, so high that the saint could see from his retreat nothing but the sky above him.[1] Within were an oratory and a dwelling. These were partly sunk below the floor of the *mansio*, the rock being excavated in such a way as to leave part of it to serve as footings[2] for the buildings, which were roofed with unhewn timbers covered with grass. In the one account (*H.E.*) Bede styles them respectively *oratorium* and *habitaculum commune*, in the other (*V. Cuthberti*) *oratorium* and *ad communes usus aptum habitaculum*, *tuguriunculum*, *cellula*, *casula*, and *monasterium*. The S.V. calls them respectively *cirican* and *gemaene eordunghus*. It is not expressly stated that the two were detached, and the language favours the view that they were contiguous, *commune* meaning 'under one roof.'[3] The dwelling had a window, and in its floor was a well.[4] There is no mention of any cemetery or any consecration-grave, but St. Cedd, consecrating the site of his 'monastery' at Lastingham some years earlier (*c.* 660), had followed a procedure less abhorrent than that of St. Columba at Iona.[5] It was Cuthbert's own intention that he should be buried within his *mansio*, on the north side of his oratory, and he actually provided not only his own shroud and coffin, but his own grave. In the end the monks of Lindisfarne persuaded him to allow his burial 'in the inmost part' of their monastic church.

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[1] *H.E.* III, iii, § 156, *monachi erant maxime qui ad praedicandum venerant.*

[2] e.g. of St. Gwynlliw (Rees, *C.B.S.* p. 147) ; of St. Cadoc’s Lenten retreats in the islands of Barry and Echni (ibid. p. 45) : and of St. Illtyd’s first settlement in Hodnant (ibid. p. 162).

[3] In *Vita Cuthberti*, c. xvii, from which is epitomised the briefer account in *H.E.* IV, xxviii, § 346.

[4] Preface to the *Vita Cuthberti*. In Bede’s time this *mansio* was intact. The S.V. has no single equivalent for *mansio*, which it renders variously as *deagol wiic*, *sundorwic*, *nearo wic and wununesse*, and *dygle dancorstowe*. Bede twice speaks of Augustine’s first abode in Canterbury as *mansio* (*H.E.* I, xxv. § 55, xxvi, § 56), where the S.V. has (*a*) *wunenesse and stowe* and (*b*) *eardungstowe* ; but the ‘ more suitable ’ place later allocated to him is called *locum sedis* (I, xxvi, § 57), where the S.V. has *stowe ond setl.* In III, xxii, § 216, Bede has *in vico regio qui dicitur Rendlaesham, id est, mansio Rendili* : and king Alfred also used *ham* in the sense of ‘ monastery.’

[5] *V. Cuthberti : murum non secto lapide vel latere et caemento, sed impolitis prorsus lapidibus et cespite, quam de medio loci fodiendo tulerat, composuit.* The *H.E.* (IV, xxviii, § 346) has merely *circumvallante aggere*, which the S.V. expands to *mid dice ond mid eorðwealle utan ymbsealde ond gefaestnode.*

[6] *A muro usque ad murum mensura quattuor sive quinque perticarum distentum.*

[7] Residential earthworks of this peculiar type are only to be found where there is slight risk of flooding, and especially upon the chalk. There is a cluster of them on Plumpton Plain near Lewes, Sussex, apparently a British village ; but they are decidedly rare in England.

The building abutted upon the vallum of the *mansio* at the southern side, apparently with no regard for orientation. Thus the spot in which Cuthbert had prepared his grave was to all intents the centre of the whole. As a Welsh writer would have put it, the saint hoped that his relics might mark and make the *mynwent* of his *llan*.

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[1] Six feet would suffice, unless the saint was unusually tall. The anonymous *Vita Cuthberti* says the floor was sunk one cubit and the vallum raised one cubit.

[2] Compare the construction of the *Trabaun-na-Chorrees* at Inismurray, and that of St. Benan's Hermitage on the Isle of Aran. In *V. Cuthberti* it is said that the walls of the oratory were made *tabulis minus diligenter coaptatis*, 'with ill-fitted boards,' the crevices stuffed with straw and clay. The whole was rebuilt *a fundamentis* by bishop Eadfrid of Lindisfarne, who succeeded in 698 (ibid).

[3] It cannot mean 'common to all,' for Cuthbert intended to live in it as a solitary, and had expressly built a guest-house of more commodious kind for visitors, near the only landing-place on the island (*V. Cuthberti*, c. xvii). The late Sir H. Howorth (*Golden Age of the English Church*, iii, 24) also understood that the two chambers were under one roof.

[4] The chapel of St. Madron, Cornwall, has a well in the south-west corner, and was originally divided into two chambers by a cross-wall (see the plan in *Arch. Journ.* ii, 225), the eastern part for an oratory, the western for a dwelling, both under one roof. Something similar is recorded of St. Cadoc in Wales and of St. Guthlac at Crowland.

[5] *H.E.* III, xxiii, § 218. The new procedure was by prayer and fasting for the space of 40 days. From the emphasis with which Bede states that Cedd declared this to be 'the customary procedure of his teachers' in consecrating a monastery or a church, one may infer that he was well aware of another way.

Cuthbert, an abbot and a bishop, was in his day the greatest figure in English Christianity, and he was still living in Farne when Bede was some fourteen years of age. He deliberately elected to withdraw in his feeble years to a barren and uninhabited rock, and to make his home in a comfortless hovel, seemingly with no other garments than those in which he stood,[1] no food save what he could produce by the labour of his own hands,[2] grass for his roof and native rock for his bed. The actual dimensions of his hut and his oratory Bede does not record, but they may be gauged from the other details given. Probably the saint had standing-room only, yet the S.V. calls his oratory a 'church.' The vallum fenced him about within a space some 25 yards in diameter over all, perhaps 20 yards across the floor, or a total of 314 superficial yards of space.

Had Cuthbert had his wish his body would have been buried within his *mansio* and Farne would have become a place of pilgrimage, so that where he had toiled to harvest a little barley others would have gathered gold. Fate drew his relics after all to Lindisfarne, which waxed the greater thereby; whereas Farne, spoiled of his bones, failed and fell, precisely as did the age-long festival of the nameless hero of Cnocan (ch. xvii) so soon as his grave was desecrated. When, in the twelfth century, there came to live there for 40 years another anchorite named Bartholomew, he found the *mansio* in a state of shameful neglect: 'laymen dwelt in the *habitaculum*, and cattle found shelter in the oratory, so that, if by rare chance any came thither to pray, they could neither kneel for the filth nor pray for the stench of it. Wherefore,' said Bartholomew to the companions of his death-bed, 'bury me here, lest the like fate befall the oratory a second time.'[1] He knew that only the presence of his bones might safeguard the spot from desecration, and like St. Cuthbert he had prepared his own grave *ad meridianam oratorii sui partem*, on the south side of the building. There he was buried, and presently was built 'a new wall from east to west' screening the southern side of the oratory, with two small apertures through which women folk might have sight of the grave of the man of God ; for from St. Cuthbert's time onward the presence of women was discountenanced in Farne.

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[1] Excepting indeed the piece of fine linen given to him by the abbess Verca, which he had laid aside to serve him for a shroud. Here is the 'touch of nature' which makes the old saint of the seventh century kin with many hundreds of 'decent' folk of to-day, as poor almost in this world's goods as was he, and as anxious about their own 'decent' burial.

[2] He was living up to the pattern of the Welsh saints in this regard. But the Saxons were in less need of such example than were the Celts, and if the *Lives* of Saxon saints lay less stress upon this side of their activities, it may be taken as a proof of the general trustworthiness of their narratives.

Geoffrey of Durham, who wrote the *Vita Bartholomaei* at the end of the twelfth century, says that the 'lowly little cottage,' the guest-house built by St. Cuthbert at the haven, was still there, a fabric of unhewn stone and turves. So were the adjoining well and the narrow pathway to the *mansio*. The vallum of the *mansio* would seem to have wasted already into something scarcely recognisable, for he does not mention it ; the oratory, he says, was 'hidden in a kind of out-of-the-way depression,'[2] which St. Cuthbert had dug. Mention is made also of the well within the *habitaculum*, but apparently in the hand of some later scribe.

Cuthbert did not roof his building with stone, although the barren islet provided no timber large enough for his purpose. We may therefore the more readily believe that in the like conditions, and especially in the islets off the western shores of Ireland and Scotland, other early saints followed the like course, and may feel the greater doubt whether any of the stone-roofed oratories of Ireland be really of the age commonly attributed to them.

Very remarkable is the resemblance between this *mansio* of St. Cuthbert in Farne and the *circus* of the Romano-British time.[3] It had the same circular plan and the same vallum. It was even very much of the size of the average small rural *circus*. It had the same depressed floor, and like the *circus* it had no outer fosse. If, as would seem to be the fact, the Anglo-Saxons had learnt to call the

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[1] *Vita S. Bartholomaei Farnensis* (Rolls Series), i, 295.

[2] *In quodam secretae concavitatis latibulo positum.*

[3] Supra, ch. ix.

Romano-British thing by the name of *circ*, it was almost inevitable that they should apply the same name to this *mansio* of the Christian saint and to any other like it.

John of Beverley's *mansio* was about one and a half miles distant from the church at Hexham, on the north bank of the Tyne. It was 'somewhat retired among a few trees, surrounded by a vallum, and it contained a cemetery of St. Michael the Archangel.'[1] It was big enough to permit the bishop to reside there for occasional rests 'with a few others,' devoting himself to prayer and study. On one occasion he brought thither a seemingly incurable invalid, and caused to be built for him 'a little hut (*tugurium*) within the precincts (*conseptis*) of the *mansio*.' Clearly it was a typical Scotic monastic settlement, a circular enclosure provided with huts and oratories scattered about in irregular fashion, with space enough for the erection of others if needed. Clearly also in this case the ground was already hallowed by burial—it was already a cemetery.[2]

Of Chad's *mansio*[3] at Lichfield we are told only that it was 'not far from the church,' that the saint was wont to read and pray there with eight or nine brethren, and that it had its own oratory. Nothing is said of any burial-ground, and when Chad died (672) he was buried 'near' the then church of St. Mary; and when the cathedral (St. Peter's) was built, his remains were translated to the high altar of the new building.

Women also had their *mansiones*. Heiu, the first Saxon woman of Northumbria to take monastic vows, makes her *mansio*[4] at Tadcaster.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* V, ii, § 362, *mansio quaedam secretior nemore raro et vallo circumdata . . . habens coemeterium S. Michaelis Archangeli.* In Ireland, says O'Curry, it was usual to surround a residential *rath* or *lis* with a belt of trees. Caesar noticed the same practice in Gaul (*B.G.* vi, 30, 3). It was a habit which has maintained itself even in modern England.

[2] Richard of Hexham says the *mansio* overhung the river, that it contained an oratory dedicated to St. Michael which belonged to the monastery at Hexham, and that it was called Erneshaw or Herneshalg (*Latiné*, *Mons Aquilae*). Raine identified it with the place now called St. John's Lee, which used to be the scene of 'a kind of religious wake held on 23rd-24th June' (Howorth, *Golden Age of the English Church*, iii, 152), i.e. there may have been a confusion of John of Beverley with St. John Baptist and his festival of midsummer day. Others identify the spot with Warden, where is a church dedicated to St. Michael.

[3] Bede *H.E.* IV, iii, § 260. The site is said to be represented by the modern Stowe, anciently Chadstowe, outside Lichfield.

[4] *H.E.* IV, xxiii, § 324. The S.V. has *wiic.*

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE FIRST CHURCHES.

*Scotic Christianity predominant in seventh century—Proof that 'ciric' meant 'graveyard'—Scotic Monasteries: Chertsey, Medeshamstede, Thorney, Abingdon, Hartlepool—The three Churches of Paulinus—Further Proof that 'ciric' meant 'graveyard'—The term 'Bedehus'—Churches as Residences—The 'cirics' of Earls Puch and Addi—'Mynstre' signified the structural 'church'—Evidence of 'Saxon Chronicle'—Evidence of Early Saxon Codes—Place-names in '-minster'—The 'mynstre' at Kirkdale—Why the Latin Church disliked 'ciric'—Origin of Parishes—The Saxons not Builders in Stone—The typical English Church a Scotic Type—Badness of early Saxon Masonry—Dryhthelm at Cunningham—Churches the chief force in creating Villages—Wilfrid's 'Loca Sancta'—'Ciric' extended to denote 'Structural Church'—Ecgbert's Orders—The Four Classes of Churches.*

It is not to be supposed that a Church which in other matters clung so obstinately to its own practices would abandon these in the matter of mission-work. Bede instances individuals who went about such work in England precisely as others had gone about it in Ireland, and these were but types of all. From north to south the England of the seventh and eighth centuries was filled with Scotic missioners and strewn with Scotic monasteries, amongst whose multitude the Roman figures of Augustine and Paulinus were remarkable only because they were so exceptional. 'Not Augustine, but Aidan, was the true Apostle of the English.'

Whatever the truth of Nennius' emphatic assertion as to the presence of Celtic missioners at York at the baptism of king Edwin,[1] it is a fact that Paulinus left Northumbria (633) within seven years, and that thenceforward for a generation Scotic Christianity had the field to itself. Even the decisions of the Synod of Whitby (664) did not put a stop to the close intercourse of the northern Saxons with the Scoti. That 'noblest-born of Scots,' St. Fursey, who settled in his own *monasterium silvanum* within the deserted walls of Cnobheresburg, once the Roman Garianonum (Burgh castle) in Suffolk,[1] was not the only one to make his home in England; and conversely numbers of Saxons went to Ireland to study, and some at least returned to preach and teach.[2] Amongst them were Ethelwine, consecrated first Bishop of Lindsey in 680,[3] his brother Ethelhun,[4] and Chad.[5] Another Saxon named Egbert lived all his life in exile amongst the Picts, and died abbat of Iona in 716.[6] It is not recorded that Ethelwine built any 'churches,'[7] but in 669 Chad, whose bishopric combined Mercia and Lindsey, founded a monastery at Ad Baruae,[8] i.e. Barrow-on-Humber. Stukeley speculated upon the significance of the 'druidical mud-walled temple'[9] at Barrow, and to this day the churchyard retains much of its circular figure.[10] Celtic influence seems to have been strong in the part of Lincolnshire lying between Stow and the Humber, from the Roman Ermine Street on the east to the Trent and the Fens on the west. Genuine Saxon dedications—SS. Hygbeald, Alkmund, Radegund, Etheldreda, and Oswald—are frequent; and there is a little group of parishes—Scotter (St. Peter),[11] Scotton (St. Genewys)[12] and Scothern (St. Germanus)[13]—

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[1] Above, ch. xvi.

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[1] *H.E.* III, xix, §§ 202, 203.

[2] *H.E.* III, xxvii, § 240; III, viii, § 172; V, x, § 381.

[3] His see was at a place called Sidnacester, obviously a Roman site. Freeman accepted the usual identification with Stow-in-Lindsey, but Roger of Hoveden (*circa* 1200) allowed that even in his time no one knew where it really was (*Flores*, i, 237).

[4] *H.E.* III, xxvii, § 241.

[5] *H.E.* IV, iii, § 264.

[6] *H.E.* III, xxvii, § 242.

[7] The building of the first church at Stow is attributed to bishop Eadnoth in the eleventh century (Camden, *Britannia*, i, 572).

[8] i.e. *Ad Nemus* (Bede *H.E.* IV, iii, § 259). *Bearw* is a common Saxon word for a 'grove,' and there are at least four parishes of the name in England. It is the word used in the S.V. for the 'belt of trees' about John of Beverley's *mansio* (p. 223). See Taylor, *Names and their Histories*, p. 367.

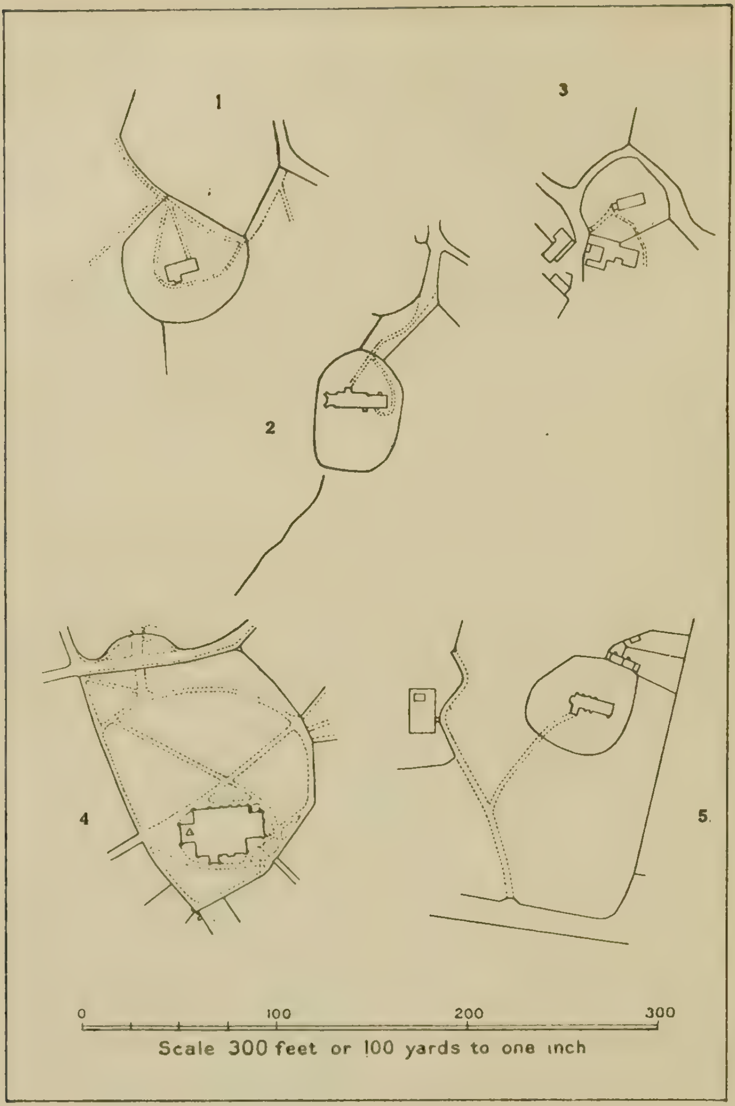
[9] *Abury* (1723), p. 92, and plate xxxix. What he saw was a fine Norman mount-and-bailey castle. A better plan of it is to be found in Greenwood, *Picturesque Tour to Thornton Monastery* (Hull, 1835). In *D.B.* one Drogo de Beurere held lands at Barewe.

[10] 'About the shape of a moon three-quarters full' (autograph of the Vicar). When Greenwood wrote his *Tour* 'a district of houses at the back of the church' was still called St. Chad's.

[11] *D.B.* Scotere.

[12] *D.B.* Scotone. The name of St. Genewys is otherwise unknown, and it has been thought that a St. Genesius is the person meant; see Miss Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, i, 477. The name has a peculiarly Welsh look. There was a St. Gwynws (Guinnius or Wnws), eponym of Llanwnws, Card., and there is a Llangyniew 4 miles w. of Welshpool. In Cornwall is a St. Gennys.

[13] *D.B.* Scotorne, Scoltorne, Scotstorne. There is mention of a church and a priest here in 1086.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CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS.

1. East Hope, Salop.
2. Stanton upon Hine Heath, Salop.
3. Efenechtyd, Denbigh.
4. Bromsgrove, Worc.
5. Cranwich, Norfolk.

(*From the Ordnance Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*).

of which the names have been thought to commemorate Scotic evangelizers.[1] On the other hand the district is noticeably poor in later Roman religious foundations, such as were thickly strewn over the rest of the country.

Every bishop of the northern sees until the days of Wilfrid was a Scot, or a Saxon trained in some Scotic school. 'From Iona came (635) Aidan, the Apostle of Northumbria, as well as Finan (651), Colman (661) and Tuda (664), who followed as bishops there. The first bishop of Mercia, Diuma (656), a Scot, was ordained by Finan. The second bishop was Cellach (658), also a Scot, who resigned his bishopric and retired to Iona. His successor, the third bishop of Mercia (Trumhere, 659), was indeed an Englishman, but educated and ordained by Scots. Bishop Finan baptised Peada the son of Penda, and so introduced Christianity into the province.'[2] Chad, and his brother Cedd, were as much Scotic in their Christianity as any of the others. So was Cuthbert. So was Saxulf, seventh bishop of Mercia (675-691), and the contemporary bishop of London itself, Erconwald (675-693).

The latter half of the seventh century saw the foundation of a great number of monasteries which became famous, and where we have any evidence at all it goes to show that they were of the Scotic type. Erconwald, bishop of London, built for himself (666) a monastery at Chertsey, and for his sister Ethelburga another at Barking (670). Bede[3] has a good deal to say of certain happenings at Barking, and his account is worth examination. The date of its founding was but two years after the consecration of the Roman Theodore as primate, and therefore before he could bring to bear any Romanising influence.[4] Erconwald's foundation would presumably reflect the Saxon way, and that way we should expect to be decidedly Scotic. Bede's account shows that it was entirely so.

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[1] Similar names are Scottow in Norfolk, and Scotby near Carlisle. The present-day Scotland in Ingoldsby, Lincs., appears to be Coteland of *D.B.*

[2] Cited (with dates added from Bright's *Lectures*) from Miller's *Introduction* to the Saxon Version of Bede (E.E.T.S.). When Colman left Lindisfarne he made a joint Anglo-Irish settlement at Inisboffin, but presently withdrew with his Saxon disciples to a new site at Mageo (Mayo), *quod monasterium usque hodie ab Anglis tenetur incolis . . . egregium examen continet monachorum* (*H.E.* IV, iv, § 266).

[3] *H.E.* IV, vi-x.

[4] A *capitulus* of Theodore (Thorpe, p. 307) runs: *Non licet viris feminas habere monachas, neque feminis viros. Tamen non destruamus illud quod consuetudo est in hac terra.*

The monastery at Barking was in the first place, as were so many Scotic foundations, a mixed one, like Whitby, Repton, and others. Bede's language suggests that it was divided into two parts by some sort of cross-wall.[1] The western portion was reserved for the sisters, who had an *oratorium*. The eastern portion therefore belonged to the brothers, who may have had a second *oratorium* of their own.[2] There was, however, communication between the two parts, for the sisters used to pass from the oratory to the graves of the departed brothers (*fratrum*) ' to sing the accustomed praises of God.' It would rather seem that there was but one oratory, that it stood on the line of the dividing-wall, and that both sexes used it alike.

In the second place, though the sisters and the brothers buried their dead each within their own particular part of the precincts, there was at first no fixed place of burial ; for Ethelburga made it a practice to ask each of her flock of nuns where she would desire to be buried, until the question was miraculously answered for them collectively by a light from heaven, which pointed out a spot ' on the south side of the monastery and west of the oratory.' This again implies that the oratory in question was not in the centre of the precincts, but to the south. It appears to have been placed just as was that of Cuthbert at Farne, and perhaps for the same reason, namely, to leave the central space free for some notable interment.

Thirdly, the area of the monastery was very small, for the second abbess, Hildelid, already found it needful to get rid of this diversity of burial-places ' because of the small area whereon the monastery was built.' She decided ' to take up the bones of all the servants of God there buried, and to translate them, male and female alike, to one place (*in unum locum* ; S.V., *in anre stowe*) ' ; and this place was 'in the church (*ecclesiam*; S.V., *cirican*) of the blessed Mother of God.'

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[1] See above, ch. xviii, on Inismurray.

[2] This is not at all certain, *pace* Bright (*Lectures*, p. 258), for in Irish monasticism it was sometimes the practice to divide one and the same building between the two sexes. The classical instance is that of the monastery of St. Bridgit at Kildare. See Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Architecture*, p. 27. [The description is supposed to belong to the ninth century, 200 years later than Barking.] At the present day it is not unusual for the sexes to occupy different sides of the church in Brittany, and traces of the same thing yet remain in Wales (Hughes and North, *Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 84). The monastery ' not far from Partney,' of which Ethelhild, sister of bishop Ethelwine of Lindsey, was abbess (*circa* 680) was a double one : Bede *H.E.* III, xi, § 182. So was that which Osric founded about the same time at Bath. So also that of St. Etheldreda at Ely, founded in 673 ; *coetum utriusque sexus congregavit* (*Liber Eliensis*, i, 43).

It might be inferred that therefore some sort of 'church' had been built since Ethelburga's time. The sequel will raise a doubt whether Bede is not again reading into the story of a Scotic monastery the practice and procedure of a Roman foundation like his own at the other end of England.

The wife of a neighbouring *gesith*, being stricken with blindness, resolved to seek healing by prayer before the relics of those whose bones had been translated 'to one spot.' She was brought to the monastery and admitted to the burial-place (*coemeterium*; S.V., *liictune*), and praying there was at once cured. So according to the one writer the *anre stowe* was in the *liictune*, and also it was in the *ciric*; according to the other it was in the *coemeterium*, but also in the *ecclesia*.

Now it is not conceivable that Bede could write of a *coemeterium* as being within a church; and it is certain that the Saxon Translator could not mean to suggest that a *liictun* could be within a church. That being so, it is clear that to the latter *ciric* did not here mean a 'church' at all, but rather a 'burial-ground.' The *anre stowe*, it would appear, was some sort of joint vault or shrine within the burial-ground; and *ecclesia* here means the same thing, and not a structural church at all.

Here then in the latter half of the seventh century was founded an exact replica of the typical Scotic monastery, at the very gates of London and in that part of England which might be supposed to have most effectively felt the Roman influence of the Augustinian mission. Probably Erconwald's earlier foundation at Chertsey was just such another. Saxulf was the original *constructor*[1] of a monastery at Medeshamstede (*c.* 655) which, after experiencing the usual ravage of the Danes, was rebuilt (963) and fortified in such sort as thenceforward to be known as Petri Burgus, now Peterborough. As Saxulf had also founded a monastery provided with cells[2] for solitaries on a spot known for that reason as Ancarig, the 'Isle of Anchorites' (now Thorney), it is to be inferred that the original Medeshamstede was also of thoroughly Scotic type. Yet the Romanising Theodore, so far from finding anything to disapprove in these Celtic activities, preferred Saxulf to the bishopric of Mercia in 675, and Erconwald to that of the East Saxons (London) in the same year.

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[1] Bede *H.E.* IV, vi, § 272. The S.V. renders it by *timbrend*, 'carpenter.'

[2] *Cum cellis eremiticis.* See Bright, *Lectures*, p. 257, and the references there given. Lewis says the date was 662.

The *Abingdon Chronicle* tells us[1] the plan and something of the arrangements of that famous monastery in the days of its first abbat Hean, at the close of the seventh century, i.e. when Bede was at middle life. It was circular, with a diameter of 120 ft. only, surrounded by a high wall. Round the area were twelve cells and the same number of oratories, accommodating as many monks, who in the ordinary course of things ate and slept in their several cells. On Sundays and great festivals, however, they assembled for common service in the church (*ecclesia*), and also took their meals together.

This, so far as it goes, is a correct description of a monastery of the Scotic type. The circular wall, the exiguous area, the separate cells each with its own oratory, are all Scotic features. There was a 'great house' or refectory also, as in St. Patrick's standard plan. The *Chronicle* avers that there was also an *ecclesia*, but there is no proving that this signifies a structural church ; and in view of the date and the evidence one may doubt whether the writer of the account, who clearly belonged to an age when the Scotic plan was no longer familiar in England,[2] did not, like Bede, read a false meaning into *ciric*, and substitute *ecclesia* where he should rather have written *coemeterium*.

Tradition derived the name of Abingdon from one

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[1] *Habebat* (*monasterium*) *in longitudine C et XX pedes, et erat rotundum, tam in parte occidentali quam in parte orientali* [clearly the description was written by some one to whom such a circular plan was anomalous, and he is at pains to emphasise its complete circularity] . . . *In circuitu huius monasterii erant habitacula xii et totidem capellae, et in habitaculis xii monachi ibidem manducantes et bibentes et dormientes, nec habebant claustrum sicut nunc habent, sed erant circumdati muro alto qui erat eis pro claustro . . . Habebant iuxta portam domum pro locutorio . . . Diebus dominicis et praecipuis festivitatibus conveniebant et in ecclesia missam celebrabant et simul manducabant. Chron. Monast. de Abingdon*, Rolls Series (1858), ii, 272.

[2] This is borne out by his remark upon the lack of any cloister 'such as now we have.' For the meaning of *claustrum*, see Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, p. 184. He cites Julius Schlosser (1889) as showing that the cloister-court was not a feature of the earliest monastic houses ; 'the date of its introduction into general use, especially in our own country, is a matter for enquiry.' Presumably it was introduced when at last the Roman monastic *regula* supplanted the Scotic.

Aben or Abben, alleged to have been an Irishman and a Christian, to have escaped from the massacre at Stonehenge, and at the close of his life to have withdrawn to his native country. The truer derivation is probably from the Saxon personal name Abba. The monastery is believed to have been founded by Cissa, a viceroy of Kentwine (*c.* 675).[1] Its first abbat was his nephew Hean, and its next benefactor was Ceadwalla (*ob.* 688). Cissa's foundation was at Bayworth, half a mile outside Abingdon town. Burnt in 871 by the Danes, the monastery was rebuilt upon another site and reconsecrated by Dunstan. This new foundation—'St. Mary's minster which is at Abingdon'[2]—was non-Celtic, and has been styled 'the first regular monastery of England.' The *Chronicle* asserts that Abingdon had been a centre of religion in pagan times,[3] which, if it is to be believed, may explain any pretended connexion of its alleged founder Aben with Stonehenge.

At Hartlepool, not 25 miles away from Bede's home in Benedict Biscop's Latin monastery of Jarrow, a woman named Heiu was (650) abbess of another monastery.[4] Many of the grave-slabs of its earlier inmates have been discovered, and their peculiar decoration illustrates in another way the universal Celtism of the time. 'The similarity of the characters employed on these stones to those of Irish manuscripts of the sixth and seventh centuries, the well-known *Gospels* of St. Columba and St. Ceadda, and the *Books* of Kells and Armagh,'[5] was recognised from the first. Even in 1889 Romilly Allen could compile a list of 229 places, distributed over 29 English counties, in which had been found stones with Hiberno-Saxon decoration.[6] The number has been greatly increased since that date.

The Roman Paulinus, in his seven years' mission in

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[1] But it is in no wise unlikely that there had lived upon the spot some recluse—Abben or another—before Cissa gave it his attention.

[2] *A.-S. Chronicle*, 977.

[3] *Chron. de Abingdon*, i, 9: *Ubi etiam a primis Britonum temporibus locus fuit religionis, tam tempore religionis fanaticae quam tempore religionis Christianae.* Recent discoveries have shown that it was the site of a considerable Romano-British town.

[4] *H. E.* IV, xxiii, § 324. Heiu, consecrated by Aidan, was the first female to control a monastery in Northumbria. Later she moved to another monastery at Tadcaster, and at Healaugh, 3 miles therefrom, has been found a sepulchral slab bearing her name (Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* p. 222). She left Hartlepool to St. Hilda, who presently made (658) a new foundation at Whitby; and Whitby, as Scotic as any, gave to England five bishops before Bede was dead (*H.E.* IV, xxiii, § 326).

[5] Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs* (1857).

[6] *Mont. Hist.* p. 22.

Northumbria, built but three churches.[1] Of these the first was the *basilica* at York (p. 201)[2]; the second, also a *basilica*, but a wooden one,[3] at Campodonum, probably Doncaster[4]; while the third was an *ecclesia* at Lincoln, which in Bede's time was already roofless.[5] In spite then of his Roman leanings Paulinus was fain to build very seldom, and even so to build with wood as well as with stone. Nay, as Bede does not style the church at Lincoln[6] a *basilica*, Paulinus may have had to waive at last even the basilican plan. We know that he baptised *sub divo*, in the Swale near Catterick and in the Trent at a spot unidentified. But so far was he from establishing a patent and powerful Roman Christianity that there was in all Bernicia 'neither cross, nor church, nor even altar,'[7] until Oswald raised a wooden[8] cross in memory of his triumph over heathendom at Heavenfield in 635.[9] The church at Hexham was built by Wilfrid about 673, but when Bede[10] was writing (*ante* 731) he could only say that at Heavenfield a church had been built 'recently.'[1] Benedict Biscop's church at Jarrow was built fifty years after the fight (684),[2] but even at that date, when Cuthbert was young, the remoter parts of the diocese of Lindisfarne were entirely without churches or other spiritual provision whatever.[3] In view of these definite statements the vague assertion that as early as Aidan's time (*circa* 635) 'churches were built *per loca*'[4] must not be pressed. Perhaps it means 'here and there' rather than 'here, there, and everywhere,' as it is usually made to mean. Aidan was a Scot, a disciple of St. Columba, and it is not in the least likely that he would build many 'churches.' He had a 'church' of some kind at Lindisfarne, the seat of his bishopric,[5] but it was of wood only and so small that his next successor Finan felt constrained to build another 'more accordant with the dignity of a bishop's see.' Even this, one learns, was still made of timber and roofed with thatch[6]; so that its precursor may well have been nothing more ambitious than was that other building near Bamborough, beside which Aidan died in 651.[7] We have a hint of the rapidity with which such rude structures would decay in the fact that Bishop Eadberct,[8] only some 45 years later, replaced Finan's thatched roof with lead and covered the whole building with sheets of the same metal ; and one further infers that the building must have been extremely small to allow of such costly treatment. Cedd, who died in 664, built his monastery at Lastingham[2] of timber. It contained therefore no other 'church' than the customary Celtic oratory of wood, and it was still nothing more than an oratory when rebuilt in stone before Bede's death.[1] Only in 710 did the Picts, albeit nominally converted by Columba on his first arrival in Caledonia, send through their king Nectan (Naiton) to ask bishop Ceolfrid of Lindisfarne for masons to teach them how to build churches of the Roman kind.[3]

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[1] Bede mentions three only, but it is certain that, if the facts had allowed it, he would have mentioned more. In *H.E.* II, xiv, § 133, he explicitly says that the facts did not allow it : *Nondum enim oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiae poterant aedificari.* He is speaking of Paulinus in Northumbria, and apologising for his administering baptism in the open air.

[2] On the site of the present cathedral. It was built so as to enclose the circular wooden *oratorium* in which king Edwin had been baptised ; and the latter evidently owed its peculiar form to that of the well at which the baptism was administered. There is a well to this day beneath the Cathedral, probably that in which the king was baptised.

[3] For it was burnt down (*mid ealle þy boðle*, adds the Saxon Version, meaning 'with all the cells' of the accompanying monastery) very soon after, the only thing to escape being the altar, *quia lapideum erat.*

[4] Others identify it with Slack near Huddersfield, or with Tanfield near Ripon. The Saxon Version has Donafelda. There was a royal residence there, transferred after the fire to Loidis (Bede, *H.E.* II, xiv, § 133).

[5] Wilfrid found it necessary to repair the roof of the *basilica* at York about 50 years later.

[6] Represented by the present church of St. Paul (i.e. Paulinus) at Lincoln.

[7] *Nullum, ut comperimus, fidei Christianae signum, nulla ecclesia, nullum altare* (Bede, *H.E.* III, ii, § 153). The order of the words is noticeable : Bede was evidently familiar with the Scotic practice of erecting open-air altars before any churches were built : and he spoke literally (*ut comperimus*), not figuratively. This assertion is omitted by the S.V., as is also the further passage which tells us that 'the monks of Hexham for many years regularly kept vigil on the battle-field at Heavenfield, and on the anniversary of the fight celebrated the Eucharist,' *although there was as yet no church there.*

[8] See Bede's anecdote (*H.E.* III, ii, § 154) of the monk whose injured arm was healed by help of a morsel of moss gathered *de venerabili ligno.* He says the cross was yet standing when he was writing (ibid. § 152).

[9] So Eddius and Richard of Hexham.

[10] A.-S. Hefenfelth, 'the high field.' Bede naturally seized upon the chance of connecting the name *ominis causa* with that of Heaven, and rendered it *Coelestis Campus.* According to the traditional view it was near the hamlet of Wall and on the Roman Wall. Camden says that in the eighth century the chapel on the site was dedicated to SS. Cuthbert and Oswald. Perhaps Cuthbert had something to do with getting the first 'church' hallowed. Other authorities would have the site of Hefenfelth to be in Hallington, about 5 miles away.

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[1] It is odd that Bede makes no mention of the extraordinary church of St. Mary, alleged to have been built by Wilfrid at Hexham, if it was indeed there in his time. It was, says Eddius, the finest church on this side of the Alps, and Richard of Hexham (twelfth century) describes it as 'rising up like a tower, almost circular, and having four *porticus* on the four sides.' Judged from the descriptions it would have been remarkable anywhere, and especially so in an England which at that date had so few churches of any kind, and most of these mere Celtic oratories. Possibly Richard has attributed to Wilfrid (*ob.* 709) some later work of the monks of Hexham. Even so it is still odd that Bede has no mention of Wilfrid's authentic work, which was assuredly in complete accord with the *regula Romana.* But Bede had excuse for disliking Hexham; see the tale told in Bright, *Lectures*, pp. 428-9.

[2] It was a *basilica*, and is so styled in the contemporary inscription (dated 23rd April, 684) there preserved. But Biscop was at pains to make it as strictly Roman as he could (*H.E.* IV, xviii).

[3] cf. *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. 9.

[4] *H.E.* III, iii, § 156. The Saxon Version however, has *on monigum stowum*, 'in many places.' The same phrases, Latin and Saxon, recur in III, xxii, § 214, of Cedd's missionary work in East Anglia. Very likely both passages are instances of Bede's proleptic use of *ecclesia* = *ciric* = 'Burial ground,' which appears also (below, p. 266) to be the specific meaning of *stow*.

[5] *H.E.* III, iii, § 156.

[6] ibid. III, xxv, § 225.

[7] ibid. III, xvii, § 195. It was a *mansio* (p. 205), though not so called by Bede, who says merely that Aidan had there an *ecclesia* and a *cubiculum* (S.V., *cirican* and *cytan*), a few *agelli* (S.V., *feower aeceras*), and nothing else. When he fell ill they made for him a tent: 'they' would be the monks who shared the *mansio* with him, and the tent was a lean-to against the west end of the 'church.' As he was not carried into his *cubiculum*, one suspects that this was actually also his 'church'—that *cubiculum* and *ecclesia* were identical, as with the earliest Celtic Christians—and that the *ciric* of S.V. was veritably a *coemeterium*, as in the case of John of Beverley at Hexham (ch. xxii). Living alone, Aidan could have no use for four acres.

[8] He was bishop from 688 to 698, Finan

If these statements—and they are all drawn from Bede—represent what really contented a Paulinus and an Aidan, a Cuthbert and a Cedd ; if the greatest monasteries and the leading episcopal sees of the seventh century's last years were provided only with 'churches' so humble ; it is impossible to believe that rural England at the same date could show many churches as we understand the term, or indeed many churches of any sort at all. It is much more probable that there were none outside the monastic settlements. This view is confirmed by the statement that Willibald was baptised at the cross in his native village in Hampshire, 'for at that date (*circa* 700) there were few or no churches in the Saxon villages.'[4] Even the crosses would not commonly be of more lasting material than wood, as was that at Heavenfield.

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from 651 to 661. If this work upon the 'church' was Finan's first concern and Eadberct's last, the extreme interval of time was only 47 years. It may have been as little as 27 years. The building was destroyed by the Danes in 793 (*A.-S. Chronicle*).

[1] Bede, *H.E.* III, xxiii, § 218.

[2] ibid. III, xxiii, § 219. The body of Cedd, which had originally been buried out-of-doors (*foris*), as Cuthbert had purposed to be buried and as Chad was buried at Lichfield, was re-interred beside the altar of the rebuilt church, and Lastingham continues to be a church to this day. Contrast again the fate of Farne (above, p. 207). The famous crypt of Lastingham is declared to be Early Norman only (Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* p. 199).

[3] Bede, *H.E.* V, xxi, § 427. We are not told what was the answer to his request, and there is no reason to suppose that 'churches of the Roman style' thenceforward abounded in Pictland. Nectan's innovation may have been little more successful than was Ninian's (p. 176). And of what kind had been the Pictish 'churches' before this time ? How were they related, if at all, to those Scottish stone circles, to so many of which still clings the name of Kirk ?

[4] Cited by Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, 256, from *Acta Sanctorum*, Jul. ii, 502. St. Willibald was born in 699. In the middle of the ninth century Walafrid Strabo is found protesting against the craze for building on too magnificent a scale, and St. Bernard yet later (*circa* 1150) deprecates 'the vast height, inordinate length, and needless

The passage in which Bede describes the *mansio* of John of Beverley on the Tyne reappears in his Saxon Translator, and the two versions are here printed side by side with an English rendering of the Saxon :—

| BEDE. | SAXON TRANSLATOR. | ENGLISH. |
|---|---|---|
| Est mansio quaedam secretior nemore raro et vallo circumdata . . . habens coemeterium sancti Michaelis archangeli . . . | Sindon sumu deagol wiic mid walle 7 mid barwe ymbsealde . . . Habbað ða wiic gebaedhus 7 ciricean S$^{te}$ Michales ðaes heahengles . . . | There are[1] some secluded dwellings surrounded with a wall and a grove . . . These dwellings have[1] a bedehouse and a *ciric* of St. Michael the Archangel . . . |

*Hist. Eccles.* V, ii, § 362.

The Latin of Bede says that the *mansio* included a *coemeterium*, but says nothing about any church or oratory. The Saxon Translator says it contained a *gebaedhus* and a *ciric*. As *gebaedhus* cannot possibly render *coemeterium*, the equivalent of the latter word must be *ciricean*. Here then is a patent example of the use of *ciric* in the sense of *coemeterium*, 'burial-ground.' And evidence has been brought to show that at that period all burial-grounds were necessarily circular. So *ciric* meant a 'circular burial-ground.'

Cadoc in Wales built a 'church' to serve him for a resting place upon his journeys to and fro.[2] Ecgfrid of Northumbria gave to Cuthbert, who had just been consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne (685), the village of Creca (Crayke in Galtres) and the lands around it, 'as a halting place in his journeys to and from York.' Cuthbert is said to have founded a monastery there,[3] probably some small

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breadth' of the buildings (*oratoria*), 'their costly polished stonework and their elaborate painting.' If Bernard wrote as a reformer, this can scarcely be asserted of Walafrid. [Hospinianus, citing St. Bernard's *Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem S. Theodorici*.] It would seem that when at last the Saxons began to build on a more ambitious scale, their efforts were, occasionally somewhat freakish, as e.g. in the case of the church which Alfred is said (William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Pontif.* ii, § 92) to have reared at Athelney, *situ quidem pro angustia modicam, sed novo aedificandi modo compactam. Quattuor enim postes solo infixi totam suspendunt machinam, quattuor cancellis opere sphaerico in circuitu ductis.* This appears to be the earliest authentic record of any circular structural church in this country; cf. however Richard of Hexham's account of the church at that place, above, p. 233, note 1. There is evidence that early Saxon buildings were commonly rather lofty than wide.

[1] The tense shows that the *mansio* was still in existence when the Translator was writing (? *circa* 975).

[2] Chap. xix.

[3] *Decem Script.*, 69 : Bede, *Op.* vi, 392.

thing of the Scotic plan. Crayke came to be a parish, its church dedicated to St. Cuthbert still, and until the last century belonged to the see of Durham. It was long remarkable as the scene of a race-meeting, and odd as it may appear, the saint and the racing were probably very intimately connected.[1]

Where kings and queens led the way lesser men soon followed, and one ‘ earl ’ after another made a *ciric* and called in a bishop to hallow it. Naturally these would in the first instances be close to one or other monastic foundation, the new faith gradually spreading further and further from these centres. Bede's narrative enables us to see the process at work : John of Beverley is staying at a convent (supposed to be at Watton, E.R.) and earl Puch invites him to come and hallow the earl's *ciric.*[2] It is ‘ about two miles ’ from the convent. The next chapter tells how earl Addi did likewise.[3] Addi's *tun* was, it is thought, at North Burton (Cherry Burton),[4] some seven miles away from Watton. The date was about 686.[5]

In both these cases Bede says the saint is called in *ad dedicandam ecclesiam*, and in both cases the S.V. has *circan to haliganne.* There is no reason to doubt that the word *circe* is here used in its original sense of a burial-ground only ; for the time had not yet come for building any structural churches outside the protecting walls of a monastery. The two earls provide the land and the united labour of their men builds the barrow. It is precisely like any other barrow, but its consecration is new. It is hallowed by the bishop and constituted a Christian *ciric.* Whether or no there was at once provided an oratory, a tiny wooden bede-house, is of no particular moment. That would come in time.

The account of John of Beverley's *mansio* further tells what was the common name for the tiny oratories which in every *ciric* preceded any structural church. They were

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[1] Below, ch. xxvi. Crayke was one of the places where the saint's relics found shelter when the Danes ravaged Northumbria.

[2] *H.E.* V, iv, § 366. Watton is 5½ miles south of Great Driffield, and Puch's *ciric* is thought to have been in South Burton.

[3] *H.E.* V, v, § 367.

[4] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 170.

[5] As this was more than 60 years before the first provision of a *ciric* within the *tun* (see below, ch. xxv), neither the *ciric* of Puch nor that of Addi can be identical with the present - day churchyards of their respective *tuns*, unless indeed each village was subsequently moved to the immediate vicinity of its *ciric*.

'bede-houses,' which is a sufficiently close rendering of *oratoria*, and is also the word used in the Saxon rendering of the words 'My house shall be called the house of prayer.'[1] Throughout England this use of the word died out, the *kirk-word*, transferred from the burial-ground to the building, coming to be used by the laity for churches of all classes, larger or smaller; and with the completion of the parochial division of the country very many of even the smaller buildings came to attain the dignity of 'churches.' Only the clergy troubled to maintain the distinction between the one and the other, and inevitably the clergy substituted for *bedehus* the Latin *capella*, 'chapel,' the Saxon word surviving only in the sense of 'almshouse.'

The word appears in Welsh as *bettws*, introduced at the close of the thirteenth century and occurring first in the *Taxatio* of Nicholas IV. At this period Roman Christianity was at last forcing itself upon the Welsh, and one of its first and least popular steps was to introduce the Roman system of small homogeneous parishes. For this purpose structural churches had to be multiplied, for many of the wilder districts were ill provided. The new buildings thus erected were 'bede-houses,' which term naturally passed into *bettws*; and to this day there are some twenty which still keep the name. Not one of them was a church-in-chief, though several have since become so. Their intrusive origin is confirmed by the fact that in several cases they are spoken of as *capel bettws*, the Welsh having, without understanding, adopted and used together both the lay and the ecclesiastical terms for such chapels-of-ease. Even so they held toughly by their Celtic traditions. They declined to misuse the term *llan* by applying it to a *bettws*, and as stubbornly they declined to call it an *eglwys*; for there had been no monasteries in these places, nor any burial-grounds wherein men had met for worship. Before there could be an *eglwys*, i.e. a structural church, there must have been a burial-ground; but the *bettws* was as it were a church without a foundation, an offence against the fitness of things. Their manner of regarding it is illustrated by the curious fact that, having once learnt the word, they used it also in the purely secular sense of a 'harbourage, place of shelter,'[1] and again we are reminded that when Giraldus Cambrensis was writing the Welsh at large knew little of permanent houses, but commonly dwelt in makeshifts of boughs and turves.[2] By contrast the smallest of chapels was almost palatial. It will be remembered also that in the Scotic use the 'church' was actually the dwelling-place of its priest. At the one end of time is Cadoc building a 'church' to serve him as a *hospitium* upon his journeys[3]; at the other is Layamon (*circa* 1200) telling us in his own words that he 'dwelt at Areley, in a noble church on Severn's bank.'[4]

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[1] *Hutton Gospel*, Matt. xxi, 13, *Myn hus ys gebedhus*; cf. Matt. vi, 6, *Gang into þinum bedclyfan*, 'Enter into thy closet.' There has possibly been some confusion between *bede* and *bed*, natural enough at a time when the same small hut was at once *oratorium* and *dormitorium*. In the *Will of Ceolwin* (*ante* 905) Thorpe (*Diplomatarium*, p. 493) renders *beddarn* by 'refectory.'

There is no ground for questioning the literal truth of this *ipse dixit* of Layamon. The original Scotic 'church' had always been as much *habitaculum* as *oratorium*, and long after Layamon's time English people were perfectly familiar with anchorites who made their dwellings in the churches. Unquestionably priests did the same, and the wording of some of the early canons might even be taken to mean that this was expected of them. But many forces co-operated to break down the practice, in particular the obstinate refusal of the English priesthood at large to adopt a celibate life, and the great extent of the early parishes, which must have made it always more and more usual for the priest to lodge wherever was convenient. Gradually also the Roman Church forced upon the people the view that God's House should not be treated as man's house. The accommodation for the priest, once the entire building and later the half of it, came to be more and more

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[1] cp. the phrases *O fryn i fettws*, 'from hill to dale,' and *Y byd a'r bettws*, 'the world and the church.' In both is present the sense of a *mansio secretior* (Bede, *H.E.* V, ii, § 362), and the desired seclusion was to be found only in the valleys. Hence *bettws* came to mean (1) a 'place in a sheltered hollow,' and (2) the 'sheltered hollow' itself.

[2] Above, ch. xix. For *bettws*, see Silvan Evans, *Welsh Dictionary*, and the references there given. When he wrote the derivation was still disputed : the *N.E.D.* adopts without comment the identification with 'bede-house.' Bedhus occurs also in Scotland, e.g. at Rathven.

[3] In Iceland so late as 40 years ago the village churches were the only substitute for inns. Apparently they were also used as a kind of communal store-house : 'Wherever I came the church was placed at my disposal for the night, and everywhere I found a store of fish, tallow, and other equally odoriferous substances' (J. Pfeiffer, *Visit to Iceland*, London, 1852, p. 108).

[4] Opening lines of Layamon's *Brut* : *wonede at Ernleye at aeðelen are chirechen uppen Seuarne stathe.* Ernleye is now Areley, on the Severn opposite to Stourport. One half of the churchyard is still circular. The church, previously a small rectangular building of the Celtic type, was 'restored,' enlarged, and entirely altered in 1885-6.

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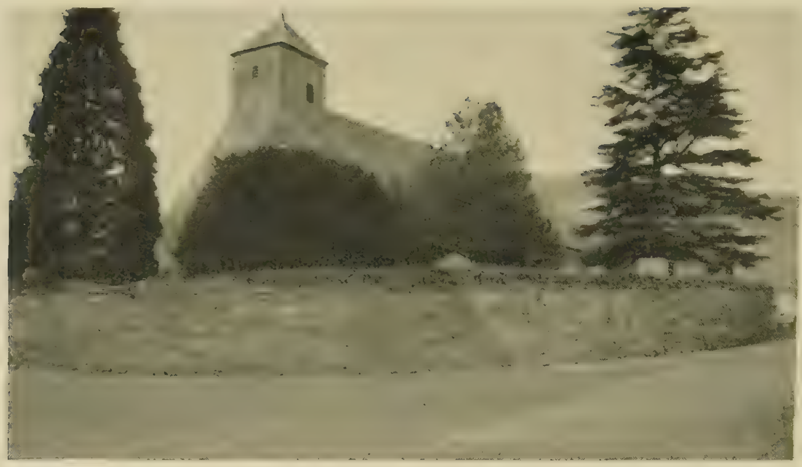
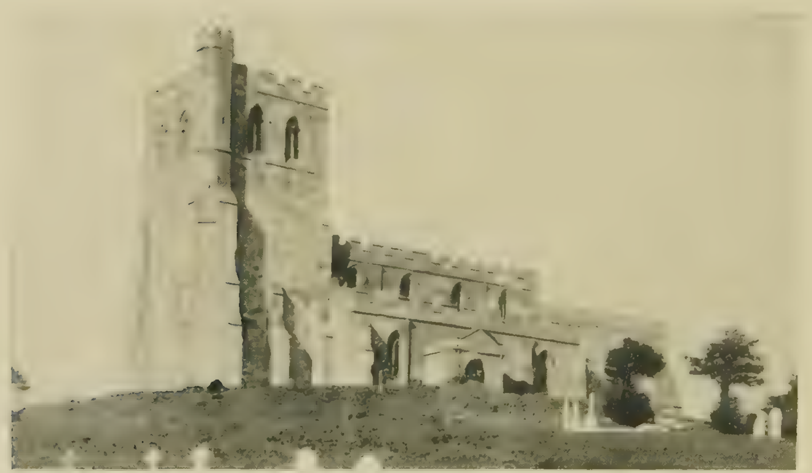


NO. 1. PENNEL CHURCH, MERIONETH.

(*A typical Welsh example, shewing the dry-built revetment and the garth flush therewith*).



NO. 2. EDLESBOROUGH CHURCH, BUCKS.

(*The two trees on the right stand at the margin of the original graveyard (a barrow) upon which the church is built*).

circumscribed. Sometimes it seems to have been found in an upper chamber above the chancel, as at Darenth in Kent and at Leckhampton, Glouces., and later in a room in the tower or over the porch. In the end the priest found a home outside the building in a 'church house' or parsonage, which to-day we call rectory or vicarage.[1] But custom long insisted that this should be as near the church as might be; indeed it not seldom led to the secularisation of a large part of the churchyard to make room for the house and its adjuncts. The change was probably in a general way synchronous with the disappearance of the older wooden churches and the erection of others in stone, i.e. in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but there was no uniformity in this, or indeed in any single matter concerning the Church in England prior to the Reformation.

In the small importance with which Scotic Christianity so long regarded the structural church may lie the explanation of the much-debated case of Fairfield in Kent, of which the commissary of the chapter of Canterbury reported in 1294 that, although the churchyard had been consecrated, the church had never been dedicated 'because it was of wood.'[2] Growing up, as it commonly did, from the most rudimentary provision of a roof for the priest, the building might easily pass at long last into the dignity of a 'church' without any special act of consecration; for, as the *Lives* of the saints sufficiently prove, every Christian graveyard had *ab initio* its own specific dedication, and this might well be held to embrace any 'church' which later arose within it.

The Saxon Version of Bede proves that even in the latter half of the tenth century *ciric*, although now beginning to assume the meaning of 'structural church,' might still mean nothing more than 'burial-ground.' Archaeology further shows that throughout Celtic Christendom the burial-ground preceded the church. England was part of Celtic Christendom, and in England therefore there must have been burial-grounds before there were churches. It is to these that the word *ciric* refers in documents prior to the tenth century, the scattered Christian barrows of the countryside, in which had as yet risen no churches, perhaps in many cases not even a bede-house.

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[1] See many examples collected in Addy, *Church and Manor*, ch. 1 and 3, and *passim*. For anchorites and their dwellings, see Miss Clay, *English Hermits and Anchorites*. For church-houses, etc., see E. L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages*, pp. 149-163.

[2] Grayling, *Churches of Kent*, i, p. 146. The present church is restoration work of 1912; the earlier building was of 'pane and plaster.' The dedication is to St. Thomas Becket, but it is likely that the graveyard is of much earlier date and quite another dedication.

The first occurrence of the word is in the *Laws* of king Ethelbert of Kent, who died in 616. It is there coupled with the word *mynstre*, and the two words recur thus conjoined repeatedly thereafter. English translators render them by ' church ' and ' monastery ' respectively, but there were no churches outside the walls of the monasteries before the ninth century, and *ciric* has been shown to have meant a burial-ground before it meant a building. What did *mynstre* mean ?

*Mynstre* is a Saxon transcript of the Latin *monasterium* and probably dates no earlier than the coming of Augustine ; and even so it meant only a monastery as the Scotic missioners understood such things, the circular *rath* or *cashel* with its contained cells. In course of time—but hardly before the eighth century, as the case of Abingdon shows—there grew up in these monastic settlements something which we may properly denominate a ' church.' To this, as being the most important and the most conspicuous feature of the whole, the word *mynstre* came to be applied in a special sense. It thus came to be the earliest general Saxon term for a structural church, and this accounts for the constant use of *monasterium* in the sense of *ecclesia*[1] : the Saxon *mynstre*, ' a church,' re-translated into Latin, naturally became *monasterium*, ' a church.'

The change of meaning in *mynstre* finds an exact parallel in *ciric* : this too meant originally a circular precinct only, but presently came to mean the dominating feature of that precinct, the structural ' church ' which was later built upon it ; and the change in both cases was due to the growing influence of the Latin *regula*. Thus there came to be a period—certainly not before 900—at which *ciric* and *mynstre* might both denote a ' church,' but, the efforts of the Latin Church, notwithstanding, the elder word *ciric* prevailed.

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[1] See Ducange, *Lexicon*.

Now as every Scotic monastery was necessarily a burial-ground, every *mynstre* was also a *ciric*; but as not every burial-ground was a monastery, not every *ciric* was a *mynstre*.

A very brief study of the early Saxon texts will confirm these statements. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* up to the year 890 the term *mynstre* occurs again and again, and always of places famous for the 'churches' they had built—York, Winchester, Hexham, Lindisfarne, Peterborough, Glastonbury, Wimborne, and Monkwearmouth. At every one of these places the structural church was then, as mostly it now is, the chief glory of the spot. But of anything which can be construed as a structural church outside a monastery there is no mention, even so late as the year 870 when the Danes 'destroyed all the minsters they came to in East Anglia.'[1]

The opening clause of the surviving fragments of the *Laws* of Ethelbert of Kent, the oldest of the Saxon codes, has reference to the amount of the fine to be levied for outrage done to the Church or to its representatives, and specifically for any breach of the right of sanctuary.[2] The fragment runs thus:—

> '(*for such outrage done*) to the property of God and the Church (*the fine shall be*) twelve-fold; to the property of a bishop, eleven-fold; to that of a priest, nine-fold; to that of a deacon, six-fold; to that of a clerk, three-fold; to *ciric-frið*, two-fold; to *m* . . . . . . *-frið*, two-fold.'

The mutilated word in the last line must have been *mynstre*.[3] Graveyard (*ciric*) and church (*mynstre*) were alike sanctuaries, and the penalty for violating either was the same.

In the same code occurs the phrase *Godes feoh and cıricean*, 'the property and the *cirics* of God.' Either 'graveyards' or 'congregations' will suit the sense here. There is no reason whatever to translate it 'structural churches.'

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[1] To this day the term is extremely rare in East Anglia. It occurs in Southminster (Essex) and in 'The Old Minster' in South Elmham (Suffolk).

[2] *Frið*, 'liberty.' Later the word used was *grið*.

[3] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 1, who remarks, 'Wilkins reads *mynsteres-frið*, but in the MS. there is not space for so long a word.' Haddan and Stubbs (iii, 42) print *mynsteres-frið* without comment, and there can be no doubt whatever that the antithesis was the usual one between *ciric* and *mynstre*.

In the *Laws* of Wihtraed of Kent (*ob.* 725) the word *ciric* occurs seven times,[1] never in the sense of 'structural church.' The only word used in that sense is *mynstre*: 'Let the ealdor of a *mynstre* clear himself with the same form of defence as a priest.' So again in the same king's address to the Council 'at the place which is called Baccancelde,' he declares the liberty in perpetuity of 'all the minsters and the *cirics* that were given and bequeathed to the glory of God' from the days of king Ethelbert onward.[2]

The word *ciric* does not occur unmistakably in the sense of a structural church in any code of Saxon laws before the very close of the ninth century. A clause (no. 5) in the *Laws* of Ine, where it might seem to bear that meaning, really refers to the taking of sanctuary in the churchyard: 'If a culprit flee to a church (*cirican*), then let the fine be in accordance with the sanctity of that church (*cirican*).'[3] The *Laws* of Alfred, while repeating this, also speak of the sanctuary of *mynstrehama*,[4] i.e. the precincts of monasteries and structural churches; and another law of the same king (no. 8) refers to the crime of abducting a nun from a *mynstre*, obviously a building and probably a monastery, amends for which offence must be made 'to the *cirican-hlaford*[5] to whom the nun belongs.' *Ciric* and *mynstre* meaning different things, the *cirican-hlaford* cannot well be the same as the *ealdor-mynstres* of Wihtraed's laws (above), and the implication that, while every *mynstre* presupposes a *ciric*, the latter is of a dignity superior to the *mynstre*,[6] is of value. In the *Preface* to his translation of pope Gregory's *Pastoral Letter* Alfred writes,[7] 'I will send a copy to every bishop in my kingdom. Let no man dare to take the book from the *mynstre*.' Here again *mynstre* must obviously mean a building, but Alfred does not call it a *ciric*. On the other hand in his *Will*[1] he leaves fifty pounds ‘ to the *cyric* in which I shall rest.’

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[1] E.g. *Praef.*, *aelc had ciricean*, 'every degree of church': cap. 1, *ciricean*, 'congregation': cap. 2, 3, the same: cap. 24, *cirican manner*, 'of a churchman' (Thorpe, loc. cit.).

[2] *A.S. Chron.* 694.

[3] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 46. 'Sanctuary' and 'churchyard' presently came to be convertible terms (below, ch. xxv).

[4] Thorpe, op. cit. p. 27. He cites also (p. 1) a passage when Alfred uses *ham* to translate *monasterium*: *Of Peortanea tham ham*, *de monasterio Peortanea* (Partney in Lincs.). It is so used again in *Diplomatarium*, p. 126 (*anno* 864), *aet ham aet Sciréburnam*. In the *Will* of Ealdorman Aelfrid, *ante* 889 (*Diplomatarium*, p. 482), we have: 'Let the surplus be divided amongst the monasteries for the benefit of God's graveyards in Kent and Surrey (*gind mynsterhamas to Godes ciricum*).'

[5] Thorpe, p. 30.

[6] For it is impossible to suppose that such a matter would be referred to any *inferior* authority.

[7] *E.E.T.S.* no. xlv, p. 8.

Half a century later, in the *Laws* of Edmund (940-947) occurs the following :—

> ‘ We have also ordained that every bishop repair the houses of God (*Godes hus*) in his own [district], and also advise the King that all God’s churches (*Godes cyrcan*) be well ordered.’[2]

Clearly *Godes hus* and *Godes cyrcan* are not the same ; and as *Godes hus* can only mean ‘ (structural) churches,’ *Godes cyrcan* must mean something else. The distinction is the same as that between *mynstre* and *ciric*, and *Godes cyrcan* means ‘ burial-places,’ where as yet there was frequently no *Godes hus* at all.

Later still a canon (no. 26) of Edgar (958-975) decrees that no dog, nor pigs in greater number than can be controlled, shall come *binnan cirictune* (*intra sepem ecclesiae*),[3] and a good deal of discussion has been lavished upon the matter. There is nothing to discuss. *Cirictune* is the ‘ church-haye,’ the fence of the churchyard, and *ecclesia* is the usual proleptic mis-rendering of *ciric* ; and there is no question at all about bringing pigs into the structural church.[4] It is clear that in the latter half of the tenth century *ciric* was still the normal word for the burial-ground and was not commonly used of any building therein.

Not until the time of Alfred, at the very close of the ninth century, does there occur a passage in which *ciric* possibly—not necessarily—bears the sense of ‘ structural church.’[5] Thence onward the change of meaning becomes more and more definite. A charter of Edward the Elder (901-925) makes a distinction between the *ciric* of St. Gregory in Winchester and its burial-ground (*lictun*).[1] Here the word clearly means 'church.' But *ciric* certainly did not altogether cease thereafter to mean a burial-ground. It actually retained that sense in the dialect of Whitby so late as 1850.[2]

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[1] *Diplomatarium*, p. 490.

[2] Thorpe, p. 105.

[3] *Ne binnan cirictune aenig hund ne cume, ne swin the ma thaes the man wealdan maege* : Thorpe, p. 397.

[4] In another Canon (no. 29) of the same it is enjoined ‘ that no man be buried within a *ciric* (*innan circan*) ’ unless his life have been such as to deserve such burial. Here again *ciric* must mean the church-*yard*, for burial within the *church* had long been forbidden.

[5] *Laws*, no. 5 (of a man’s seeking sanctuary in a *ciric*), ‘ if the brethren have further need of their *ciric*, let them keep him in another house — *on oðrum aerne*— and let not this have more doors than the *ciric*.’ Thorpe, p. 29. In passages such as that in *Vespasian Psalter* (*circa* 825) xxi, 23, *in midle cirican ic herzoðe*, the word merely means ‘ congregation.’ *N.E.D.* cites, from *O.-E. Chronicle* 874, *on Sca Marian ciricean* (*cirican*), ‘ (his body lies) in St. Mary’s church ’ ; but it is impossible to be sure that ‘ church ’ here means the building rather than the churchyard.

Speaking of the raid of Ecgfrith of Northumbria upon Ireland in 684, Bede says[3] that he spared 'neither churches nor monasteries' : his Latin reads *ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis*, but the Saxon Translator writes *ne cyricum ne mynstrum*. Each authority illustrates the other, and we have the same distinction drawn 500 years later by so capital a writer as Giraldus Cambrensis,[4] who says that in 1165 the English, raiding into Wales, 'burnt many of the churches together with the villages and the graveyards.' The explanation of this seemingly purposeless savagery is provided by the *Roman de Rou*, where it is said that, upon the landing of the Normans at Pevensey, the English peasantry hurried with their cattle to the graveyards.[5] They were seeking sanctuary, and it was just because the *cirics* were so used that they were so prominent an object of attack by any invader, were he Norman in England or Englishman in Wales or Ireland.

Names in which the word *mynstre* survives are few, possibly because so many of the early minsters speedily went to ruin : Tetbury, for example, was at one period called Tettanmynstre,[6] but has long since reverted to the older form. In three cases the name is absolute.[7] Most frequently it is qualified by the addition of a personal name, presumably that of the donor, e.g. Lyminster,[1] Kidderminster,[2] Beaminster, Bedminster, and Buckminster.[3] Otherwise the qualification is usually topographical, e.g. Westminster, Southminster, Porthminster, and Upminster; and in a large proportion of these cases the determinant is a river-name, e.g. Axminster, Exminster, Charminster, Ilminster, Sturminster, and Warminster. With the doubtful exceptions of Leominster[4] and Yetminster,[5] not one has reference to a dedication or to any other religious matter.[6] Aymestry, near Leominster, is 'Island-minster.[7] Whitminster requires no explanation.[8] Alderminster[9] (in Warwickshire) and Worminster[10] (Som.) have no connexion with the matter.

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[1] *Diplomatarium*, p. 157. Latin Charters of Edward the Confessor explicitly distinguish between *ecclesiae* and *coemeteria*, i.e. between burial-grounds which had structural churches and those which had not (ibid. pp. 358, 404).

[2] *Dialect of Whitby* (Anon. 1851).

[3] *H.E.* IV, xxvi, § 340. The entry in *A.-S. Chron.* says merely that 'miserably they plundered and burned the *cirics* of God.'

[4] *Itin. Wales*, ii, 12 : *ecclesias aliquot cum villis et coemeteriis igni apposito combusserunt.* The Welsh leader Owen refused to render like for like : *nos ecclesiis locisque sacris maiorem solito reverentiam exhibituros et honorem.* The expression *loca sacra*, like *loca sancta*, seems to be the equivalent of *coemeteria* ; see below, p. 258. If *combusserunt* as applied to *coemeteria* means anything more than 'destroyed,' it must have reference either to the fences enclosing them, or to the wooden crosses or other memorials which marked the graves.

[5] Donc véissiez Engleiz foïr,
Bestes chacier, mezons guerpir :
As cemetières tot atraient,
Et encor là forment s'esmaient
(ii, 751-755).

E. A. Freeman, quoting the passage (*Norman Conquest*, iii, 412), paraphrases 'men fled everywhere . . . and sought for shelter in the churches and churchyards.' But Wace says nothing about churches. For the graveyard as sanctuary in England see *Laws* of Ine, no. 5 (p. 242, above), and for the same thing in Wales, above, ch. xix.

[6] W. of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* v, 235).

[7] Minster in Thanet, Minister in Sheppey, and a third in Cornwall, near Camelford.

The *A.-S. Chronicle* records (*anno* 1020) that Canute built 'a minster of stone and lime' for the souls of those slain at Assandun[11] in 1016. So late then a church of stone was still something to be remarked, even though its builder were a king.[12] It is called a minster, but it was nothing more than a church,[13] for Canute 'gave it to one of his priests,' i.e. Stigand, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury.

Built into the wall above the porch of the church of

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[1] *D.B.* Lolinminstre: Alfred's *Will*, Lullyngmynystre ('Lulling's church').

[2] *D.B.* Chideminstre, 'Cydda's church.'

[3] Respectively the churches of Baega, Baeda, and Bucca. So Pitminster is 'church of Pipping.'

[4] As the form Leomynstre goes back to the tenth century, any reference to Leofric earl of Mercia, who refounded it T.E.R., is out of the question. It was early Latinised as Leonis Monasterium, with reference to a dubious St. Leo. The earlier name was Llanllieni (Leland).

[5] *D.B.* Etiminstre; later Yatesministre, Iatmynstre. The name may possibly refer to Eata, abbat of Melrose and bishop of Lindisfarne (Bede *H.E.* III, xxvi, § 237), who has left his name also in Atcham, Salop. But the church of Atcham is dedicated to St. Eata, whereas that of Yetminster is St. Andrew; and Yetminster (near Sherborne, Dorset) is a long way from Lindisfarne.

[6] Nonneminstre of *D.B. Sussex*, usually identified on no adequate grounds with Lyminster, is 'church of Nunna.'

[7] *D.B.* Eiminstre. It is on the river Lug.

[8] It is merely the Saxon equivalent of such names as Ty Gwyn, Casa Candida, and Blancmoustier.

[9] A corruption of Aldermaneston (Johnston).

[10] Originally Worme's Tor.

[11] Usually, but doubtfully, identified with Ashington in Essex. J. H. Parker believed the tower of the present church to show traces of Saxon work. It has lately been suggested that the site was rather Hadstock in the same county.

[12] He is credited with the pious resolve to rebuild in stone *all* the churches which the Danes had burnt, and it is no marvel that he did not live to fulfil so large a vow.

[13] Hospinianus pointed out (*Opera*, i, 49) that the German Münster does not necessarily imply 'monastery,' but is used of *ecclesiae maiores, quae collegia et scholas habent adiunctas, unde et Collegiatae Ecclesiae dicuntur.* The persistence of the style of minster in the cases of the great churches of York, Southwell, Lincoln, Beverley and Ripon, illustrates his remark.

Kirkdale (Yorks.) is an inscription of the eleventh century recording the rebuilding of the ‘ minster of St. Gregory ’ by one Orm.[1] How came the house of God in Kirkdale to be called a minster rather than a *ciric* ? for Kirkdale itself is confessedly *ciric-dale*, ‘ church-dell ’.[2] The case is one of many that go to prove that Latin Christianity disliked and discouraged the use of the word *ciric* and tried to supplant it by the term *mynstre*. But the obstinate Saxon declined to be persuaded. Kirkdale had acquired that name because it possessed a *ciric*, and to this day it calls its place of worship a ‘ church ’ and not a ‘ minster.’ The latter word is to-day rarely found north of the Humber, whereas south of that river it established itself, if sporadically only.[3] That other something which king Ethelbert had already discriminated from a *mynstre* and termed a *ciric*, is with us still in every English churchyard.

The Saxons’ refusal to substitute *mynstre* for *ciric* proves two things : firstly, that there were Christian places of worship scattered up and down the country, which were not, and never had been, monasteries or structural churches ; and secondly, that these had been here, and had acquired their specific name of *ciric*, before the Latin term *mynstre* was borrowed. In declining to confuse *ciric* with *mynstre* the Saxon was doing exactly as did the Welshman who refused to substitute *llan* for *eglwys* in such a name as Eglwys Cymmin (ch. xix). And this proves that, just as Wales had had her *ecclesiae* before ever she had a monastic *llan*, so England had her *ciric* before ever she had any structural church. There was necessarily an *eglwys* to every *llan*, as there was a *ciric* to every *mynstre* ; but not every *eglwys* was a *llan*, nor was every *ciric* a *mynstre*.

This view of the matter is confirmed by the account of king Wihtraed’s council at Baccancelde. His pronouncement, as summed in the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*anno* 694) runs thus : ‘ All Christian *mynstres* and *cirics* ought to be free in perpetuity, for no layman has any right to the possession of a *ciric*, or of anything belonging to a *ciric*. Therefore such possession of *cirics*, and of all thereto belonging, is hereby forbidden for ever.' As there is no second mention of the term *mynstre* (though particular injunctions are given for the proper selection of bishops, abbats and abbesses, i.e. the person to hold authority in *mynstres*), it is clearly implied that the *ciric* takes precedence of the *mynstre*—that the *mynstre* is included amongst 'things belonging to a *ciric*.'

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[1] Figured and discussed in Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, 355-7.

[2] Another Kirkdale in Lancs. is the *D.B.* manor of Chirchedale.

[3] Sometimes concealed in the form of Misterton, as in Lincs. and Leic. (*D.B.* Menstretone, Minstretone). There was a late (Cistercian, 1137) abbey of Newminster near Morpeth, Northumberland. It was the first daughter of the older foundation of Fountains, and was called *Novum Monasterium* for difference.

Seeing that the Anglo-Saxon word *ciric* refused to be supplanted, one would have expected the Latin Church to have given it a Latin form and so adopted it, as when it transformed the Irish *kil* into *cella* ; and if the learned men of the Church really believed the word *ciric* to represent an original Greek word signifying 'the Lord's House'—a derivation which came in the twelfth century to be insisted upon as an article of faith[1]—the question why it was not Latinised forthwith becomes insistent. The answer is, that in a Latin guise the word would have been too much suggestive of another Latin word of evil savour to those who took their opinions from tradition : it looked too much like *circus*—no wonder, for it actually was that word—and the Fathers had long ago banned the *circus* and all thereto belonging.

The evidence uniformly bears out the view that, excepting the very few buildings reared by Paulinus in the north and by Augustine and his immediate successors in the south, the England of Bede's time was still entirely Scotic in its Christianity. It was dotted over with Scotic monasteries of which the plan certainly, the construction probably, was precisely that of such monasteries in the contemporary Ireland and Wales. Parish churches, as we understand them, did not exist, and the most that one might reasonably expect to find in any district a few miles removed from a monastery was such an oratory as Bede speaks of in Dryhthelm's *villula* (p. 255). The view that archbishop Theodore divided the whole country into parishes much as it is to-day divided is quite untenable. If he did anything in that direction it can only have been to divide it into *dioceses*,[2] each served by one or another of the monastic foundations—its *eald-mynstre* or mother-church—and possibly to do something by way of breaking up the larger of such 'dioceses' into more manageable parts by encouraging new foundations where they were most needed.

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[1] Below, ch. xxviii.

[2] The *diocese* of the Scotic church corresponded to what is now called a parish, and the terms were convertible even so late as Aelfric's time. See his *Vocabulary* : '*Dioecesis vel parochia*, bisceopscir *vel*

Such is the only conclusion warranted by the scanty evidence, and it is startling only because of the inherited preconceptions of centuries. The modern missionary makes it his first concern to build some sort of church for his congregation: it was not so in earlier times, and for a variety of reasons, prominent among which were the poverty of both missionary and people, the lack in most cases of any adequate temporal support,[1] and the strong objection of the Anglo-Saxons to assembling under any roof for fear of witchcraft.[2] More effective than any of these was the inability of the missionaries themselves, if Scotic, to conceive of any sanctity other than that of the grave. They required no structural place of worship, and on that point their congregations, Celtic and Saxon alike, were quite at one with them. They needed no meeting-*house*, but a meeting-*place* only, and their immemorial place of meeting had been a grave or the symbol of a grave. Every part of the ritual of early Celtic Christianity was performed 'in the eye of light,' and the first missionaries concerned themselves with no buildings other than the tiny huts which gave them house-room when required. Church furniture scarcely existed. The eucharist would be offered, as in early Ireland, within the sacred *limes* indeed, but under no roof. So with baptism: the absence of any font is a recognised feature of early Scotic churches, and its place was supplied by the well or spring which is invariably close at hand. Weddings took place outside the church so late as Chaucer's time, and even confessions and confirmations took place in the open air as in Ireland.[3]

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biscopric' (Wright's *Anglo-Saxon Vocabularies*). Be it remembered that almost every Scotic monastery had its own 'bishop.' The native term for what is now called a parish was kirkshire (*circ-scyr*), which is proof that the parish was originally determined by the *ciric*. It was the whole extent of land occupied by any group of people who used one common burial-ground.

[1] Augustine owed his measure of success in Kent to the fact that he was *regio fultus adminiculo* (*H.E.* I, xxxiii, § 79), and similarly Paulinus owed his to the support of Edwin, Columba his to that of Brude.

[2] *H.E.* I, xxv, § 55; cp. the meeting of Augustine with the Welsh bishops at Augustine's Oak, ibid. II, ii, § 91.

[3] Theodore's *Penitential* II, ii, §§ 1, 2:—'It is lawful for a bishop to confirm in the open (*in campo*), if need be . . . A priest may say mass out of doors, if a deacon or the priest himself hold the chalice and oblation.'

Thus, when there had at last arisen something which might by courtesy be called a church, it would need to be but very small. A people whose every moot had for centuries been held *sub divo*[1] would be slow to make any difference in that especial form of moot which we call worship; and only when at last the congregation had come to ask for a roof over their heads would there be built what we call a nave.[2] It will be recalled that when Gregory, counselling compromise with paganism, directed Mellitus to convert the Saxon *fana* into *ecclesiae*, he advised that the congregation should still build for themselves the accustomed *tabernacula* of boughs.[3] Clearly he did not think of an *ecclesia* as necessarily a building capable of containing a large congregation. And so long as seats were not provided in the church, a very small building would accommodate quite a considerable congregation.[4]

If anything which we could call a structural church was built in those early days, it was assuredly in almost every case of timber, wattles, and clay only, except where timber was not procurable; for the Saxons of those times knew nothing of mason-work or of any sort of building in stone. Every church of stone that was built in the north of England in or before his own days, is dwelt upon by Bede as a notable thing. Benedict Biscop[5] is singled out by Bede, as Wilfrid by Eddius,[6] for particular mention in this regard ; which is proof that buildings of stone were still exceptional. The new church (St. Peter's) at Lichfield, which was built soon after Chad's death in 672, was probably of wood ; the saint's shrine within it certainly was, though possibly from a desire to employ for that 'little house'[1] the same material as that of the oratory it imitated. The Saxon, like the Welshman, had no native words for a mason and masonry, of which he knew nothing nor invented anything. The Saxon word for 'building' a church is *timbran*, 'to carpenter,'[2] and the so-called Saxon style is merely an attempt to reproduce in stone the traditional features of timber-building, with the addition of a few details borrowed from Roman models. The Celtic way was to build the oratory of wood, and the Saxon naturally followed his teachers in this as in other matters connected with religion. Such churches as existed were almost exclusively monastic. 'So far,' writes Dr. Gee of Northumbria prior to 867, 'the Church had been planted in monasteries, and with the exception of Gainford there is no proof of the existence of church buildings in any other specific centres.'[3] Things were much the same in Wessex. Alfred contrived a means of measuring the hours by the wastage of standardised candles : he was obliged to have the candles enclosed in horn lanterns to protect them from the draughts which blew 'through the doors of the churches and the many chinks in the windows, walls, and planking.'[4] So the usual church of his time was built of timber, or of unmortared stone. Dunstan, one of the most progressive churchmen of the tenth century, built wooden churches in many of the *hospitia* belonging to his see of Canterbury.[1] He built also a new church beside the famous older one at Glastonbury[2] reputed to have been founded by Joseph of Arimathea. That older church was of wattles, and there is nothing to show that the new one was of stone. 'Paul's minster' in London, says the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*anno* 962) 'was burnt, and in that same year was again built up.' Probably it was of wood, and certainly of no great size. A church was built, between 959-975, over the relics of St. Wigstan, which had been laid in the 'mausoleum' of the Mercian kings at Repton: 'according to several writers it was built of stout oak beams and planks on a foundation of stone, and its sides were made of wattles composed of withy twigs interlaced between the oak beams, daubed within and without with mud or clay.'[3] Professor Baldwin Brown believes[4] that there are still 200 churches showing traces of Saxon work, but even if we admit that this work is in every case of pre-Conquest date—and this is very doubtful—the number is not large. It has been said that 'few elaborate churches were built so long as men feared the end of the world in 1000,'[5] but there is also plenty of evidence that after that date the Saxons were not particularly quick to build in more ambitious style. William of Malmesbury calls the Norman fashion of church-building *novum aedificandi genus*, probably because the Normans used stone only. When William de Warrenne built (1066) his castle of Laques outside Lewes,[6] he adopted an 'ancient wooden church of St. Pancras' thereby, and at once rebuilt it in stone.[7] To this day there are ancient churches in England of which large parts were timber built,[8] and one—that of East Grinstead in Essex, thought to date from about 1013—which is entirely so. P. M. Johnston has pointed out that so late as the close of the eleventh century the Ramsey Pontifical made special provision for the form of service to be used in consecrating timber-built churches.

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[1] Not until Charlemagne's time does Frankish law commence to insist upon roofed moots. In England the roofed moot came much later. See below, ch. xxvii.

[2] Hence the peculiar distinction between the 'church of the priest' and that 'of the people,' i.e. between chancel and nave.

[3] *H.E.* I, xxx, § 74.

[4] With the introduction of seating came the idea of individual ownership of such seats, and with this again the fiction that owners of such seats were entitled to be buried within the building, and in the first instance as close as might be to their seats: cp. *York Wills*, 1512 (Surtees Soc.), v, 37: 'my body to be buried in the midel alye (aisle) at my stale end.' Out of this practice grew that of placing seats over the graves of the dead laity, exactly as altars had been first erected over those of other dead: cp. *Cartulary of St. Nicholas of Aberdeen*, i, 155: 'our collectour . . . shall yeirlie sett ane honest stuill apoun ye said Jhonis sepultur, decorit with bakin and arress (back and arris-pieces) as wss is.' Hence inevitably a good deal of very unchristian snobbery and rivalry among 'suche persons as loven the first sittinges at feestes, the highest stoles in churches and in hal' (Usk, *Test. Love*, I, v; *anno* 1387-8). Humbler folk who could not afford seats in church, could not claim to be buried in church.

[5] Bede, *Vita Benedicti*. But even at Monkswearmouth the original buildings (671) were of wood, for Benedict sent to Gaul for men competent to build him a 'church of stone in the Roman style.' Bede adds that he was the first person to introduce into England workers in glass (for windows). He founded the monastery at Jarrow in 682, and built its church upon the Roman plan. An inscription recording its dedication in 685 is still extant, and correctly styles it *basilica*. See *Surtees Society*, vol. xxix, p. xxvi.

[6] *Vita Wilfredi*, c. xiv. Wilfrid built at Ripon, *circa* 661, a *basilica* of wrought stone.

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[1] *Tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta* (*H.E.* IV, iii, § 265).

[2] Cf. *H.E.* IV, iii, § 260, *vivos ecclesiae lapides de terrenis sedibus ad aedificium coeleste transferret*, rendered in S.V. *tha lifigendan stanas thaere cirican of eorðlicum sethlum to thaem heofonlican timbre gebaer* ; i.e. the 'building reared of living stones' is termed *timbre*. Similarly where Bede (*H.E.* IV, vi, § 272) has *constructor* for one who builds a monastery, the S.V. has *timbrend*.

[3] *V.C.H. Durham*, ii, p. 5.

[4] *Per ecclesiarum ostia et fenestrarum, maceriarum quoque atque tabularum, vel frequentes parietum rimulas* ; Asser, *Life of Alfred* (Ed. F. Wise, Oxon. 1722), p. 68. The account does not justify the assertion that the window were mere uncovered openings in the walls. If that had been the only trouble, the king could have remedied it by covering them with horn or with glass, and the draught from the doors he could have obviated by means of a curtain, as did the hermit Ethelwald at Farne. The draughts came from all quarters, as was inevitable in a building of rough boards and unmortared stone. *Maceria* is correctly used of dry-building (*maceriam sine calce ex caementis et silice . . . facito*, 'build a mortarless wall of rubble and flint' ; Cato *de Re Rust.* xv), and Asser is speaking of churches built either of timber, of dry stone, or of both. He tells us a good deal about Alfred's achievements in timber-building, nothing of his work in masonry. There may have been mortar-built churches in his England, but clearly they were the exceptions to the rule. And this was towards 900.

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[1] Lingard, *Hist. A.-S. Church*, ii, 370, citing *Ang. Sacra*, ii, 207. One was at Mayfield, Sussex, the traditional scene of Dunstan's encounter with the Devil.

[2] Mentioned in a grant of 744, *Cart. Sax.*, i, 242. It was still in existence in 1032. William of Malmesbury says it was built of wattles (*virgea*) and was called the ealdechirche, i.e. *vetusta ecclesia*. It was burnt in 1184. According to Malmesbury there were four churches within the one monastic enclosure at Glastonbury, a Scotic feature.

[3] *Memorials of Old Derbyshire*, p. 117.

[4] *Arts in Early England*, i, p. 116. Other estimates are much more cautious. A. C. Hill, for example, puts the total at 'about 70' (*Architect. Hist. of the Church*, p. 129).

[5] P. H. Ditchfield, *English Village* (1901) p. 109.

[6] *Arch. Journ.* 1917, pp. 36-78.

[7] *Carta Fundationis* of the Priory of St. Pancras, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

[8] Surrey alone has about thirty churches with towers or turrets of timber, some

Churches of timber would commonly have footings of stone, and these would frequently remain in the soil when every trace of the superstructure had disappeared. Brought to light at a far later date they have frequently passed for the remains of a church of stone, and so encouraged the belief that such buildings were far older and far more numerous than was actually the case.

The typical Celtic church is merely the original Celtic oratory reproduced upon a somewhat more pretentious scale—a rectangular building without aisles, and indeed without architectural features of any kind. Latin Christianity presently obtruded the basilican church with apse, aisles and crypt, as elaborate a structure as the other was simple. No one who has the most perfunctory acquaintance with English village churches can doubt from which of the two types they are more directly descended. In scores of English villages stands a Celtic church to this day. Its original simplicity has been disguised, more often than not, by the addition of aisles and chapels, vestry, porch and tower; but the nucleus, often still unaltered, is the diminutive rectangular building, the single-chambered Celtic oratory, and nothing else. The church at Bradford-on-Avon, once thought to have been built by Aldhelm, who died bishop of Malmesbury in 709, may be, as Professor Freeman believed, the oldest unaltered Saxon church in England, but it is very far from being the best example of an early Saxon church.[1] It had already de-

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carrying spires. The oldest of them, e.g. those of Burstow, Horne and Newdigate, are thought to date as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth century (*V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 437). The tower of the church of Itchingfield near Horsham, Sussex, is built of wood from the foundations upwards, and so is that of the little church of Perivale, Middlesex, almost within sight of St. Paul's. At Raskelf (Yorks.) tower and piers of the chancel are alike of wood; so are the piers of the one-aisled church of Selmeston, Sussex, and of the magnificent half-timbered church of Lower Peover, Cheshire. Half-timbered churches are numerous in the last-named county, and that too in districts where red sandstone was abundant. The half-timbered chapel of Mattingley, Hants, is dated about 1500.

[1] Proof is lacking that this is the work of Aldhelm, and both in plan and in technique it is more than suspect. The mason-work may easily be 300 years later than the date claimed. Malmesbury (Maidulf's Hill) was moreover a Scotic monastery, said to date as far back as 642,

veloped the cruciform plan, with north and south transeptal chapels or porches,[1] the whole building is unusually lofty for its area, nave and chancel are separate chambers, and the roof-lines of nave, chancel and transepts are all different. The true type has still the straight roof-line, broken only by the tiny bell-turret, which is commonly upon the western gable ; it has neither transepts nor porch ; and nave and chancel are often of one equal width, with no chancel-arch of any sort. There are such almost original ' bede-houses ' to be seen in nearly every English county. The type is not pretty and it makes small appeal to the architect, who, when called in, too frequently sweeps it wholly away and begins afresh. So ' the old order changes, giving place to new.' But the Celtic type of church ' was until the end of the twelfth century the normal type of our smaller parish churches,'[2] and bespeaks the influence of the Scotic missionaries.

Hugh of Peterborough (late twelfth century) asserts that Saxulf, bishop of Mercia 675-691, founded a monastery at Brixworth in Northamptonshire, and that a ' church ' at this place was attached *anno* 690 to Saxulf's greater monastery of St. Peter at Medeshamstede (Peterborough). Therefore the remarkable basilican church of All Saints, Brixworth, is alleged to date from 690 at latest. The original structure, largely built of Roman materials, consisted of a nave 60 ft. by 30 ft., with an apsidal chancel 30 ft. by 30 ft., overlying a very large crypt. Now Saxulf was entirely Scotic in training and in practice.[3] If he built a monastery at all at Brixworth, that can have been merely the customary Scotic thing with no structural ' church ' worth the name. That he should have built a church so large and of such peculiarly Latin plan as was this, is entirely unlikely. Dr. Haverfield denied that the church itself is a Roman building,[4] and Professor Hamilton Thompson agrees.[5] The facts would seem to be thus :

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which must accentuate one's doubts. See Taylor, *Names and Their Histories*, p. 185. Fragments of crosses, etc. of Celtic type are preserved in the church. The church at Doulting, in which Aldhelm died, was of wood.

[1] The south transept has disappeared, but its foundations have been traced (Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 184).

[2] J. T. Micklethwaite in *Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, 364.

[3] Above, p. 215.

[4] *V. C. H. Northants.* i, 194.

[5] *Ground Plan of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 21. 'The Roman brickwork,' he writes, 'has been re-used in obvious ignorance of Roman methods.'

there was a *ciric*, i.e. a Christian grave-yard on the spot, where Saxulf founded a little Scotic cell in dependence upon his greater foundation. The *ciric* may have dated from the days of the first evangelisation of Mercia, and it may have become neglected and forgotten during the time of Penda's lapse ; in which case Saxulf was merely recovering a *locus sanctus* to Christianity. The *ciric* was probably nameless when that occurred, and that may explain why it was consecrated in the name of All Saints. According to Miss Arnold Forster there are no less than 1,044 ancient churches of this dedication in England, besides 28 of the equivalent All Hallows ; and there could be none more appropriate for a *ciric* which was felt indeed to be Christian, but of which the original dedication and the founder's name were for whatever reason lost.

When at last, towards the very end of the tenth century, the Saxons began more systematically to build in masonry, their efforts were far in advance of their abilities, and a large number of their more ambitious buildings collapsed within a very few years from weaknesses in the structure or in the foundations. Such as endured owed their safety for the most part to the exaggerated thickness of the fabric, as in the great church of Stow, Lincs., but even the builders of the oldest Norman part of the Abbey of St. Albans—the work of Paul de Caen (1077-1088) seem to have been unable to use a plumb-line or to turn an arch correctly. Milo Crispinus of Bec, in his *Life of Lanfranc* calls ' wonderful indeed ' that archbishop's enterprise in bringing from Caen by sea ' squared stone for building.' The traditions of the Saxon carpenter-architects lingered on long after the Conquest, betraying themselves in the crowded pilaster-strips and transverse string-courses which cover the walls of churches otherwise entirely Norman in design.

There can be no doubt that by far the greater number of structural churches existing in England even in the twelfth century were still built of wood only, and this explains the remarkable activity of the church-architects of that and the next century : they were replacing in stone the earlier wooden churches, and rebuilding on a larger scale some of the few mason-built churches already in existence.[1] Also in many cases they were building churches where there had hitherto been none, for England before the Conquest was dotted over with church*yards* where there was not, and never had been, any structural church at all. In Ireland and in the remoter parts of Scotland there are to this day many such Christian burial-grounds, not a few of them still used upon occasion, which possess no ' church ' of any kind, nor apparently ever have possessed one. Even in England there are graveyards which are still used as such, though the churches which once stood there have wholly disappeared.[2]

The story of Dryhthelm[3] gives us a hint of the real state of things in the remoter parts of Northumbria and Deira about the year 700, when John of Beverley was bishop of Hexham, Bede was at middle life and Wilfrid an old man, and Northumbria was in the van of Saxon prosperity and progress. Dryhthelm, a householder ' in the land called Incuneningum,'[4] being sick unto death, fell into a swoon so deep that he was believed to be verily dead ; so that his present recovery was regarded by himself and others as a miracle. He went at once to pray at what Bede calls *oratorium villulae*, but which his Saxon Translator renders ' the church of the village ' (*to thaere cirican thaes tunes*), and subsequently made his way to the monastery of Old Melrose, where he received the tonsure and ' entered the retreat[5] which the abbat had provided for him.'

The Saxon Translator is a much safer guide than is Bede in matters concerning the native Church, for his sympathies were wholly with that Church, and he prized those peculiarities which the Latin Bede was fain to ignore. Therefore if Bede says the village had an oratory, and the Translator says merely that it had a *ciric*, we may safely believe the latter to be right. Had he meant to say 'oratory' he would have written *gebaedhus*[1]; he actually wrote *cirican*, and, as has been shown above, by that term was usually meant a burial-ground and nothing else.

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[1] J. H. Parker (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1862-3) maintained much the same view, if he did not go quite so far. The arguments *pro* and *con* may be found reprinted in Gomme's *Gents. Mag. Library*, *Ecclesiology*, pp. 1-60. ' So far as I know,' writes the editor, ' there is not much additional light thrown on the subject by recent research.' This was in 1894.

[2] The circular mound, 5 ft. in height and 75 ft. in diameter, which was the churchyard and the site of the church of Horsington (All Hallows), near Woodhall Spa, Lincs., has headstones bearing dates as late as 1882 ; yet the church was in ruins in 1540, and the graveyard has for long years been part of a grass pasture.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* V, xii, § 389.

[4] So Bede. The S.V. has *In Cununingum*. The place is usually identified with Cunningham, still surviving as the name of the northern portion of Ayrshire, where the Abbey of Melrose certainly owned lands (*Liber de Melrose*, i, 72-74).

[5] *Locum secretae mansionis ; dygle aancorstowe*. The monastery of Old Melrose stood upon a ' ness ' of the river Tweed, almost surrounded by water, close to the site of the Roman Trimontium and to the old Roman Deer-street (i.e. Deira-street) leading thereto. See Curle, *A Roman Frontier Fortress*. Its founder was St. Aidan of Lindisfarne, its first abbat his disciple Eata. It was therefore entirely Scotic, and the ' retreat ' was probably one cell (*clochaun*) the more built expressly for the new inmate. The site was deserted by the twelfth century, and the more famous Abbey of Melrose was founded (1136) upon a different spot some three miles to the west.

Wherever Dryhthelm's home may have been, Christianity, probably in the persons of the monks of Old Melrose, had evidently come so far, and had left its usual mark in the form of a *ciric*,[2] i.e. a Christian burial-ground. Very possibly there stood within it, *more Scotico*, a tiny wooden cell. If so, Bede and his Saxon Translator do not contradict, but rather supplement, each other, and each specifies the factor which to his own mind was the more important. To the Latin Bede it was the building, to his Scotic-taught Translator it was the barrow. But assuredly there was nothing there which either Bede could style *ecclesia* or we could denominate a church.

Paganism, whether Greek, Roman, Celtic, or Saxon, had made the burial-places of the general dead at some considerable distance from the abodes of the living.[3] It had paid regular honours to them, visiting their graves at stated seasons, and celebrating their memories with games and feasting; but it had otherwise, from whatever motive, kept aloof from their places of burial. The novelty in Christianity was that it made friends with all its dead; recognised their presence and celebrated their memory not alone by special and recurring saints' days, but by daily ritual; and so far from avoiding them, made its habitations and its temples actually amongst the tombs and upon them. There could be no immediate supersession of the older traditional attitude by the new. Rather there would need to pass some length of time before the new attitude could become established. It was not established until the days of archbishop Cuthbert (742-758), who, when Christianity was now a century old in the greater part of England, felt himself strong enough to order that burial-places should be provided within the villages.[1] Here is the sufficient explanation of the peculiarly central position usually occupied by the village church, which probably did more than any single other institution to consolidate and conserve English communal life. In the typical English village the parish church is, not less by its position than by its activities, the nucleus of the whole[2]; so much so that when one finds a church remote from its village, one generally feels a vague sense of surprise, and finds the explanation in some deflection of old roads, some shifting of economic centres. These are modern influences, and in earlier days, if they existed at all, they were powerless against the centripetal attraction exercised by the church and by the common burial-ground of the community. So long as the grave-yard was there it was no more possible to over-ride its attraction than to sever an Irish *aenach* from the cemetery which had brought it into being. To-day there is little village life. The population shifts too easily, and the thread of continuity is broken, for the dead are commonly laid where they die. They do not come home to die, as once they tried to do, and only seldom are they brought back to be buried with their kindred. So the 'root' is lost, and the village life is dead, and in place of it we boast empire and turn our eyes, not to some ancient little village church, but to

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[1] As in *H.E.* V, ii, in the description of John of Beverley's *mansio* (above, p. 221).

[2] Bede *H.E.* III, iii, § 156, *construebantur ecclesiae per loca*. He is speaking of the early days of the Scotic activities, when Aidan first came to Lindisfarne (635). Possibly this was one of the *ecclesiae* then founded, perhaps by Cuthbert himself, who was at one time Prior of Old Melrose and always very active as a missionary.

[3] The consecration-grave and the founder's tomb were amongst the rare exceptions which prove the rule.

'The Abbey that makes us We,'

or think of

'some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England.'

If, as Bede declares, there was 'neither church nor altar nor other outward symbol of Christianity' in all Northumbria before the year 635, it follows that, outside the permanent monastic settlements, the only sign of the new faith must have been its burial-grounds, the circular barrows to which were brought the bodies of the faithful for burial. Whatever the monasteries may have possessed in the way of 'churches,' it is clear that the country-side had none at all. It had its *cirics* only, its circular burial-places, each a *locus consecratus*.

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[1] Below, ch. xxv.

[2] 'The one and only discoverable feature which imposed unity upon the area was the "parish-" or "mother-" church. . . . As the Church on a great scale is said to have given unity to the kingdom, so on a smaller one, it seems to me, the church gave to the parish its unity and its form. . . . The church is the decisive factor in the local division of the county' (Dr. J. H. Round in *V.C.H.* Essex, i, 404). There is nothing to alter in the phrasing of the passage, but the 'church' which moulded the parish was not the building, but the graveyard about it: cp. Green, *Conquest of England*, pp. 14-15.

In Eddius' *Life of Wilfrid* we are told that he claimed as Church-property certain *loca sancta* which had been usurped by various temporal powers.[1] Much argument has centred about this phrase, and Professor Baldwin Brown[2] endorses the opinion that burial-places were meant. The evidence here advanced makes it certain that such is the meaning, and it explains further why Wilfrid did not speak of them as *ecclesiae*, for the *ecclesiae*, as Wilfrid understood that term, had not yet been built. So when Kentigern came to Glasgow (p. 177) and recovered a cemetery formerly consecrated by Ninian, there is no mention of any 'church.'[3] John of Beverley's *mansio* is a cemetery of St. Michael, but again there is no mention of a church by Bede. It is from his Saxon Translator that we learn that it contained a little Celtic oratory (*bedehus*).[4]

It is impossible to fix any precise date at which the structural church at last took precedence of the burial-ground. All that can be said is that it was a *fait accompli* by the year 1000, at least in theory. It does not follow that the theory was also the fact over the whole of England, and it is not at all likely. It is more than probable that many *cirics* remained without any sort of structural church until after the Conquest, and it is quite certain that the greater number of such churches as then existed were timber-built and very small.

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[1] 'Holy places in various regions, which the British clergy had abandoned when they fled from the swords of their Saxon foes.' Wilfrid would be primarily concerned with such Christian burial-grounds as had been consecrated by the Scotic missionaries and subsequently desecrated in one or other of the Saxon lapses to heathenism, but he astutely used language which would include also all alleged sites of 'churches' of the Roman period. To have advanced a claim to these only, some 250 years after their profanation, would have been ridiculous. His immediate grievance was something very much more actual. In *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* (Rolls Office), p. 440, occurs a case illustrative of such secularisation in the twelfth century, when one Jordan, son of Alan, grants 'to the Abbey of Marmoutier' the churchyard of the church of Fraxinaria (de Fresnais) 'which he possessed as if his own by hereditary right,' he having come to understand that he held it 'unjustly.' There are known cases in which the parishioners have been constrained to repurchase the site of their sometime grave-yard, when by their neglecting to keep it properly fenced it had passed into private ownership. This happened, for example, with the churchyard of All Hallows of Horsington, Lincs. mentioned above, p. 255, note 2 (Conway Walter, *Records of Woodhall Spa*, p. 155).

[2] *Arts*, i, 253.

[3] *Life of St. Kentigern*, 9.

[4] Above, p. 221. Baldwin Brown (*Arts*, i, 253) cites from Orelli an inscription (no. 4499) in which *locus sacer* is used for 'cemetery.' The same expression is used by Girald Cambr. (II, 12), and we may compare the A.-S. expressions *halga stow*, *halga legerstow*. The name of Hallows, Old Hallows, or All Hallows, attaching to any spot is a pretty sure clue to the site of an ancient cemetery. Chaucer's pilgrims were wont to ride 'to ferne halwes,' i.e. 'to the far-away burial-places' of departed saints.

The difficulty of determining the date of the change is increased by the fact that the Saxon term *ciric* was for long years used indifferently of the burial-ground and of the structural church, and the Latin *ecclesia* was used to render *ciric* in either sense. Ecgbert, archbishop of York, apparently made the first systematic attempt to promote church-building: 'Let every priest use all diligence in building his church.'[1] There has been mentioned in the *Laws* of Alfred[2] one of the earliest instances of the possible use of *ciric* to denote a building, but that was certainly not the customary usage in his time, for as late as the *Laws* of King Edmund (p. 229) there is still a firm distinction between *Godes hus* and *Godes cyrc*. In the *Laws* of King Edgar (959-975) there appears a novelty: a distinction is made between churches (*cyricean*) which have burial-grounds (*leger-stow*) and those which have none.[3] By this date then *ciric* had lost any necessary connotation of sepulture, but the relative dignity of the two classes of churches is illustrated by the injunction that the thane shall pay $\frac{1}{3}$ of his tithe to the support of any church upon his *bocland* if it has a burial-ground, whereas, if it has none, he may pay to it anything or nothing, the balance of the tithe going to the mother-church (*ealdan mynstre*). The same injunction is repeated in the same terms in the *Laws* of King Canute,[4] which further distinguish four degrees of churches, all alike in respect of their hallowing, but differing in dignity. These are the church-in-chief (*heafod mynstre*), the medial church (*medemran mynstre*), the church 'where there is a burial-ground, but the service is little,' and lastly the field-church (*feld-cirice*) without a burial ground. The difference in dignity is reflected in the monetary value of the fine exacted for the same offence in each of the four cases, namely 5 pounds,[1] 120 shillings, 60 shillings and 30 shillings.[2] The *heafod mynstre* is evidently the same as the *ealdan mynstre* of Edgar's law, the original monastic foundation, or the representative thereof, from which the district was understood to have been evangelised; and the third and fourth classes correspond to the privately owned churches of the thanes in the same laws. The 'medial churches' must therefore denote the great mass of the rural churches which had been created by the activities of the churches-in-chief and were their direct offspring—the *loca sancta* of the *tuns*, which were now by way of providing themselves with structural churches, commonly of timber only. It will be noticed that the Saxon term applied to them is *mynstre*, not *ciric*, whereas the latter term is applied to the inferior churches of the third and fourth classes.

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[1] *Ut unusquisque sacerdos ecclesiam suam omni diligentia aedificet* (*Excerpta Ecgberti*, in Thorpe, p. 326). The word *aedificet* is noteworthy. It is not the same as *renovet*. Ecgbert was Archbishop 731-766 (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccles. Angl.*, p. 306), so that his order for the building of structural churches follows, as it should do, upon Abp. Cuthbert's order that burial-grounds should be provided in all *tuns*; and this is borne out by the wording of canon xxiv of the same Ecgbert, which rules that no tithes or other possessions shall be taken away from any *ecclesia antiquitus constituta* and made over to an *oratorium novum*. The little wooden *bedehus* of the new burial ground would be *oratorium novum*; the 'churches of ancient foundation' would include the old extra-mural *mynstres*. Unfortunately we have the canons only in Latin, but even so the distinction drawn between the old *ecclesia* and the new *oratorium* is significant.

[2] Above, p. 229.

[3] Thorpe, p. 3.

[4] Thorpe, p. 157.

There was in the latter half of the tenth century a great increase in the number of churches of various degree, and a considerable advance towards the later and Latin view that the building was the important matter.[3] None the less the different meed of dignity accorded to any church without a burial-ground is significant. As compared with any other class of church whatever, it was entitled to only half as much veneration. Evidently the old feeling that there could be no church where there was no burial ground died very hard. The England of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries was covered with such pseudo-churches; they occupied every attractive hill, flanked every high road, stood beside every ford and ferry, and even upon the bridges. A few of them have lived to become parish churches; others survive as chapelries to parish churches;

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[1] i.e. 360 shillings, the Saxon pound counting 72 shillings.

[2] Thorpe, p. 154.

[3] Cf. *Laws* of Edward the Confessor (no. 8): 'There are now three or four churches, where lately there was but one.' (Thorpe, p. 191).

but by far the greater number have perished. They lacked the one thing which might have safeguarded them—the consecration of the grave-yard. The priority of the *ciric*, alike in time as in dignity, is betrayed further by the fact that fees due to Holy Church were always styled ‘ kirk-shot.’ One never hears of ‘ mynstre-shot.’ Of such dues the chief was the ‘ soul-shot ’ paid for burial in a *ciric* ; and this, by the *Laws* of Edgar, must be paid to the *mynstre* to which it belongs, i.e. to the parish church of the township wherein the deceased had lived, no matter where he was interred.[1]

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### ‘ CIRIC.’

*Anhistoric Burials under Churches—Cases of Ludlow, Fimber, Pytchley, Passenham, Studland — St. Wigstan and Repton—St. Guthlac at Crowland—Churches on Barrows: Brockenhurst—Place-Names in -low, -how, -bury—The Burial of Ophelia—Kildale, Kingswear, etc.—Tell-tale Barrow-Names—The term ‘ Church ’ applied to Earthworks—Place-Names containing the word ‘ Ecclesia ’—Falkirk, Chirk, etc.—‘ Llan ’ usually translated by ‘ -stow ’—Meaning of ‘ Stow ’—Saint-names rare on English Map—Few Raths in England—‘ Church ’ and ‘ Kirk ’ applied to Stone Circles—‘ The Kirk ’ in Furness—‘ Towtop Kirk ’—Sunkenkirk, etc.—Kirkby—Kirkabost, Kirkdale, Kirkheaton—Church-names in England—Pucklechurch, Baschurch, etc.—Chirk and Chirbury—Lost Kirk-names—How the name Ciric arose—Why church-names are few.*

That burials of seemingly pre-Christian date have been found again and again actually under churches of great antiquity is one of the facts which have long puzzled antiquaries. Some have supposed that such churches had been by accident built over a forgotten grave or graves. Some have hinted at consecration-burials. Others have seen in such cases a deliberate usurpation by Christianity of a site known to be pagan. Probably each of these views is in some cases correct, but no one seems yet to have propounded the one theory which includes all the others and covers also the cases which they leave unexplained—the theory that the early Christian 'churches' were barrows pure and simple. If that was so, then any structural church will, if it be a genuinely old foundation, stand either on the barrow, or immediately beside it. In the first instance the humble little wooden oratory was doubtless invariably upon the barrow, as to this day are all churches within original circular churchyards. The ambition of later ages, desirous of building on a larger scale, might either level the whole or part of the barrow, or might be satisfied to build the new church beside it. The archaeological journals abound in examples of both kinds, of which only one or two need be quoted.

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[1] Thorpe, pp. 111, 112, 157.

When the people of Ludlow began to extend their church westward in the twelfth century, they removed a great barrow—possibly the *hlaw* which gave name to the town—and in so doing brought to light three interments each within its own *mausoleum* (presumably a cist). Whether or no they had any evidence for the character or date of these interments, they had wit enough to claim the bones as those of 'Irish saints,' and solemnly to translate them to their church; whereby the church of St. Laurence became the richer by so many relics the more.[1]

There is a long list of churches standing beside barrows larger or smaller, which have been proved by actual exploration to be sepulchral and have been written down as of pre-Christian age. Whether they were so in all cases is doubtful. In the first place there is no reason to suppose that early Christian converts would in all cases construct their barrows at spots remote from those of their pagan forbears, but rather the contrary; so that a church, though surrounded by pagan barrows, may none the less itself stand upon, or on the site of, yet another which was Christian. And secondly we know from excavation, and from documentary evidence like the Capitularies, that Christians long continued to lay their dead within barrows of pagan origin; so that a pagan barrow might in time come to be hallowed as a Christian churchyard.

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[1] Leland, *Collectánea*, iii, 407. W. Johnson (*Byways*, p. 82) calls it a 'ludicrous ecclesiastical fiction' that the bones were those of 'Irish saints.' On the contrary it was very possibly the fact. It is remarkable that any one of the date named should have asserted them to be Irish at all, unless there was a local tradition of a Celtic monastery here.

This is what actually happened in the famous case of Fimber, near Sledmere (E.R.) where excavation revealed successive interments extending apparently over the Bronze age, the Roman period, and that of early Saxondom. Upon these was later built a Christian church (St. Mary); and since 1877 the ground around it, i.e. the barrow of Bronze age and of Roman and Saxon times, has been a Christian churchyard. Continuity could scarcely desire a more conclusive illustration.[1] It is asserted that the church of Speeton, near Bridlington, is built upon a British barrow,[2] and that 'at Garton and Kirby Grindalyth the present churches occupy Saxon sites.'[3]

The early Norman church of Pytchley near Kettering stands upon a spot which has been the burial-ground of the district certainly from Romano-British, possibly from pre-Roman times, to the present day. The oldest interments had been made in cists, and there was evidence of the ground's having been raised at least six feet.[4]

At Passenham, Northamptonshire, 'church and vicarage seem to occupy the site of a considerable ancient cemetery. Skeletons in great numbers and much pottery and glass, Roman and Romano-British, have been found here.'[5]

In Studland churchyard, Dorset, were found (1881) burials of three distinct types: uppermost were those of modern type; below these were burials in cists formed of rough unhewn Swanage stones; and yet lower, 'lying in a line approaching north-east and south-west, were cists formed of rough local flints and some stones.'[6] Commenting upon this P. M. Johnston remarks that 'the second layer would seem to represent the Christian Saxon graves, while the lowest were clearly pre-Christian.'[7] If so, Studland churchyard is a clear case of the reconsecration of a pagan Saxon burial-ground, and of its continuity as a burial-place through a period of at least 1,300 years.

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[1] Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, pp. 189-192; *V.C.H. Yorks.*, i, 79. Mortimer speaks of 'the barrow on which the church stands.'

[2] Mortimer, *loc cit.*

[3] T. Sheppard, *Guide to Hull and East Yorks.* (1923), p. 222.

[4] *Arch. Journ.* iii (1846), pp. 105-115.

[5] Murray's *Handbook to Northamptonshire*, p. 147.

[6] W. M. Hardy, *Old Swanage and Purbeck.* Amongst other finds were the two stones of a large quern.

[7] *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, N.S. xxiv (1918), p. 43.

The evidence shows that Celtic Christianity inherited and long acted upon the pagan belief that a human burial was necessary to hallow the site of any new settlement. When the primitive practice was modified there yet remained the belief that the presence of an interment was an added guarantee of any hallowing. The barrow reared to the latest of the faithful dead was itself a new *ciric*, a place of Christian assembly and worship, and might in time come to boast its own church. The sites of some at any rate of the greater monasteries were determined by the presence of cemeteries, and it seems their founders did not always enquire too closely into the age, race, or faith, of the dead there buried. St. Mary's at Fimber was a Christian church for long centuries before it boasted a consecrated graveyard, yet it was built upon a barrow which in the first instance was most certainly non-Christian. The great Scotic double monastery of Repton, said to date back to 660, was immediately associated with, and probably actually included, a cemetery of the royal line of Mercia. Here were buried Ethelbald (*ob.* 757) and Wiglaf, kings of Mercia, and the latter's murdered grandson St. Wigstan (*ob.* 850). Destroyed by the Danes in 875, the abbey lay desolate for a century, when at last was built a church of St. Wigstan. But the saint's relics were translated in Canute's reign to the great abbey of Evesham, and in consequence, when the monastery of Repton was refounded in 1150, it 'had no root,' for the relics which ought to have been its *raison d'être* were no longer there. So, an accident at Evesham furnishing excuse, the canons of Repton recovered the relics and laid them 'not as beforetime in the mausoleum of Wigstan's grandfather Wiglaf, but in a shrine' in the chapel of their priory.

There is no reason to think that the Mercian kings before 850 had anything which would nowadays be called a mausoleum. Like others of their race they would be laid in an urnfield or a barrow. On that spot would be built first the Scotic monastery, and next St. Wigstan's church, when at last structural churches were becoming usual. Some of the Mercian blood-royal who were there interred were unquestionably Christian, but the case next to be cited will suggest that the Scotic mind did not enquire too narrowly into the faith of the dead man if his barrow offered a desirable site for a settlement.

The Saxon Guthlac selected (699) for the site of his *mansio* in the Fens a barrow (*tumulus*) and thereon he built his cell.[1] The barrow was a flattened mound some 3 ft. in height and 60 ft. in diameter, surrounded by the usual fosse, in which was found (1880) ‘ an abundance of rude pottery of native manufacture ; and near the sides of the mound were several cinerary urns and vases, including some very good specimens of lathe-turned Roman ware.’[2] The evidence showed that the barrow long antedated the Roman period : it was another of the many instances in which successive ages and races have used the same barrow for the same purpose. Here Guthlac lived and died (714), and here in 716 Ethelbald founded in his honour a monastery which grew to be the famous mitred abbey of Crowland.[3]

This is an important case. Guthlac, who cannot have been ignorant of the mound’s real character, deliberately chose for the site of his *mansio* a burial-place, and that a pagan one[4] ; for Felix explicitly says that ‘ no Christian had so far been able to live ’ there. Little more than a century before this St. Columba had hallowed his new settlement in Hy by the burial of his disciple Odhrain. Such procedure was already out of date in Guthlac’s day, but not so the feeling that some sort of interment was needful to the hallowing of the site, and apparently the fact that the interments here were pagan made no difference to the saint or to Ethelbald and the world at large. Felix, who wrote the story from information furnished by Guthlac’s actual companions, saw in it nothing to call for comment. So Crowland is an authentic instance of the deliberate planting of a Christian settlement upon a pagan burial-site. The monks of Crowland continued to bury their dead close beside it for generations, and close beside it are still laid the dead of the parish. So here, as at Fimber, lie the successive dead of four epochs, Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and modern English. The only difference is that, whereas Guthlac's foundation rapidly outgrew the limits of the saint's first settlement, there was no such overgrowth in the case of the little church upon the Yorkshire Wolds.

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[1] Felix of Jarrow, *Vita S. Guthlaci* (written before 750). In the later A.-S. version the mound is called a *blaw*, the saint’s building a *hus*, a *cyte*, a *cell*, and a *ciric*. The Latin *Life* explicitly mentions that the mound had been long previously rifled by treasure-seekers, which is proof that its character was well understood.

[2] *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvii (1891), p. 288. There were found also flint implements, a large quantity of flakes, a bronze celt, and light-strikers.

[3] Crudeland, i.e. *terra caenosa*. It is curious that Felix of Jarrow calls it Cruglond, as if conscious of a derivation from *crug* (*cruc*) ‘ barrow.’ So late as 1843 part of the ruins were locally known as the ‘ Anchor-church House.’

[4] He had spent some years in exile in Wales, which would accentuate his Celtic way of thought, and his training had been received in the Scotic monastery of Repton.

The ruins of a chapel stand in the centre of one of a group of earthworks of remarkable type at Knowlton, parish of Gussage All Saints, Dorsetshire. The earthworks are apparently barrows and almost certainly of pre-Christian date. Again the facts point to the deliberate usurpation of a pagan burial-site by the Church, and that too at a date long after Guthlac's time.[1]

It has often been remarked that this or that English church stands upon a seemingly artificial mound, but rarely has a writer ventured to suggest that such mounds were in reality barrows. T. W. Shore accounted for this curious feature of many Hampshire churches by the supposition that the Saxons utilised sacred Celtic mounds for Christian purposes, adding that 'it is of course possible that these mounds were first adapted to Christian uses by early British Christians.'[2] He instances the churches of Burton, Cheriton, Corhampton and Sopley, but that of Bramshaw (St. Peter) and the old parish church of Brockenhurst (St. Nicholas) are as good examples as could be desired. Of the last-named, which ranks as one of the 'five ancient churches of the Forest,' the oldest portion is the nave (34 ft. by 17 ft. 2 ins.), said to date from the latter part of the eleventh century, while the chancel (26 ft. by 13 ft.) is attributed to a date about 1260. It will be noticed that in each case the proportions are those of the Scotic rule. The building stands upon the flat summit[3] of a large barrow (diam. 150 ft.), its chancel occupying the central point, and its tower, an addition of about 1750, standing upon the western edge of the mound.

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[1] The barrows are described in Allcroft, *Earthwork of England*, p. 564. The garth surrounding the chapel (which ignores the east-and-west position) is rectilineal, and if it be contemporary with the buildings, the fact shows that, when the chapel was built, the circular churchyard had already lost its old significance. But the nave is said to contain Norman work. See Hutchins, *Hist. Dorset*, iii, 150; *Trans. Dorset N.H. and Antiq. Field Club*, xvii (1896).

[2] *Hist. Hampshire* (London, 1892), p. 32. He says that the mound on which stands the church of Burton (St. Martin) used to be known as St. Martin's Hill.

[3] A large number of the recognised barrows of this part of the New Forest are

A main road loops round the barrow on the west and the south, and a small lane until lately skirted it on the north and east. Extensions of the burial-ground have been made to the north, but these have not interfered with the form of the original garth, the scarp whereof, falling steep and unbroken, is especially well marked on this side, rising some seven feet in vertical height. Owing to the scarcity of suitable stone in the district there is no revetment, and on three sides the *limes* is to this day the slope of the original barrow, reinforced with a ragged hedge and a few old wooden rails. At Bramshaw the garth retains its original form unspoilt. So does that of the Norfolk churchyard of Cranwich (plate ii, no. 1), where the barrow, demarcated by nothing more than a ring of short posts and a connecting line of wire rope, heaves up some five or six feet from a green meadow. Its diameter is fifty yards or so, and here and there along the periphery one might fancy there are traces of an old-time fosse. An incomplete circle of nine large trees further defines the circle.

At Mareham-on-the-Hill (All Saints), near Horncastle, Lincs. the western half of the circular garth has been secularised, but round most of the remainder still runs a fosse some twelve feet in width, a feature unfortunately omitted in the ordnance survey.

In districts where large masses of stone abound, they are sometimes used to fence the garth, though it is not suggested that this practice is a survival from the peristalith of some pagan barrows. There is a good example at Frilsham in Berkshire, where the garth, still largely original, shows three-quarters of a circle and is mounded three feet above the ground about. Another is at Lambourne in the same county, where the garth is obviously not original. In this practice is to be found in some cases the probable origin of the tradition that this or that church stands upon the site of a druidical circle, as for example the old parish church (St. Nicholas) at Brighton.

of the flat-topped ‘table’ type, but some particularly fine disc barrows on Setley Plain, near by, suggest that the locality was the seat of a thriving population in the last years of the Celtic period.

Many ancient churches occupy precisely those sites which would naturally be selected for barrows, and in very many cases it is yet possible to see beneath them the swell of an original barrow. The words *hlaw* and *howe*, elements in a long list of English parish-names,[1] point to the fact that the churches of these parishes are actually reared on barrows. Names like Kirkbergh,[2] Kirkbarrow,[3] and Chapel-le-How[4] tell the same story, as probably do many names in *-bury*, and *-borough* (*beorh*, ' a barrow '). These are the southern equivalents for the multitude of northern Kirkhills.

There are upon the English map a multitude of places containing the suffix *-borough* or *-bury* in the sense of ' hill,' where none the less there is no natural feature to which the word can well be applied. Such names are to be found all over the map of East Anglia and equally in other districts remarkable for the absence of any hills. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the ' hill ' in some of such cases was none other than the barrow which became the churchyard of the village. As examples may be cited Tewkesbury (Theocesberie, *D.B.*) in Gloucestershire, Willesboro'[5] in Kent, Wisborough in Sussex, and Marlborough[6] in Wiltshire. Such a name as Havochesberie (*D.B.* Glouces.; now Hawkesbury) is in form, as apparently in meaning also, exactly parallel with Hawkchurch (Devon), as Prestbury (Ches.) with the Derbyshire barrow called Priest's Low; and the name of Felborough (A.-S. Feldbeorh) in Kent is precisely parallel with Felchurch (for Feld-ciric) in Suffolk.

The church of Edlesborough—Eadwulf's *beorh*—stands upon a small hillock, an outlier of the Dunstable Downs, as to the origin and purpose of which speculation has been rife: ' either an ancient barrow or perhaps a Roman summer encampment,' suggested Lipscomb.[7] Eadwulf's *beorh*[8]—the *ciric* which yet bears his name—is there to this day, an oval depressed mound crowning the hillock and in turn crowned by the noble church of St. Mary. Once all the graveyard the village needed, it has of late years been enlarged, but without damage to the original barrow (plate iii, no. 2).

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[1] e.g. Marlow, Taplow, Thriplow, Aslacoe, Aynho. Earwaker (*East Cheshire*, i, 42) remarked the ' curious fact ' that the parish of Wilmslow (' Wilhelm's Low ') ' consists exclusively of the church and adjacent churchyard.' The meaning of *howe* was early forgotten, whence arose such doublets as Howbery (*D.B.* Hov') in Kent and Hawhill (p. 172, *n.* 1) near Normanton, Yorks. W.R.

[2] In parish of Normanton, Westmorland, where was anciently a church.

[3] Three miles ssw. of Penrith.

[4] Bardsley, *Dict. Eng. and Welsh Surnames*, *s.v.* Chappelow.

[5] A.-S. Wifelesbeorge, ' Wivel's Barrow.'

[6] Earlier Maerlbeorh.

[7] *Hist. and Antiqs. Bucks.* (1847), iii, 349.

[8] *Place-Names of Bucks*, p. 93.

A series of names such as Ashow, Ashbury and Ashchurch, or Ludlow, Ludborough and Ludchurch, suggests at once the question whether they be not identical in meaning as they are in formation; and in the light of the accumulated evidence that ‘church’ might upon occasion denote a barrow, and so be identical in meaning with ‘low,’ ‘how,’ ‘borough’ and ‘bury,’ the question is in no way absurd. One finds a direct parallel in such names as Martin's Hill (p. 252, *n.* 2) and Lightning Hill (ch. xxv), where the ‘hill’ in question is or was merely the graveyard of the parish, and in the multitude of barrows distinguished as ‘hills.’ The suffix *-dun* was similarly used, as in Malden (*D.B.* Maldune, ‘Cross-hill’) in Surrey, and Maldon in Essex. William of Malmesbury must have been aware that ‘church’ and ‘barrow’ had once been interchangeable when he wrote that Theokesberia (Tewkesbury) represents ‘Theotokos-beria, id est, Dei Genitricis curia, vocabulo et Graeco et Anglico composito.’[1] English himself, he knew *beria* to represent the English *beorh*, and he declares that it might mean *curia*, that is, a circular place of assembly (ch. vi). In Orkney churchyards were called *burghs* so late as 1703.[2]

If the primitive church was a barrow, the strange finds recorded from a multitude of churchyards cease to be strange at all—the shards which are rarely absent from any really ancient graveyard, the rounded white pebbles, the quantities of charcoal sometimes observable,[3] the flakes and implements of flint, pot-boilers, shells, coins, and even urns.[4]

When the suicide Ophelia is to be interred with Christian obsequies the indignant priest protests that her burial ought rather to be that of a person outside the pale of the Church—

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[1] *Gesta Pont.* iv, 157. Tewkesbury actually signifies ‘Teodec's Barrow,’ says Prof. F. M. Stenton.

[2] Martin, *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 389. He adds that *burgh* was ‘from the Saxon word “burying”.’ As etymology this statement is wrong, but it is conclusive proof that he was not confusing burial-places with ‘brochs.’

[3] As at Danby in Cleveland; J. C. Atkinson, *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, pp. 213, 220.

[4] For a long list of such funeral apparatus, see W. Johnson, *Byways*, ch. vii.

> 'Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her.'
>
> *Hamlet*, V, i, 254.

As an intelligent understanding of barrows and their sepulchral concomitants did not begin to show itself in England until some years after the play of *Hamlet* was written, in the days of Sir Thos. Browne and Richard Verstegen, it seems reasonably certain that Shakespeare, when he wrote this line, was voicing a general English feeling in regard to such as 'wilfully seek their own salvation'; that is to say, that down to the opening years of the seventeenth century there survived a vigorous memory of the rites which had attended pagan burial in days when Christianity was paganism's struggling rival. If so, there is very great reason to doubt that such pagan customs as the casting of 'shards, flints, and peebles' upon the grave had ceased out of the land at so early a date as is commonly believed.

When the church of Kildale, Yorks., was rebuilt in 1867 a number of skeletons, some of them accompanied by articles of bronze and weapons of iron, were found beneath the nave and the north wall of the fabric.[1] Under the tower of the church of East Blatchington in Sussex were found 'two pots or urns containing charred bones.'[2] Under the chancel of Sutton church near Bignor, in the same county, were found sepulchral urns of the Romano-British period[3]; and in the churchyard of Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, had been found up to 1861 'so many coins and so large a quantity of pottery . . . as to give rise to the conjecture that it may have been the site of a Roman temple.'[4] In a cavity hewn out of the rock beneath the church at Kingswear, Devon, were found the bones of an infant buried in quicklime. Similar finds have been made at Holsworthy in Devon and at Wickersley near Rotherham in Yorkshire.[5] Carefully placed within the south-west angle of the walls of the church of Arlington in Sussex was found an urn of unusual size, still preserved in the church.[1]

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[1] Atkinson, *Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect* (1868), p. xx.

[2] *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xiii, 309.

[3] ibid. xv, 242.

[4] ibid. xiv, 178.

[5] Baring-Gould, *Book of Devon.*

The church of Alphamstone, Essex, appears to have been built over a (sepulchral ?) stone circle, of which two stones were found under the tower and two beneath the chancel. Urns and other sepulchral remains have come from the immediate vicinity.[2] Implements of stone and bronze have been found in many churchyards, and in some cases cannot be dismissed as mere strays, but are clearly genuine grave-deposits. Some such finds have been already mentioned ; others are a bronze celt found at Whittlebury, Northants,[3] and a buckle of bronze found in Cadney churchyard, Lincs.[4] The list of churchyards which have yielded shards and urns of Roman and Romano-British make, especially in Kent and Essex and Suffolk, is a long one. If in some cases this points only to the accidental usurpation of the site of some forgotten cemetery or habitation, in others it is impossible to question that the usurpation was intentional and the site sepulchral.

Here too is a reasonable explanation of the presence of monoliths, whether in churchyards or even actually within churches. The cases of Alphamstone, Rudstone and Constantine have been mentioned,[5] with others in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the Isle of Man. Probably most of these monoliths were nothing but the monuments of the dead, and in most cases of Christian dead ; but that now and again a pagan monument should come to be christianised in after years is not only possible, but extremely probable. All that was needful to that end was apparently the burial of a Christian's body within the same barrow.

Kemble believed it ‘ very possible that in England the new churchyards were intentionally placed upon the sites of old (i.e. pre-Christian) cemeteries.’[6] The evidence shows that in some cases it was so : neither St. Guthlac at

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[1] There was found at the same time evidence that there had stood here two successive churches of wattle and daub, both of which had been destroyed by fire. There are Roman bricks in the present fabric (chiefly of decorated style).

[2] Walter Johnson, *Byways*, pp. 84-6.

[3] *V.C.H. Northants*, i, p. 215.

[4] Woodruffe-Peacock, *Notes on Cadney Church* (Louth, 1912), p. 2.

[5] For many further English instances, see Johnson, *Byways*, pp. 38, *sqq*.

[6] *Saxons in England* (1876) ii, c. 9; *Horae Ferales*, p. 99. Prof. Baldwin Brown (*Arts*, i, pp. 257 *sqq*.) traverses Kemble's view, adding that it is contradicted by monumental evidence. Doubtless in many cases it is so contradicted, but with as little doubt in many other cases it is confirmed, while in the vast majority of cases there is no evidence either way.

Crowland nor the unknown saint who made his oratory upon Carnbrea (ch. xx) can have been ignorant of what lay beneath. There are to-day people who do not recognise a barrow when they see it. There are none, save the physically sightless, who fail to recognise a churchyard. And in the days of early Christianity a barrow was a thing as unmistakable as is a churchyard to-day.

An explanation is now forthcoming for some of the odd names attaching to barrows or the vicinity of barrows. If the original ' church ' was a barrow, and if this is what the word *ciric* originally signified,[1] it would be strange if the name of ' church ' did not still attach to here and there a mound, whether actually sepulchral or merely resembling a barrow. Such a case is provided by ' The Kirk ' at Kirkby Ireleth, to be described below (p. 275). A barrow at Tideswell in Derbyshire is called Kirklow.[2] ' Gun's Church ' is the name of a barrow in the parish of Hill Deverill, near Warminster, Wilts.[3] ' In Stowe Wood ' in the parish of Kilkhampton (Cornwall) ' is an earthwork, circular and rocky, known as Ruberchurch.'[4] In the parish of Cotherstone (Yorks. N.R.) was ' a cairn of loose stone named Kirk (or Kyr) Arran,' within which was found ' a round stone urn resembling a small mortar, but containing nothing.'[5] In the parish of Monzie, Perthshire, ' a pile of large stones,' locally reputed to be the grave of Fingal's father, was known in the last century as ' The Kirk of the Grove.'[6] Here is a plain identification of the word ' kirk ' with a *pagan* place of burial. Heywood Sumner describes three localities in Hampshire, all more or less unbroken forest-land, which bear the names of ' Church

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[1] Warne (*Ancient Dorset*, p. 103) mentions that in the vicinity of Knowlton (p. 266) ' the peasantry have a legend relating how a large number of churches in ancient times stood in the neighbourhood.' Knowlton was—indeed still is—a considerable barrow-field (*Hutchins*, *Hist. Dorset*, iii, 150), and the prominent type of barrow seems to have been that still surrounding the ruined chapel there, i.e. in a literal sense a *circus*. When the local tradition speaks of many ' churches,' one is strongly moved to think that it had originally meant merely many ' barrows.' Knowlton gave its name to a Hundred, and a large number of Hundreds are named from ' churches ' (e.g. Newchurch in Kent, Whitchurch in Dorset, Pucklechurch in Glouces.) exactly as others (and a still larger number) are named from *beorhs*, *bowes*, and *lows*. Five of the pre-Domesday Hundreds of Dorset were named after ' barrows of which the names are now lost ' (R. W. Eyton, *Key to Domesday of Dorset*).

[2] Bateman, *Ten Years' Digging*.

[3] *Folklore*, xii (1901), p. 74; *Wilts. Arch. and N.H. Mag.* xxxiii (1904), p. 128. It is a ' bowl ' barrow lying at the extreme south point of the parish.

[4] Dew, *Hist. of Church and Parish of Kilkhampton* (1926), p. 5.

[5] Whitaker, *Richmondshire* (1823), i, 142.

[6] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

Green' and 'Church Moor' (*bis*), and in each case the solitary feature which can conceivably have given rise to the name is a barrow.[1]

'Friday's Church' is one of a small group of barrows on Barpham Hill (469 O.D.), a mile west of Harrow Hill, parish of Burpham, Sussex; and local tradition asserts that here was 'the burial mound of queen Fridias.'[2] Excavation has failed to find here any trace of a structural church.

In Parwich, Derbyshire, is a barrow called 'Cross Low,' another at Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts., called 'Cross Hill.' In Prinknash Park, Glouces. is an 'Idol's Barrow'[3] (Barrow of the False God ?), while 'Saint Low' occurs on the Derbyshire border.[4] The famous Mote-hill of Scone was known as *Collis Credulitatis*, 'Believer's Hill.'[5] Names like these are in a different class from those of 'The Five Maries' near East Chaldon, Dorset, and 'Gospel Hillock' in Cowdale near Buxton, which admit of other explanation.[6]

Church Barrow in Cranborne Chase (ch. ix) was once known as Church-hayes,[7] i.e. 'the churchyard,' and the name must have been given at a time when the normal form of all churchyards was circular. 'Church-haye(s)' has frequently been rationalised to 'Churchway(s),' which is common on the English map, and occurs also in Wales at Warren (ch. xx) applied to a proven barrow. The northern

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[1] *Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 65. These barrows possibly represent so many of the large number of 'churches' alleged to have been destroyed by William I when he enclosed the forest. Such a case as that of Brockenhurst (p. 252) suggests that there would remain only a barrow after such 'destruction,' i.e. after the *tún* was evicted and its *tún-cyrc* closed.

[2] *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxiii (1922), pp. 26-7. The name seems to be parallel with those of X Wanbarrow (Woden's Barrow) in Hurstpierpoint and Thundersbarrow (Thunor's Barrow) behind Shoreham, both in Sussex. At Handcross, Sussex, occurs also Puckchurch. In an eighth-century charter (*Cart. Sax.* no. 197) the term *Frigedaes*, the 'Friday,' figures amongst the determinants of a boundary-line in the parish of Wivelsfield, Sussex.

[3] A Hünebed near Sleen in Holland is known by the strange name of 'The Parsonless Church' (Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 562).

[4] Jewitt, *Grave-Mounds*, p. 4. Saintbury, a parish of Glouces., is Sweyn's Barrow.

[5] Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i, 280) thinks that it was probably here that king Nectan accepted Christianity and founded the 'Church of the Holy Trinity' mentioned by Bede (*H.E.* V, xxi).

[6] 'Maries' represents A.-S. *maere*, 'boundary-mark' (Hutchins, *Dorsetshire*, i, p. 346); cf. 'Mare Hill,' a barrow at Throwley in Derbyshire (Bateman, *Ten Years' Digging*). 'Gospel Hillock' is probably parallel with 'Gospel Oak,' referring to the custom of reading a portion of scripture at certain points in the course of beating the bounds of the parish. Herrick alludes to 'the holy oak, the Gospel-tree.'

[7] Warne, *Anc. Dorset*, p. 43. At the present time circular churchyards are few in the district. That of Pentridge is still sub-circular; that of Gussage St. Michael yet more markedly so; and those of Farnham and Tollard Royal both show evidence of their having been originally circular.

× and Wanborough in Wilts

form 'Kirkway' is recorded from the Norse area of Wirral, Cheshire.[1]

A manor in the parish of Hemington, six miles south-west of Bath, bore the name of Highchurch. It is now represented by a solitary farm-house on high ground (Highchurch Knap, 500 ft.) commanding a wide outlook. Collinson was doubtless correct in saying[2] that this was 'said to be the spot where the original parish church stood,' but such 'church' was probably nothing but a burial-ground, a *ciric*. There are several noticeable barrows in the locality, if there be none now discoverable on Highchurch Knap.[3] Roman remains are frequent in the vicinity.

'Wild Church Bottom,' in Verwood, Dorset, seems to take its name from the peculiar knolls, curiously like barrows, which are the most striking features in the scene[4]; but another 'Church Bottom' near Ebbesborne Wake, Wiltshire, contains a small rectangular earthwork of about $\frac{3}{4}$ acre,[5] and yet another in the parish of Broad Chalk once showed 'a small square work'[6] now vanished. Heywood Sumner describes[7] four square works in the New Forest, all precisely similar in their small area (about $\frac{1}{3}$ acre), and their feeble defences; and to three out of the four attaches the name of 'church.'[8] In Wiltshire again 'a small square entrenchment with a regular entrance to the east,' on the site of the British settlement near Ell Barrow (Willesford), 'is vulgarly called Church Ditches.'[9] Stukeley mentions three different sites in Wiltshire to which attached the name of 'Old Chapel.' One of them was 'an entrenched square work' near Balmore Pond, near which were several barrows.[1] A small and feeble rectangular earthwork at Chelwood Gate in Ashdown Forest, Sussex, goes by the name of the 'Danes' Churchyard.' The vulgar error which sees a church in all and any remains of ancient masonry will not explain these names, for there is no visible sign of masonry about any of the sites, nor any tradition thereof. The explanation must be found in the supposition of the peasantry that all these works were burial-places and therefore 'churches.'

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[1] Near Meols (anciently Kirkby Meols, i.e. Kirkby in the Sandhills). Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis* is quoted as asserting (1718) that there had formerly been a church there called 'Lee's Kirk, near a narrow land called Kirkway.' The name had disappeared in 1859, and Lee's Kirk, it was then suggested (*Trans. Lancs. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* xi, 228), was a blunder for Liscard, said to be written Liscark in old records. There is no reason to impugn Gastrell's specific assertion.

[2] *Hist. Somersetshire* (1791), ii, 454. He mentions another manor in the parish by name of Huntminster, 'which seems to imply a church there in Saxon times.' Here he is probably right, for *minster* and *ciric* were different things.

[3] 'Knap,' the modern 'knob,' suggests a barrow. Near Corsham, Wilts. is Chapel Knap, where once stood a chapel (Editor's note to Aubrey, *Topog. Collections for Wilts.* p. 80).

[4] For another explanation, see *Arch. Journ.* xxiv (1867), 169.

[5] Figured by Heywood Sumner, *Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, pl. xxxvi.

[6] Colt Hoare, *Ancient Wilts, South*, p. 247.

[7] *Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 61.

[8] One is 'The Churchyard' in Sloden Wood; the other two, at Denny Wait and Ashurst, bear the name of 'Church Place.' The writer tells me that he has heard a shepherd speak of the rectangular (Bronze age?) work on Martin Down (Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, Vol. iv) as 'The Church' or 'Church Place.'

[9] Colt Hoare, *Ancient Wilts, South*, p. 175.

In Scotland the generic term for the early Christian burial-places was *kil*, which is still general in the Western Isles. As one goes east or south it becomes increasingly rarer, displaced either by the Gaelic *cladh* or by the Saxon *kirk*. Neither *kil* nor *cladh* has made good on the English side of the border.[2] Occasionally, and chiefly in the west, is found the term *teampul*, as in Ireland, for the structural church, and still more rarely *tigh*, 'house' (Irish *teach*). In England the term 'temple,' not rare in place-names, usually has reference to the order of knights templars. The Latin *ecclesia* is found sparsely in both Scotland and England, but whereas in England it can scarcely be shown to date from the period preceding the confessed domination of the Latin Church,[3] in Scotland it may go back to the Scotic time.[4] In both countries the majority of the few *ecclesia*-names are unquestionably of late origin, referring to this or that great monastic church to which the ground belonged. In not a few cases the substitution of the Saxon *kirk* for older terms can be verified from documents. Thus the ancient chapelries of Kilbride and Kilblane are now absorbed into the parishes of Kirkmabreck (Kirkcudbrightshire) and Kirkmahoe (Dumfriesshire) There are still an Ecclesmachan in Linlithgow and an Ecclefechan in Dumfriesshire, both ancient names,[1] but as a rule the word *ecclesia* has been translated by the Saxon. The most familiar instance is Falkirk, of which the older name was Eaglaisbreac. *Breac* is Pictish for 'speckled,' and *fal* is Anglo-Saxon for the same. The Saxon found existing a structural something, and translated—or fancied he translated—its name.[2] There is another and more obvious instance of the same kind in the case of Chirk. The old Welsh name of the place was Eglwys y Waen, 'the Church in the Water-meadow.' The Saxon contented himself with translating the word *eglwys*,[3] and dropped the rest. If there was here any structural church at the time of the change, it was not of a kind to attract remark, for otherwise the Saxon would have called the place *mynstre*. As it is, the number of *minster*-names is singularly small, the *Gazetteer* showing only two which are parallel with such *Domesday* names as Ecclesfield and Eccleston, viz. Minsterley in Salop and Minsterworth in Glouces., together with the small group of three Mistertons (for Minsterton) respectively in Notts., Leicestershire and Somerset. Clearly the Saxon was determined to have his own way, and got it. He would have either *mynstre* or *ciric*, or he would ignore the Church altogether.[4]

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[1] *Abury* (1723), pp. 47-8.

[2] Kilpeck in Herefordshire (*D.B.* Kilpeete; 1130, Cil Pedec) is almost the only certain instance outside Cornwall, and this is less English than Welsh. Killforge in the same county is probably for Kilnforge. Most English place-names in *kil-*, if the modern spelling has any connexion with the original forms, derive either from personal names such as Ceolric and Ceolfa, or from Scandinavian *kill*, *kell*, 'chill,' 'cold'; but Kilkhampton (N. Cornwall) is referred (Dew, *Hist. of Church and Parish of Kilkhampton*, p. 2) to *Killock*, a diminutive of *kil*, still the name of a farm in the parish.

[3] English names deriving from *ecclesia* are Eccles (Lancs., Hereford, Norfolk, Kent), Ecclesall (Yorks.), Ecclesbourne (Derby, Sussex), Ecclesfield (Yorks.), Eccleshall (Staff.), Eccleshill (Lancs., Yorks.), Eccleston (Lancs., Ches.). Eccleshall was long the residence of the bishops of Lichfield. With this cf. Chrishall (Essex), once Cristeshala, Dewsall near Dewchurch (Hereford), and Birdsall (Yorks.), once Brideshala (*D.B.*). In Norfolk was a manor of Kirkhalle (*Paston Letters*, no. 962).

[4] For Scottish *ecclesia*-names see Mackinlay, pp. 65 *sqq*.

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[1] St. Machan was a disciple of St. Cadoc. St. Fechan was abbat of Fother in West Meath in the time of St. Kentigern (sixth century).

[2] *Ecclesia de Eggles-brec, quae Varia Capella dicitur* (1166). See Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*. Unquestionably *Varia Capella* translates the name of Falkirk, but that Falkirk is actually a translation of Eaglais-breac is not so certain, although it was meant to be. Quite possibly the suffix refers in reality to a lost saint: there was a St. Bricius, a nephew of St. Martin of Tours, who died 444, and whose name may survive in that of Kirkmabreck, which occurs twice in Scotland. See Mackinlay, p. 138; McClure, *British Place-Names*, p. 208. In Cornwall again is a parish and church of Breage (St. Breage or Breaca), and Brize Norton, Oxon., preserves the name of St. Brice or Britius. Prof. Allen Mawer suggests that possibly the 'church' was of black-and-white (half-timber) work, and finds the same meaning in the Herefordshire Vowchurch; but we do not know that at the date in question *kirk* had come to denote a building of any kind. Perhaps the reference in 'speckled,' if that be the original word, was to some peculiarity in the construction of the wall surrounding the *eaglais*, e.g. a mixture of quartz with darker stone, such as is found in the Keeill-churches of Man, and in some of the Scottish stone circles.

[3] This was the view of Sir John Rhys, and in *Pipe Rolls* of 1166 occurs the form (Castle of) Chirch. Others connect Chirk with Ceiriog, the name of its river.

[4] As Latin was the Church's *lingua franca*, there is no reason why *ecclesia* should not have made its way into Saxon place-nomenclature at any time after 600. None the less there is no showing that it did so at a date prior to the supremacy of the Latin Church.

As with *eglwys*, so with *llan* and *kil*. Of the latter there is but one certain English instance outside Cornwall, viz. Kilpeck. *Llan* occurs once or twice on the northern border, in Lanercost and in Lamplugh[1] near Whitehaven; beyond the border it is rare and usually disguised,[2] though it was once common. In Cornwall it is very common, and it is traceable here and there throughout the adjacent area as far as the Parrett and along the Welsh border into Cheshire. Street, near Glastonbury, was anciently Lantocai,[3] but the name remains in Lana[4] in Pancrasweek, three miles north-west of Holsworthy in Devon, and rationalised to Land-[5] in Landrake (Llan-Indrauc), Landcross (*D.B.* Lanchers, later Lancars), and Landkey (Llan-Kea). Possibly it appears also in Langport in Somerset. Lancaut in Glouces. preserves it, as does Landican in Cheshire; but it is not easily traced at any point remote from the 'Celtic Fringe.'

Where the Saxon found *llan*, chiefly along the Welsh marshes and in Dyfnaint, he commonly translated it. Occasionally he wrote 'church' for *llan*, as is Kentchurch (*Lib. Landav.* 1130, Lann Cein; 1205, Ecclesia S. Keyne) and Kinderchurch (*Lib. Landav.* 1130 Lann Cinitr; 1291, Ecclesia S. Kenedri; both representing an original Llangynidr). Much oftener he wrote 'stow,' as in Peterstow, Hereford (*Lib. Landav.* 1130, Llanbedr), and in Bridstow, Hereford (*Lib. Landav*, Llan Sanfreit, Lann San Bregit).[6] Doublets are not rare: thus we have Felixkirk, Yorks. and Felixstowe, Suffolk; Peterchurch and Peterstow, both in Herefordshire; Chadkirk, Ches., and Chadstowe, Staffs.; Dewchurch, Hereford, and Davidstow,

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[1] Apparently for Llan-plwyf; cf. the Breton Ploulan (for Ploelan, i.e. Plwyf-llan). The catena gives Lamploch, Landploc, Lamplo, Lamplou, Landplou and Lamplow (Sedgefield, *Place-Names of Cumb. and Westmor.*).

[2] Lanark is Old Welsh Llanerch, 'clearing,' and Lamlash is the 'llan of Molaise.' Lumphanan stands for Llan-Finan; cf. Lumphinans in Fifeshire. Others are Langmorn (Llan-Morgan) and Langcote (Llan-coit). Scotland has also a Lanbride (Llan-bryd).

[3] From the circular churchyard has come Roman pottery.

[4] The site of an ancient chapel.

[5] According to Joyce (*Irish Place-Names*) the older Irish form of *llan* was *land*; cf. Elmham Sandcroft, the popular pronunciation of Elmham St. Cross, Norfolk. Hentland in Herefordshire represents an original Hên-llan. Flann in Herefordshire may stand for Llan.

[6] The examples from Herefordshire are cited from W. St. Clair Baddeley in *Trans. Bristol and Glouces. Arch. Soc.* xxxix (1916). Wonastow (St. Wonnow or Wynwaloe), Mon., appears in early records as Llanwarrow (W. J. Rees in *C.B.S.* Supplementary Notes, p. 11), with intermediate forms Walwaristow, Wonewalstow, and Owenstow.

Cornwall[1]; and perhaps Marhamchurch, Cornwall, beside Morwenstow in the same county.[2] There are two places named Michaelchurch and a Michaelstow, many Kirkbrides and Bridekirks along with Bridestow, Bridstow, and Bristol.[3]

The absolute Stow occurs in Cambs., Glouces., Hunts., Lincs., Norfolk and Radnor; and Stowe absolute is found in Bucks., Lincs. and Staffs.; just as in Lancs. we have the absolute Church.

*Stow*-names are common in North Cornwall, Devon,[4] and Herefordshire; fairly common in Mercia and East Anglia; they grow rare beyond the Humber, and Scotland has but one example.[5] In south-eastern England, except in the compound Plaistow and its cognates, they seem to be almost unknown.

The assertion that the word *stow* was applied to places where were stored things for sale is based upon the solitary case of Chepstow, Mon., representing Ceapstowe,[6] 'the stow of the chapmen (merchants),' which is taken to mean 'the place where the merchants stowed their goods.' The name in almost every other instance having obvious reference to relics,[7] or at any rate to religion, there is a presumption that the same is true of Chepstow, and that the more correct rendering would be 'the stow where the merchants met.' As fairs and markets were customarily associated with holy places, whether pagan or Christian, this interpretation is consistent with facts and finds a parallel in Suffolk, where the place at one period known simply as Stow has come to be qualified as Stowmarket, because of the business which gathered there.[1]

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[1] The form Dewchurch preserves the Welsh Dewi (David), and the pronunciation of the Cornish Davidstow is locally Dewstow. St. David's in Pembrokeshire is similarly styled in *Shires England* 5, *circa* 1300 (cited in N.E.D. from *O.E. Miscell.*: 'Tha breade of Engle londe is threo hundred myle brod from Dewyes steowe to Doueran'), and the neighbouring district is still called Dewsland. St. David's cathedral is the traditional scene of the saint's burial.

[2] But Miss Arnold-Forster (*Studies*, ii, 250) refers Marhamchurch (Marwenecherche, 1275) to a St. Merewenna or Marvenna, said to have been an abbess.

[3] McClure (*Brit. Place-Names*, p. 294) would explain Bristol rather as 'Bridgestow,' comparing the Bricg-stowe of *A.-S. Chron.* 1051. Bricg is almost certainly Bridgit (Bride) originally, though a later confusion with 'bridge' is not unlikely; cf. Bridgewater for Burh-Walter. One Bricstouuard held land in Somerset in *D.B.*

[4] The Somersetshire Stowey has a different origin, says J. S. Hill (*Place-Names of Somerset*), viz. Stealh-weg, 'steep way.' *Stow* was liable to be confused with *stall*; cf. Plemondstall beside Plegmundstow, Plaxtol beside Plaistow, Laistowe beside Laystall. Stow, stall, and stool, all go back ultimately to the same root. See *N.E.D.*

[5] In Wedale, on the borders of Selkirk and Edinburghshire.

[6] '*Commercium*, *ceapstou,' in Hessel's *Eighth-Century Latin and A.-S. Glossary*. It is so used in S.V. of Bede, *H.E.* II, i, and in a charter of earldorman Aethelred (886-899) printed in *Diplomatarium*, p. 137. There is no catena for the name of Chepstow, which is usually called by its Norman-Welsh name of Striguil (Estrighoel, Strigulia). It is said to have once borne the name of Casgwent.

[7] See Appendix D. The most notable exception (?) is Plaistow(e), on which see below, ch. xxvi, but others are Cotstow (now Costowe) and Wicstow (now Wistow). 'In charters *stow* is often applied to a place to which some real or fancied sanctity attached,' says G. B. Grundy in *Wilts. Arch. and N.S. Mag.* 1921, p. 353: cf. Allen Mawer, *Place-Names and History*, pp. 16-17.

Used at one period generically of any 'place,' the word came to bear the special sense of the 'place of a holy man,' and finally the 'place of (his) relics' or 'place of burial.'[2] The growth of the special meaning can be seen in the S.V. of Bede, where *stow* renders the *mansio* of the Latin original or denotes the cell of a Scotic monk.[3] Next it is used of the common ossuary to which were translated the bones of the dead in the monastery of Barking (p. 214); and finally of the spot where were enshrined the bones of St. Chad[4] at Lichfield (ch. iv). It will be remembered that *halgastow*[5] was one Anglo-Saxon term for a cemetery or churchyard. *Stow* was also long in use to denote the 'shaft' or 'adit' sunk by a miner,[6] and the transition to that sense from that of 'grave' would be easy and natural. In the West Country such forms as Stowborough and Stowbarrow[1] are common names of sepulchral barrows, and at Stoneleigh, Warwick, was a Mutstowehull.[2] The word seems always to have retained something of the implication of careful concealment of something precious for the purpose of safeguarding it, which still belongs to the modern verb ‘to stow,’ or ‘to bestow.’

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[1] Where the name of the differentiating saint has been lost, there has usually been added some distinctive epithet, just as happened with the multitude of Kirkbys (p. 280); and this epithet is either topographical (as in Long Stow, West Stow, Stow Upland, Stow-on-the-Wold) or proprietary (as in Stow Bedon and Stow Maries, from the family of Mares or de Marys). Stow-Nine-Churches, Northants. is difficult to explain. Bridges (*Hist. Northants.* i, p. 87) asserted that it alluded to 'nine churches to which the lord of the manor had a right of presentation,' referring to *Registrum Ric. Gravesend Ep. Linc.*; but Prof. Hamilton Thompson assures me that that prelate's *Institution Roll* for the archdeaconry of Northampton fails to justify this assertion. Possibly there were once nine townships in the parish, which is a large one. Or the name may in reality refer to the river Nene (anciently Nyne). The church was the depository of the relics of St. Alnoth (Aelfnoth; cf. Alstoe), a servitor of St. Werburgh (seventh century), who was here murdered.

[2] cf. J. W. Blight, *Ancient Crosses and Other Antiqs. of West Cornwall* (1872), p. 113: 'The piece of ground, or the Acre of God, which in those days was wont to be set apart and hallowed *for the site of a future church*, was called . . . the *Stowe* of the martyr or saint who gave name or origin to the altar-stone.'

[3] e.g. the cell (*aancorstowe*) of Dryhthelm at Old Melrose (p. 241, *n.* 3) and the *desertum* of Wihtberht in Ireland (*ad locum peregrinationis*; *to thaere leofan stowe*) in *H.E.* V, ix, § 379.

[4] *Ofer his byrgenne stowe*, Bede, *H.E.* IV, iii, § 265. The Benedictine abbey of SS. Mary and Helen at Elstow was founded towards the end of the eleventh century by Judith, a niece of the Conqueror. The abbey church did duty for a long time as the parish church, until (*c.* 1350) a chapel of St. Helen, which stood in the churchyard, was made to serve the purpose, 'to avoid the inconvenience caused by the chanting of psalms in the nave of the monastery' (*V.C.H. Beds.* i, 353). So there evidently existed a building of some sort on the site of the original *stow*, but seemingly not of sufficient size, as it then was, to serve as the parish church. It was rebuilt, and doubtless enlarged, by one Ivota (op. cit. p. 354).

[5] cf. *Trin. Coll. Hom.* 207, 'He haueth . . . gon . . . seldere thenne he sholde to his chirche and to othre holie stowen.' For the *chirche* also was at that date primarily the place of burial.

[6] See citations in *N.E.D.*

In early charters the word recurs constantly, sometimes applied to known monastic foundations, sometimes contrasted with such a known foundation as *mynstre* is contrasted with *ciric* (p. 226), but almost always with the implication of a burial-place. Aethelberht of Wessex grants (864) privileges to the *halgan stowe* at Sherborne, ‘where resteth the body of king Aethelbald.’[3] The great monastery in Winchester is the *halga stow in Wintanceastre.*[4] So that of Stow in Lindsey[5] and that of Horton.[6] Lands are bequeathed, not to *mynstres* or to *cirics*, but to *halgan stowan.*[7] When a member of the Abbotsbury Gild is dead, the Gild shall bring the body *to thaere stowe the he to gyrnde on his life*, ‘to the place of burial which he desired in his life.’[8] In Aelflaed's will (*circa* 972) we have ‘the *halga stow* at Stoke, in which my parents rest.’[9] Stow had in fact come to mean what to-day we call a ‘shrine,’[10] regarded as a place of worship. But in as much as the graves of great men were still, as they had always been, the scenes of sports and games, the rise of the name *pleg-stow* (*hodie* Plaistow, etc.) to denote other stows of less devout significance, possibly many of them in the first instance confessedly pagan places of burial, is easily understood. The identity of stow, tomb, relics, and altar, as late as the tenth century, is proved by the records of manumissions of serfs at Bodmin (St. Petrock's), where the act is said to take place *aet Petrocys stowe*, *aet Petrocys wefode*, or *on Petrocys reliquias* (*Latiné*, *super altare S. Petroci*) Occasionally occurs the expression *to mynstere*, or again *hie her laedan hider to mynstere and her gefreogian on Petrocys reliquias*. Once occurs *gefreod on tune*, which, if it does not actually mean *on ciric-tune*, at any rate echoes the fact that the *ciric* represented the *tun*, and that the terms were correlatives (ch. xxvii). On the other hand serfs are said to be bought *aet thaere cirican dura*, ‘ at the gate of the *ciric* (*tun*).’ There was an obvious symbolism in the distinction, for the *ciric* was itself a place of sanctuary : the serf passed into it to his freedom, out of it into bondage.[1]

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[1] Stowborough in Dorset is a decayed borough, where are some notable barrows. In *D.B.* it appears as Stanberge. Stowborough occurs as a boundary mark in the old Forest of Mendip.

[2] Bosworth has *thingstow* and *gemotstow*, both meaning ‘meeting-place’; and a goodly number of the Hundreds bear names in *stow*. The meeting-place of the Hundred of Hinckford in Essex was at Mustoe, which probably represents Moot-stow (*Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* xviii (1927), p. 294). The *stow* in all these cases was almost certainly a barrow, so that the word might be synonymous with *beorh* in its more usual sense of ‘burial-place.’

[3] *Diplomatarium*, p. 125.

[4] ibid. pp. 158, 226, 235.

[5] ibid. p. 371.

[6] ibid. p. 389.

[7] ibid. p. 540.

[8] ibid. p. 607.

[9] ibid. p. 522.

[10] cp. the place-name Skreen (Lat. *scrinium*, ‘shrine’). There are three parishes of this name in Ireland (Meath, Sligo, and Wexford), and it occurs also in Scotland (Mackinlay, p. 10). Skreen in Meath was anciently Scrin Choluimcille. The name would seem to be the exact Celtic equivalent of the Saxon *stow*.

Stow is rarely used of a structural dwelling, except in such compound forms as *wic-stow* and *eardung-stow*, although it is one way of rendering Bede's *mansio*, ‘ place of abode.’ When used as a place-name it denoted either the place where some saint was verily buried, or a place enshrining some relic of a saint or otherwise closely associated with his life or death. Thus Hibaldstow in Lincolnshire was probably the actual burial-place of St. Hygbeald[2]; Dingestow in Monmouthshire is the Saxon translation of the Welsh Merthyr[3] Dingad, the place of St. Dingad's death ; and the name of Redbornstoke, a hundred of Bedfordshire, probably stands for Raedburh's Stow.[4] But of three Wistows (Hunts., Leices., Yorks. E.R.) and a Wistanstow (Salop), two at any rate had no real association with St. Wigstan.[5] Holkham (Norfolk) was anciently called Withburgstow, as having been the place where St. Withburga passed her childhood[6]; and a place called Alftham in Lincolnshire, perhaps identical with West Halton, was anciently

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[1] *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 9087 ; *Diplomatarium*, pp. 623, *sqq.* Bodmin is Bodmanaccan, ‘ the monastery.’

[2] A skeleton, believed to be that of the saint, accompanied by a bishop's crozier, was found in 1876 beneath the western tower of the church. Hygbeald is mentioned in Bede, *H.E.* IV, iii, § 264.

[3] This term is not recorded from any of the Saxon areas. Martyr Worthy in Hants. appears to take its name from one John la Martre, who in 1251 conveyed the advowson of the church (St. Swithun) to the Priory of St. Swithun in Winchester (*V.C.H. Hampshire*, iii, 325). It has been thought that the so-called St. Martha's Chapel, near Guildford, is in reality Martyr's Church (Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii, 510).

[4] *Place-Names of Beds. and Hunts.* p. 67. Raedburh was a female.

[5] Those in Hunts. and Yorks., both representing Wic-stow, are tentatively explained (*Place-Names of Beds. and Hunts.* p. 228) as meaning ‘ site of the royal manor-house.’

[6] Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii, 371.

Etheldredstow, tradition asserting that the saint's staff had there miraculously budded.[1] Other such places which have lost their earlier names are Swaffham in Norfolk, anciently Guthlacstow,[2] and Netley in Hants, once Edwardstow.[3] In some cases remains the name of the saint only, as in St. David's (Pemb.), once Dewistow, St. Albans (once Albanstow), and the Cornish St. Neots (anciently Neot's Stow). In the case of Elstow, Beds., the popular St. Helen has been substituted for some Saxon saint unknown,[4] and this is no isolated case. Such places as Virginstowe and Warbstow, both in Cornwall, may conceivably have had some actual association with St. Bride and St. Werburgh respectively, but clearly such others as Marystowe (Corn.), Peterstow and Jacobstowe can have obtained their names only from the possession of reputed relics of their eponyms, unless indeed the names arose merely from the dedications of their burial-grounds. Churchstow in Devonshire owes nothing to the word *ciric*, but is derived from the favourite West-country saint Cyric.[5] The Devonshire Christow again has nothing to do with the name of the Saviour, for it appears as Christinestowe and Cristenestou in 1259-1280, and as Cristenestowe in the *Taxatio*, apparently 'Christian's Stow.' This last may be a proprietary name, like Fulstow and Godstow (respectively the *stows* of Fugel and of Goda) and Plemondstall (Plegmund's *Stow*), names exactly parallel with such others as Baschurch, Ormskirk and Bedminster.[6]

Stow and Stowe enter into the names of eighteen present-day English parishes, and only in a few instances is it possible to discover in whose honour the spot was originally named, as with Stowe by Lichfield, originally Chadstowe, the actual scene of the saint's last days, at once his *mansio* and his grave. Most of the remainder have come to be distinguished by particular epithets, but at least five parishes are still Stow or Stowe without qualification, and at one time the name was vastly commoner. So were its compounds, such as Stowford. There is to-day a parish[1] of this name in Devonshire, but *Domesday* gives at least three Stowfords in that county alone,[2] while Lysons[3] mentions no less than eight. It is easy to understand how the original qualifying saint-name should come to be lost. How many persons are to-day aware of the dedication of their parish church, save indeed in a town, where a plurality of rival churches has kept alive the dedication of each ? It is quite possible that in some cases there was never any distinctive name, the early Christian place of burial being spoken of merely as *the* Stow. It may be added that in no case in which the dedication of a *stow*-church is known, is it anything but ancient, and that many of the *stow*-names stand upon known Roman roads or upon spots which have yielded Roman remains.[4]

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[1] Op. cit. ii, 367. According to another story (Thomas of Ely, *Angl. Sacra*, i, 598) Stow-in-Lindsey was the scene of the miracle.

[2] Op. cit. iii, 365.

[3] Edwardstow was also an alternative name for Shaftesbury, whither were translated the relics of king Edward the Martyr in 901. Stow-St.-Edward again was the older name of Stow-on-the-Wold, but whether the eponym here was the Martyr or rather the Confessor is not certain. In the case of Netley it was probably the Confessor, to whom and the Blessed Virgin was dedicated the Cistercian abbey there founded in 1239.

[4] *Place-Names of Beds. and Hunts.* p. 70.

[5] Ecclesia de Churicstowe, Churcstowe, in *Taxatio*.

[6] The word is entirely disguised in Bunsty, which is explained as Buna's Stow, but 'such compounds of *stow* with a personal name not known as a saint's name are uncommon' (*Place-Names of Bucks.* p. 5).

It is possible that, in the early days when *ciric* still denoted merely the circular burial-ground, and before the building of any permanent 'church,' the term *stow* meant very much what in Welsh was termed the *mynwent*, the one particular grave or reliquary which gave special sanctity to this or that burial-ground. Whether it was applied to any sort of building is not clear, but it would possibly come to be applied to the wooden building which was the earliest structural church, and which, to judge from the analogy of Wales and Ireland, frequently stood upon the actual grave of the local saint. There is an approach to this usage in the Saxon Version of Bede's account of the shrine of St. Chad at Chadstowe (ch. iv). But beyond question the normal Saxon term for any such ' church ' was first *bedehus* and subsequently *mynstre*. *Ciric* does not appear to have come to mean any sort of building before the time of king Alfred, and then not usually.

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[1] In its churchyard stands a pillar stone bearing in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules the name of GURGLES. It is said, however, not to occupy its original site (*Reliquary*, 1895, p. 228).

[2] Estaveforda (*Exeter Book*, Staveford) in Braunston Hundred; Estaforda (*Ex. Bk.* Staford) in Hundred of East Budleigh; and Estatforda (*Ex. Bk.* Staford) in Lifton Hundred. In some of these forms *stow* represents an original *stan*, 'stone' (*P.-N.* vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 55) or *stoc*, 'place' (ibid. p. 56).

[3] *Magna Britannia*, *Devonshire* (1822).

[4] Thus Stow in Lindsey stands beside Till-bridge Lane (Lindum-Segelocum); Stow-Nine-Churches on Watling Street; Stow-on-the-Wold on the Fosse Way; Wistanstow on the Shropshire Watling Street; Long Stow, Cambs., on the Old North Road. Roman remains in more or less abundance have come from Stow Langtoft and Felixstowe, Suffolk, Horkstow and Hibaldstow, Lincs., and Elstow, Beds.

Very remarkable is the difference between the Saxon and the non-Saxon parts of the map in regard to the incidence of place-names recalling saints. In the Celtic areas such names meet one everywhere, but in the Brythonic eastern parts of Scotland they are noticeably fewer than in the Goidelic west, and in the Saxonised Lowlands they are rarer still. There is not in the whole of Saxon England, a single place-name recalling St. Aidan.[1] St. Chad seems to have been the most fortunate of all. But excluding the counties which border upon the Celtic areas, ancient England musters little more than a score of parishes which record a saint by his undisguised name. On the other hand Cornwall alone has more than seventy such names. Were it not for the group of *stow*-names already discussed, there would be scarce one name of Saxon hagiology surviving in a form recognisable by the layman. Of the thirty *minster*-names, more or less, not a solitary one commemorates a saint by name,[2] and where the name of a saint of the Saxon time occurs at all, it is usually in combination with some element of studiedly secular meaning, e.g. Ebchester[3] in Durham, and Patrington[4] in Yorks. (E.R.). The same is largely true even of the Latin saints, as witness Peterborough[5] and Petersfield. Of the few saint-names which do occur, most are those of the Roman Calendar, such as SS. Andrew, Lawrence, Leonard, Margaret and Catherine, and are frequently late usurpations. The place now called St. Neots[6] in Hunts. was so named only after the translation thither of the relics of the Cornish saint of that name in the tenth century, and similarly the name of St. Ives in the same county has supplanted the older name of Slepe found in *Domesday*.

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[1] When Bishop Lightfoot came to Durham he could say that there was not a solitary church in his diocese dedicated to the saint who was the first bishop of the northern English (Lindisfarne). The omission has been remedied since. In Scotland used to be an Inch Aidan, now Kenmare, a parish of Perthshire (Mackinlay, p. 299).

[2] Unless Leominster be the exception.

[3] Named after St. Ebba (abb.) : cp. the Tunnaceastre of Bede (*H.E.* IV, xxii, § 318).

[4] Said to be for ' Patrick's *tún*.'

[5] The earlier Medeshamstede (p. 229).

[6] The older name was Ernulfsbury.

In far the greater number of cases the saint-name has been added to distinguish one from another village of the same name, e.g. the three Gussages in Dorset and the six Elmhams clustered together in Norfolk.

Something of this is doubtless due to the studied policy of the Roman Church, which deliberately replaced the earlier saint-names, Celtic and Saxon, by names of Latin saints, and not seldom refused altogether to recognise the claims of the expropriated to saintship of any kind.[1] Theodore at the first opportunity reconsecrates in the name of St. Peter that ancient little church of Lindisfarne[2] which the Saxon Christians rightly regarded as the cradle of their faith; and under the same archbishop is built a new church of St. Peter at Lichfield, to supersede that older church of St. Mary near to which was first buried St. Chad.[3] In somewhat less uncompromising fashion the Normans introduced their French saint-names of St. Denis, St. Devereux and others. The Saxons protested indeed, but perforce acquiesced, and this doubtless accounts for the number of *stow*-churches which have no eponym. But contrasting the stubborn persistence of Celtic names on Celtic soil one doubts whether the difference of attitude displayed by the Saxons was not mainly temperamental. St. Cedd selected for his place of retreat a 'haunt of wild beasts' near Helmsley, there lived, and there presently died (664) in the odour of sanctity, a widely known and justly loved prelate, whose relics wrought miracles about the spot and brought thereto the pilgrims of many centuries. Yet when Bede was writing, some seventy years later, its name was merely Lastingaeu,[4] with never a reference to the saint. It would be easy to gather other examples. The facts are in part explicable by the essential difference between the social systems of the Celts and the Saxons. In Wales there were few villages until Christianity created them, and therefore the waste places (*deserta*) in which the saints made their settlements may commonly have had no individual names as yet. In Saxon England it would seem that the greater part of the soil was already blocked out amongst owners, whether these were individuals or communities, so that even Cedd's 'haunt of wild beasts' was parcel of the territory of the Lastings, whose name that of the saint could not supplant nor ever has supplanted.

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[1] For a similar policy as exercised in Wales, see Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 331.

[2] Bede, *H.E.* III, xxv. § 225.

[3] ibid. IV, iii, § 265.

[4] ibid. III, xxiii, § 218. It is now Lastingham.

In lieu of *llan* or *kil* the Saxons adopted the term *ciric* (*circ*), the ancestor of our 'church.' What precisely did the term denote? As both *llan* and *kil* signified not a building, but a precinct only, it might be suspected that *ciric* had the same meaning. At the present day most people wrongly imagine *llan* to mean a structural church, and at the present day it is traditional—possibly as incorrectly—to understand *kil* in the same sense. At the present day 'church' certainly denotes a structure. But what has happened with *llan* and *kil* may equally well have happened with *ciric*. If this word was used as early as 616 for something different from *mynstre*, and continued to be so used for some three centuries; if the Saxon Translator of Bede twice uses it to render the Latin *coemeterium*; if anything in the shape of a structural church was anomalous in England until many years after the first appearance of the word *ciric*; there is reason enough to doubt whether the word originally meant a building of any sort. The evidence clearly shows that it meant a precinct only, namely the circular Christian *limes* which the Scotic missionaries introduced into England. If so, the Saxon *ciric* denoted precisely the same thing as did the Irish *kil* and the Welsh *llan*. And if there are discoverable any cases in which the word still attaches to circular precincts, these will be so much confirmatory evidence. As the original *limes*, whether monastic or otherwise, was in the first instance a burial-place, a barrow, any instance of the name's attaching to a barrow or other sepulchral monument will have the same value. One or two such cases have been mentioned already (p. 258), and a few of many others may be added.

In Scotland 'the name of *kirk* constantly attaches to circles,'[1] with or without peristaliths, which are commonly accounted prehistoric. In Aberdeenshire and Banffshire stone circles are sometimes known as 'temples' and as 'chapels'; and 'in the parish of Ellon there is a place called Tochell[1] (i.e. below the chapel), from one of these monuments which stands near by on high ground.' Another circle in the parish of Aberlour, Banffshire, was called Leachell Beandick, 'Blessed Chapel.' It is now destroyed. In the parish of Peterculter, five miles from Aberdeen, 'I myself . . . sent one of our number to ask the name of another (circle), and was told it was called the "Old Chapel."' In the parish of Gamrie, Banffshire, 'Chapel Den' was so named from an adjacent stone circle.[2] 'On the shore of Inverness' is said to have been 'a monument of two circles of stone' known as Chapel Piglag, 'from an old lady who worshipped there before a chapel was built in the district.'[3] The circle of Greystone in Alford, Aberdeenshire, was also known as the 'Auld Kirk'[4]; a circle on the borders of the parishes of Tough, Cushnie and Cluny in the same county was called 'Kirk o' Tough.'[5] A 'triple concentric cromlech of white stones' in the parish of Auchterless is called 'The Kirkhill,' the site of a vanished circle on Tofthills farm in Clatt is 'The Sunken Kirk,'[6] and a similar site at Fetternear in Inverurie is 'Chapel o' Sink.'[7] These three again are all in Aberdeenshire. The assertion that in the Highlands the term *clachan* denotes indifferently a stone circle or a church,[8] is certainly true with limitations. In Wigtownshire also was a parish of Clayshant, i.e. Clachshant ('Holy Stone'), now embodied in that of Stoneykirk.[9] A group of standing stones in Sandwick, Shetland, is known as 'Holy Kirk.'[10] In none of these cases is it hinted that there ever existed any building which might account for the name. In other cases there are or have been buildings actually within the circle of stones, as at Bennachie, six miles north-east of Alford, and at Daviot, both in Aberdeenshire.[11]

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[1] *Archaeologia*, i, 339.

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[1] *Chell* here, and in Leachell, is the Gaelic *cil*, Irish *kil*, and the renderings should be 'below the *kil*' and 'Blessed *kil*' respectively. Thus in Scotland, as in Ireland, *cil* denoted a circular precinct presumed to be sepulchral. 'Chapel' is a late Roman substitution for *cil* (*quasi cella*), just as kirk is a Saxon substitution in such names as Falkirk (p. 262).

[2] The foregoing are cited from *Archaeologia*, i (1779), p. 339.

[3] J. K. Walker in *Gents. Mag.* 1863.

[4] *New Statistical Account of Aberdeenshire*, pp. 449, 613.

[5] Mackinlay, p. 130.

[6] *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxi (1897), p. 93.

[7] ibid.

[8] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 10; Pennant, *Tour in Scotland* (1774), i, 274.

[9] Mackinlay, p. 405.

[10] op. cit. p. 130.

[11] That at Daviot was still visible about 1817; *New Statistical Account*, xii, 822; *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxvi, 517.

Two of the fallen pillars of another circle are embedded in the wall of the churchyard at Kinnellar,[1] and at Culsalmond the sexton, when digging graves, used to come upon the fallen stones of a circle.[2] 'The map records the site of a stone-circle in the graveyard of the ruined chapel of St. James', between Insch and Leslie Castle.[3] Indeed it is said that to erect churches on such sites was in Scotland 'not infrequent.'[4] The old church of Midmar,[5] near Echt, twelve miles west of Aberdeen, and that of Marnoch in Banffshire stood close beside cromlechs—there were three in the parish of Midmar, one of them 'remarkably large'—while the more modern churches have been set actually within the ring of stones.[6]

Hector Boece[7] is authority that in the early part of the sixteenth century the general tradition of his country declared the 'druidical' circles to have been places of sacrifice in heathen times. Unquestionably some of them were so, but it would seem that others were not improbably places of Christian worship in the otherwise heathen times of the transition. 'These circles,' said Col. Forbes Leslie, 'were selected as places of Christian worship by the early Christians, and are often called *churches* both in Gaelic and in Lowland Scots, although no Christian church ever occupied the site.'[8] So J. M. Mackinlay: 'There is reason to believe that our early missionaries chose the neighbourhood of groups of standing stones as sites for their places of worship. This they did probably because the inhabitants of our land assembled at such spots for ceremonial purposes.'[9] It is clear that there was some intimate connexion between the stone circle and the kirk, and that this connexion, dating back into the earliest days of Christianity, still subsists subconsciously.

The same association of 'church' and 'circle' is found south of the Border, and notably in Strathclyde. Near

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[1] *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxvi, 504. There were others still visible in 1846 (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*).

[2] *New Statistical Account*, xxxix, 731. *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxvi, 577.

[3] *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxvi, 536.

[4] Cordines, *Antiquities and Scenery of Scotland*, p. 34.

[5] *Old Statistical Account.* The new church was built only in 1787.

[6] Mackinlay, p. 403, citing from Longmuir's *Madyn Stane of Bennachie.* The latter writer saw that herein was the explanation of the presence of certain pillar-stones, etc., within the precincts of churchyards or embodied in the walls and foundations of old churches.

[7] *Chronicles* (1527).

[8] *Proc. Brit. Association*, 1871.

[9] Mackinlay, p. 403.

Silecroft, Whitbeck, Cumb., was a group of circles, three of which were still recognisable in 1842, counting respectively thirty, twelve, and eight stones.[1] They were known as 'The Kirkstones' or 'Gutterby Kirkstones.' Another, near Lacra, two miles north-west of Millom, Cumberland, was called the 'Old Kirk.' The site of a third near Dalton in the same county is known as 'Chapel Flat,' and the great circle at Swinside is called 'Sunkenkirk.' On the moors between Ilkley and Keighley is a spot called 'Kirk Stones.' There are, or were, many barrows in the vicinity, and the map marks a stone circle. On Stanbury Moor, south-west of Keighley, is 'Ponder Kirk.' At the present time it appears to be nothing but a cluster of natural rocks, but that once it was something different is suggested by the local tradition that it was 'the only place where folks could get properly married.'[2] On Ringstone Moor near Halifax was a spot called 'Oyden (or Ogden) Kirk,' probably once marked by the cromlech which gave to the moor its name of Ringstone. But the capital examples are the work still known until 1846 as 'The Kirk,'[3] at Kirkby Ireleth in Furness, and that called Towtop Kirk, near Bampton in Cumberland.

'The Kirk' in Kirkby Ireleth is a perfectly circular unfossed ringwork of earth and stone, 75 ft. in diameter, enclosing a perfectly level garth, lying near Gill-house beck at a distance of one mile ENE. from the present church of the parish. The vallum has a width of from 6 to 10 ft., and extreme height of 2 ft. 10 ins., with an entrance 6 ft. in width opening to the south-east. There is no fosse. In 1846 it was described by C. M. Jopling[4] as having once carried a peristalith, which had been removed for building-material, ‘ not many years ago.’ Jopling, who held to the traditional view—still current in the locality—that all such works were ‘ druidical,’ remarked the ‘ somewhat singular ’ fact that ‘ the original appropriation of the circle is still recorded by tradition,’ for the natives asserted ‘ that it was a place where their ancestors had worshipped,’ and he observed that its name of ‘ The Kirk ’ was curious.

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[1] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* s.v. WHITBECK. Murray's *Guide to the Lakes* describes them as having each had 'a pair of stones forming a kind of entrance on the east side,' as in many Irish *killeens*. They are now all but destroyed. One of these circles was formed of two concentric rings of stones (J. K. Walker in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1863), and 'an ancient round called Kirkshead,' in Westmorland, is also mentioned (ibid).

[2] cf. the popular traditions in regard to the Stone of Odin, or Thor's Stone, at Stenness. At Ponders Kirk also there is said to have been a perforated stone, through which couples used to join hands in betrothal. This information is due to F. Villy, M.D.

[3] The name appears to be now lost. H. Swainson Cowper (*Archaeologia*, liii, 389 *sqq.*) gives details of a number of very similar works in the same district, to none of which is the name of 'kirk' said to attach.

[4] In *Archaeologia*, xxxi (1846), 450. The accompanying plan shows four stones, set like the four pips upon dice, in a group immediately outside the vallum on the north. H. Swainson Cowper (in *Archaeologia*, liii (1893), 389), though dismissing the plan as 'conventional and useless'

This earthwork is further of interest in that it was for an unknown series of years the meeting-place of the neighbourhood on Easter Monday, when, the lord of the manor presiding, the afternoon was spent in wrestling, dancing, leaping, and hurling ; nor was the custom discontinued until, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the president for the nonce unluckily fell and broke his thigh.[1]

‘ The Kirk ’ is circular. The association of games with the spot is good evidence that it was a sepulchral monument.[2] It is exactly such a circular burial-place as the Saxon Version of Bede would style a *ciric*. It is scarcely possible to doubt that the name is old—that this is a genuine case of the application of the term ‘ kirk ’ to a spot from times long antecedent to the building of structural churches ; and that other circular sepulchral monuments—ringworks, cromlechs, and barrows—were called ‘ kirk ’ and ‘ church ’ because the original *ciric* was a circular place of burial.

Towtop Kirk, in the parish of Bampton, Cumberland, is a similar but less regular enclosure on high ground above the moorland slope called Towthwaite, ‘ opposite to Moorah Hill, beyond the Con Beck, and about twenty yards from the latter.’ In plan an irregular oval (145 ft. by 125 ft.), it is enclosed within a low vallum built of stones collected from the moor, and has no fosse. Those

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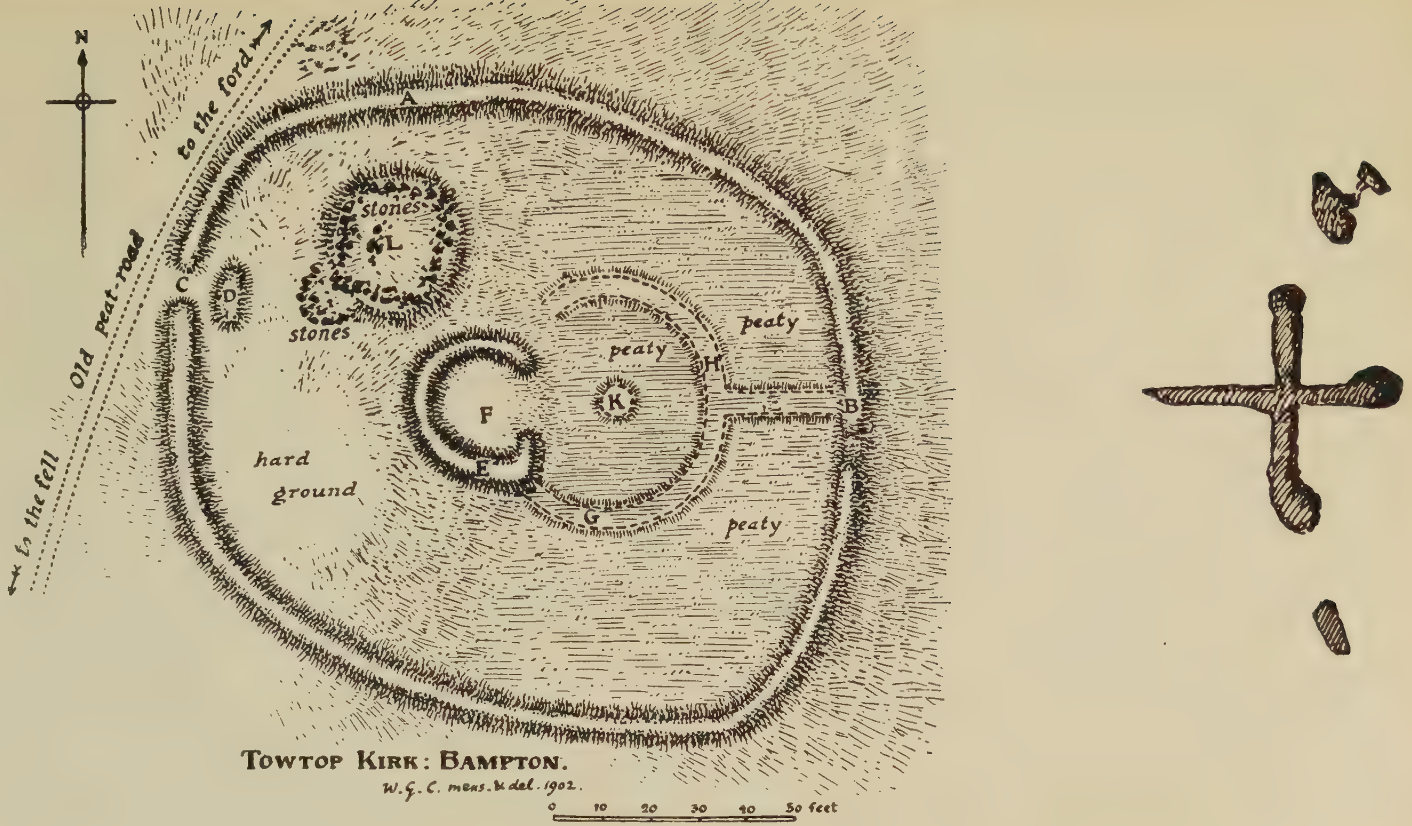
endorses most of Jopling's observations, but regards the stones (of which he counted six) as possibly the remains of avenues. The site appears never to have been scientifically explored.

[1] *Archaeologia*, loc. cit.

[2] There is a considerable cairn some 350 yards to the north, and other indubitable sepulchral remains in the vicinity. At Urswick, some four miles to the south, was another group of remains including the ‘Stone Walls,’ an oval work (350 ft. by 315 ft.) girt by a ten-foot stone vallum. In the centre was a small circular enclosure, radiating from which were irregular walls dividing the whole into compartments. See the plan in *Archaeologia*, liii. The stone circle of Sunbrick (diams. 88 ft. and 75 ft.) lies a few miles to the east. H. Swainson Cowper has remarked the likeness between the ‘ Stone Walls ’ and the Celtic *cashels* of Ireland and Scotland, comparing also ‘ a supposed British *rath* near Kirkby Lonsdale ’ ; for which see *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. Soc.* vi, 111.


N
to the ford
Old peat-road
to the fell
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
K
L
stones
stones
peaty
peaty
peaty
hard ground
TOWTOP KIRK: BAMPTON.
W. G. C. mens. & del. 1902.
0 10 20 30 40 50 feet

TOWTOP KIRK: PLAN, AND INSCRIBED CROSS

*(By permission of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society).*

*The scale applies to the plan only.*

who explored it, considering it to be 'a small example of the British Settlement with rudely circular rampart and hut circles . . . of whatever date can be given to the other examples of this type,' looked for traces of a palisade upon the vallum, but looked in vain. The area has been greatly cut about by peat-diggers, but there remains in the centre the unmistakable ring-wall of a hut (diam. 20 ft.), built exactly as was the outer vallum and therefore probably contemporaneous, with an entrance facing east. It had been 'paved with flat stones set in clay,' and 'soot and small fragments of charcoal were found in the joints of the stones." The entrance of the enclosure lies at the west end, opening upon an old track which leads to a ford on the Con Beck; and at a spot a few feet within this entrance was found a broken stone upon which had been cut a very small,[1] but unmistakable, Latin cross. An authentic alternative for the name of Towtop Kirk is that of Bampton Old Kirk.[2] This name, and the finding of the carven cross, throw light each upon the other.

The great 92-foot stone circle at Swinside, parish of Millom, Cumberland, has an almost contiguous peristalith set upon a bottom of small rammed stones, with an entrance from the south-east. Thoroughly explored, it has yielded no trace of any interment, and no indication that any building ever occupied the area.[3] Yet to this also attaches the similar name of 'Sunkenkirk.'[4] It belongs without question to the class of larger circles which were certainly not sepulchral, and probably were moots.[1] Inasmuch as science with all its efforts has not yet satisfactorily distinguished between peristalithic and other ringworks which are sepulchral and those which are not, it would not be surprising if earlier generations should have failed to do so and should have written down this particular work as sepulchral simply because it superficially resembled many other peristalithic works which were understood to be burial-places, and should therefore have styled it a 'kirk.' But it is also possible that, though the presence of graves was and is a constant feature of kirks (churches), this was no part of the original meaning of *kirk*, and that the stone circle was called a *kirk* solely because of its circular plan. A sub-circular *rath* overhanging Loch Roan, parish of Crossmichael, Kirkcudbrightshire, is yet known as the 'auld kirk of Loch Roan.'[2] Cases like the last prompt the belief that *caer* and *kirk* have been confused: thus Kirkhill, near Kirkoswald in Ayrshire, has been thought to stand for Caerhill and to have reference to an earthwork there[3]; but reading that this earthwork, 'not quite circular,' is on the *outside* of its fosse and has a circumference of 221 paces only, one doubts whether there be any such confusion. The earthwork is plainly one of a somewhat rare class of ringworks which are usually held to have been not defensive, but 'religious,' whether sepulchral or not. It is certainly not what is understood by the term *caer*. So with Kirkmagill, in the parish of Stoneykirk, Wigtownshire. Sir Herbert Maxwell explained it as Cathair mic Giolla, 'MacGill's Fort.' 'There are,' he says, 'ruins here . . . but nothing to indicate a church.'[4] If the ruins indicate a ringwork, it is not needful to seek further for the origin of the ‘ kirk ’ part of the name. The apparent identity of the names of ‘ church-field ’ and ‘ round field ’ in Cornwall has been mentioned (ch. xx), so that there is a good deal of evidence that any circular *limes* might be called Kirk or Church. It is, however, remarkable that these names seem never to be applied to any veritable hill-fort, no matter how strikingly circular its plan. They appear to be extended only to works which were not military, whether sepulchral or not.

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[1] It is described as being 'about an inch and a half in length, evidently ancient and artificial.'

[2] For further details, see *Transactions Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. Soc.* N.S. iii (1903), p. 265, where it is stated that the late 'Chancellor Ferguson thought *kirk* was derived from *circus*.' There is a local tradition that Bampton village once stood hereabouts.

[3] *Proc. S.A.* II, xix, 98.

[4] The ground, dry when the circle was built, subsequently became boggy. At the present time it has been drained, and is again dry. 'Kirk Sinkings' is the name of the boggy ground on the west of The Kirk, Kirkby Ireleth. Such names as 'Sunkenkirk' or 'Sunkenchurch' are not infrequent. The current explanation having been that all such sites had once borne structural churches or chapels, which had so to say 'sunk' into the ground, i.e. gone to ruin, the excavations at Millom were satisfactory in so far as they disproved any such explanation. The use of 'sink' in such names is good Anglo-Saxon; cf. Orosius (Saxon Version) ii, 6, *from burgum ond from tunum on eorthan besuncon* (Latin Version, *de ruinis villarum oppidorumque*); ibid. iii, 2, *twa byrig . . . on eorthan besuncon* (Latin Version, *duae civitates . . . abruptis locorum hiatibus devoratae sunt*). Similar names attaching to the sites of *buildings*, Roman or later, often reflect the vulgar error that any old mason-work must be ecclesiastical, a belief which itself presumes a time when mason-built churches were almost the only kind of stone building to be seen in country districts. Such are Kirk Sink, Gargrave, W.R., apparently a small Romano-British farmstead (*Bradford Antiquary*, 1911), and Sunkenchurch, Ickleton, Cambs., which seems to have been the site of a *basilica*.

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[1] It is 'eminently suited to be a hypaethral temple . . . I suggest this may have been the chief purpose of it' (C. W. Dymond in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Soc.* v, pp. 56-7).

[2] *New Statistical Account, Kirkcudbrightshire*, p. 196; *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xvi, p. 153.

[3] Mackinlay, p. 420, citing John Smith, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire.* Westerkirk, one of the 'five kirks of Eskdale,' is probably so called because it lay furthest west, but Mackinlay (p. 126) would have it stand for Wester Caer, the name of a hamlet and sometime manor in the vicinity. Kirkclaugh in Anwoth, Kirkcudbrightshire, is said to represent Caerclach (*Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxvii, 167).

[4] *Studies in Galloway Topography.* The names of Kirkintilloch (Kirkentaloch, 1200) and Caerpentaloch would seem to be genuine cases of the confusion of *caer* with *kirk* (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i, 153). In this case, however, the earthwork is a true *caer*, i.e. a quadrangular Roman fort (*castra*). In Wales a sharp distinction is usually drawn between the quadrangular and other shapes: the former are called *caer*, the others *castell*: cf. on Carmichael and Carluke, above, p. 196. There was a constant tendency for the Cornish *cruk* to give way to *car* (i.e. *caer*): thus the modern Carclew and Carplight stand for earlier Cruclew and Crucplight.

Kirkby or Kirby[1] is one of the commonest of English place-names. It is Scandinavian,[2] as the suffix shows, and must have arisen from the establishment of a Scandinavian settlement at or near a *kirk*. What were the *kirks* in question ? The first recorded Scandinavian incursion, that of the Danes, occurred only in 787, and ninety years later was made the peace of Wedmore (878). The earliest of such settlements cannot therefore date before the ninth century,[3] and up to that time there were few or no structural churches of stone outside the monasteries. Even within the monasteries the churches were with few exceptions still built of wood, and as the Dane made the monasteries his chief object of attack, plundering and burning them until there was scarce one left unscathed throughout northern, eastern, and southern England,[4] it is not clear how there could survive even the ruins of such structural churches in numbers sufficient to account for the long list of Danish kirk-names on the English map.[5] Moreover it has been shown that at that date the word *kirk* (*ciric*) did not denote any building at all. The word for a structural church was *mynstre*, and the fact that there is not a single Minsterby or similar Danish name in the *Gazetteer*, is proof that, in the Danelagh at any rate, few or no structural churches can have survived. The Danes could and did easily destroy both monasteries and *mynstres*. They could not so easily destroy the *ciric*,[1] the circular precinct which, alike in monasteries and elsewhere, marked a Christian place of meeting,[2] nor was it worth their while to try. That survived, and its name also; and when at last the Dane settled down to a peaceful occupation of the country, he found about him many such *kirks*. The Danish village which grew up beside such a *kirk* might not unnaturally be called Kirkby.[3]

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[1] In Curthwaite, Cumberland, occurs another spelling of the word *kirk*. But *Kirk* is not the original of all Kirby-names, as witness Cold Kirby (*Place-Names of North Riding of Yorks*, p. 197).

[2] It rarely occurs except in the areas known to have been settled by the Danes and Northmen. The exceptional case of Horton Kirby in Kent is due to the land's having at a later date passed into the hands of a family named Kirby. This explanation will not account for Kirkby in the Berkshire parish of Inkpen. There was evidently a Scandinavian colony here : witness the name of *Nothing* Hill, in Kingsclere, once the site of the Hundred-moot. A few yards away from Kirkby (House) is a curious mounded enclosure, small and sub-circular, which may very possibly be the original *ciric* to which the name refers.

[3] Such names ‘ must have arisen mostly between 877 and 919,’ says Prof. Ekwall (*Introd. Eng. Place-Names*, p. 55).

[4] Alfred's *Preface* to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral*.

[5] ‘ Very few of the religious houses which perished during the Danish wars ever rose again from their ashes. The cathedral and city monasteries were almost the only exceptions ’ (Stubbs, *Chron. and Mem. Ric. I*, p. xviii). This statement is demonstrably exaggerated, but in his *Preface* to Gregory's *Pastoral* Alfred says that even south of the Thames the Danes' ravages had reduced land and people to barbarism at the close of the ninth century. The case of Northumbria must have been even worse, as the visitation had lasted so much longer. In the non-Danish areas names analogous to Kirkby, etc., are few. Evidently, as Kemble

From the churchyard of Kirkheaton, 11 miles north-east of Hexham and a mile west of the Roman road ('The Devil's Causeway') from Hunnum to Trimontium (Old Melrose), has come a series of carven 'Celtic' crosses, which, says W. G. Collingwood,[4] carry back the continuity of the primitive Church there to the earliest years of the ninth century. Here then was a Christian burial-ground, a *ciric*—of a structural church of that date there is no proof at all—at least half a century before the Danish pacification, and to that *ciric* the name of Kirkheaton must have originally referred.

The inscription[5] at Kirkdale (p. 232) tells us that before Orm's 'minster' was built there had been a church there. There is no reason to think that it was other than of wood, and it can therefore have dated only after the pacification of 878. But when the Northmen settled on the spot they distinguished it from others as 'the dale where was the kirk.' So here too they must have found a *ciric*, a circular Christian burial-ground.

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thought, on the south and in Wessex most of the A.-S. settlements had already won to names of their own which survived the storm, whereas in the north and the east many of the old Saxon names had perished, to be replaced by Danish *-bys*, *-dales*, and *-thwaites*.

[1] For the 'destruction' of *cirics* recorded in *A.-S. Chron.* 684, see above, p. 230, *n.* 3.

[2] If this was, as it probably frequently was, one of the new intra-mural *cirics* lately made in accordance with archbishop Cuthbert's order (ch. xxv), it would be the more likely to attract the invaders' notice.

[3] The name is therefore in form and in meaning exactly parallel with Barrowby (*D.B.* Berghebi), which occurs once as a parish near Grantham, and twice in hamlets near Leeds.

[4] *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, 1916.

[5] It is attributed to a date between 1056 and 1065.

It is hardly possible to doubt that Kirkby in Furness derived its name from the adjoining ringwork still called 'The Kirk,' but if this be incapable of proof it yet remains to explain how that ringwork comes to bear its peculiar name. It has not the smallest resemblance to a church, nor is there any evidence that it ever included a structural church of any kind. On the other hand, as it is in appearance exactly such a circular burial-place as the Saxon Version of Bede terms a *ciric*, it must owe its name to its peculiar plan and 'kirk' must signify a circular enclosure.

Closely parallel is the name of Kirkabost (O.N. *bōstr*, 'homestead') in Great Bernera, Isle of Lewes. Here are the ruins of a stone circle so large as to have been described in 1842 as 'only paralleled by those of Stonehenge and Stenness.'[1] Here too is the old burial-ground and site of the vanished chapel of St. Macra (or Macrel), an early Scotic missioner.[2] In this case the first element in the name of Kirkabost might be held to refer either to the stone circles or to the burial-ground, but either way 'kirk' must again denote a something circular, and Kirkabost means 'the homestead beside the kirk.'[3]

It would be unreasonable to expect that in every case there should survive to-day in recognisable form the original *kirk* from which the multitude of English Kirkbys are named. Rather it is remarkable that there should yet survive such striking examples as those cited. In the great majority of cases the *kirk* is presumably the original Christian graveyard of pre-Danish times, and with the conversion of the Danes many of such graveyards would once more revert to their original purpose—would become the churchyards of the villages—with small chance of preserving unspoilt through the centuries their circular form. But here and there are traces of the thing which gave its name to one or other Kirkby. The churchyard of Kirkby Wiske near Thirsk (N.R.) is still in part circular and mounded ; so is that of Kirk Hammerton, 10 miles west of York.

That the term *ciric* was in use long before the first coming of the Danes is proved by its appearance in the *Laws* of Ethelbert and Wihtraed. There is therefore no reason why some at any rate of the place-names of which ‘ kirk ’ or ‘ church ’ is a constituent should not go back to the very beginning of Christianity in England.[1] The total number is not large, and while some are obviously named in honour of this or that saint, others as obviously preserve the name of the layman who gave the ground or made the *ciric*, and yet others that of the priest who served it. Bede mentions one ‘ Tunna, a priest and abbat of a monastery in the place still called after him, Tunnaceastir ’[2]; and the names of other men and women would be perpetuated in the same way and for the like reasons, although it may be impossible at this date to decide whether such persons were lay-folk or otherwise. Baschurch in Salop keeps the name of Bassa, as Colkirk in Norfolk that of Cola, Honeychurch in Devon that of Huni, Pucklechurch[3] in Gloucestershire that of Pucla, and Alvechurch in Worcestershire that of a woman named Aelfgyth. Achurch in Northamptonshire is the ‘ *ciric* of Asa,’ as Lillychurch[4] in Kent is the ‘ *ciric* of Lilla.’ Aelfgar and Orm are commemorated in Algarkirk (Lincs.) and Ormskirk (Lancs.). Both were Danes, like him who rebuilt St. Gregory’s minster at Kirkdale. Hornchurch[5] in Essex perhaps commemorates another such benefactor, as also Hawkchurch in Devon and Ashchurch[6] in Gloucestershire and Offchurch[7] in Warwickshire. This last certainly goes back to the name of Offa, though not necessarily to that of the great Mercian king (757–795).

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[1] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

[2] T. S. Muir, *Ecclesiastical Notes*, p. 57.

[3] Very possibly Kirkabost has supplanted some such older Gaelic name as Kilmacra.

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[1] Such names as Kirklington and Kirtlington have mostly nothing to do with *kirk*, but Kirklinton in Cumb. stands for Kirk Levington.

[2] *H.E.* IV, xxii, § 318. The date is *circa* 679. The S.V. reads Tuna and Tunanceaster. The place was apparently in Northumbria and on a Roman road, possibly Tunstall near Sunderland, in which case Bede might easily have heard Tunna’s miraculous story, as he avers, from men who knew the persons concerned.

[3] McClure suggested (*British Place-Names*, pp. 274-5) that in this name (*A.-S. Chronicle*, 946, *aet Puclancyrcan*) *cyrca* may be ‘ a modified form of the British *cruc* (= *tumulus*).’

[4] It is now the name of a house only, five miles north of Rochester, but it was once a village with its own church. See Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, p. 10.

[5] The popular etymology of the name of Hornchurch refers it to ‘ the old industry pursued by the pelt-mongers or skinners, who settled here and prepared raw hides for the market. Over the eastern gable of the church there is a sculptured bull’s head bearing a pair of natural horns, with obvious allusion to the accepted etymology’ (Worley, *Essex*) ; and Prof. Allen Mawer thinks the name may possibly refer to the fashion of the architectural ornaments of a (structural) church. The name of Hornchurch does not appear in *D.B.*, but the personal name Horn is well attested.

[6] Hawk (Hafoc) and Ash (Aesc) were common personal names.

[7] Ofechirche in 1300 : cf. Offley in Warwickshire (*D.B.* Offeleia), and Offlow, a barrow and Hundred in Derbyshire (Bateman).

Some few names commemorate the saint to whom the church was dedicated. Romaldkirk (Yorks.) keeps the name of St. Romuald (Rumbold), as Kirkoswald (Cumb.) and Oswaldkirk (Yorks.) more doubtfully preserve that of the saint-king who died at Maserfield in 642. Peakirk (Northants.) is certainly named from its foundress St. Pega (714), a sister of St. Guthlac; and the farm-house of Ilekirk in the parish of Westward (Cumb.) is said to tell of a hermitage of St. Hilda which once stood there. Chadkirk[1] in Cheshire requires no explanation. Ludchurch in Pembrokeshire may be a Saxon attempt to render its Welsh name of Eglwys Lwyd.[2] The foreign-born Felix—Bede says he was from Burgundy—who missionised in East Anglia about 636 is perpetuated in Feliskirk (Yorks.) and Felixstowe (Suffolk). Christchurch[3] explains itself. Dymchurch[4] in Kent, Bonchurch[5] in the Isle of Wight, and Vowchurch[6] in Herefordshire are puzzling. Laithkirk, now a chapelry of Cotherstone, 'a plain rectangular building 60 ft. by 20 ft.' with a western bell-cote, is said to have been originally the tithe-barn of the rectors of Romaldkirk,[7] and Stokenchurch, Bucks, means merely

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[1] *D.B.* Cedde. Earwaker (*Hist. Cheshire*) says there is no mention of a structural church there before the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

[2] In *Myvyrian Archaiology*. Mediaeval forms are Londeschirche 1353, and Londchirche 1377, where the first element represents *llan*. As the church is dedicated to St. Elidyr, the place may have at one time been called Llanelidyr. The name of Ludchurch attaches also to a natural gorge in the rock on the moor above the river Dane, south of Buxton, and popular etymology explains it either as the scene of Friar Tuck's exhortations to Robin Hood and his men, or as a place in which nonconformists used to meet for worship. The latter explanation has been advanced to explain Church Barrow (p. 259) and Wildchurch Bottom (p. 260). A third Ludchurch (Ludcerce) is recorded in *D.B. Notts.*, for which see McClure, *British Place-Names*, p. 235. It seems to be 'Hlude's Church,' and the same name reappears in Lowdham (*D.B.* Ludham), Ludlow, Ludborough (Ludeburg), and Ludford.

[3] *A.-S. Chron.* 1058, *aet Christes cyrcean.* Johnston (*Place-Names*) cites from *Gesta Steph.* 1160, the form Cristiciria (? Christi-Curia).

[4] McClure (*British Place-Names*) suggested 'the dim-church,' citing *dimhus* and *dimhof* from Napier's *O.E. Glosses*, but the site appears to be much too old for the name to refer to any building. It is a Roman site on which have been discovered 'vast quantities of crockery from Samian to coarse Upchurch ware,' as well as interments, and 'there is evidence that the site had never ceased to be occupied.' One would look for a personal name, possibly that of Diuma, the first (Scotic) bishop of Mercia (656-8). He was in office when Penda's son Wulfhere conquered the East Saxons and took in marriage a Kentish princess.

[5] *D.B.* Bonecerce. The current interpretation, 'St. Boniface's church,' is not satisfactory, nor is Johnston's suggestion of 'prayer church' (A.-S. *ben*). It probably involves a personal name.

[6] So spelt as early as 1291, but Fowechirche and Ffoweschirch in 1316. In Dorset is Frome Vawchurch (pronounced Vochurch), which appears in *D.B.* as simply Frome. Does the second element refer to some grantee of the manor who himself owed his name to the Herefordshire Vowchurch?

[7] *V.C.H. Yorks.* iii, 126; Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, i, 142. In Yorks. and

'log-church.'[1] Churchover in Warwickshire is more correctly written Church Over, the name appearing as Church Waver in 1300, Chirche Wavre in 1327. The prefix therefore is merely distinctive[2] as in Kirk Ella (p. 287), Kirk Sandall (*D.B.* Sandale), Church Eaton (*D.B.* Eitone), Church Knowle (*D.B.* Knolle, Chenolle) and Church Icombe (*D.B.* Iacumbe), and the name probably derives from A.-S. *wafre* 'aspen, poplar.'[3] Overchurch in the Wirral, Cheshire, refers to the situation of the original church, as does also its alternative name of Upton[4]; and is parallel with Upchurch in Kent—the *ciric* standing up above the marshes—with Upminster in Essex, and with Highchurch (p. 260). St. Mary Abchurch in London is said to be a corruption of St. Mary Upchurch, because it stands on relatively high ground. Handchurch in Trentham (Staffs.) representing *Hean-ciric*, has the same meaning, and is parallel with Hanbury, Henbury, Henbarrow and Handborough, possibly also Hendon. Fenchurch may mean the 'church in the Fen,'[5] but Dunchurch (Warwick.) contains the same personal name seen in the neighbouring Dunsmore Heath.[6] Newchurch in Kent speaks for itself, but the name is at least as old as *Domesday* (*Newchirche*), and in any case does not necessarily connote a structural church.[7] Eastchurch is said to signify the 'church which lay east of the monastery,' i.e. of Minster in Sheppey, and a similar explanation is to be found for such names as Southminster, Westminster, and Southchurch. The last-named place (*D.B.* Sudcerca) lies at the southern end of an ancient road which here

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Lancs. the word *lathe* or *laithe* still means 'barn' (*N.E.D.*). The building is said to date from the fourteenth century only.

[1] *Lignea capella . . . Anglice Stockin appellata* (*Cart. Sax.* no. 458). The name can have arisen only when wooden churches were rarities, and must therefore be either venerably old or fairly new. It is not known before *c.* 1200 (*Place-Names of Bucks.*, p. 194).

[2] It was simply Wara in *D.B.*, Waur and Waure in 1257.

[3] cf. Wavertree, the place now called Poplar, and the many places called Ash or Nash.

[4] 'Upon a knoll' (Ormerod's *Cheshire*). From the site of the original church came the 'Aethelmund Stone' and a stone (1887) with a runic inscription and an interlaced pattern like that of the stones found at West Kirby (*Research*, 1887). There was a large Scandinavian element in the population of the Wirral.

[5] cf. Church (or Kirk) Fenton, Yorks. There was a *D.B.* manor of Fenna, identified with Stow Maries (*V.C.H.* Essex, i, 394).

[6] Dunkirk in Kent is a modern name, borrowed from the cross-Channel port of Dunquerque and alluding to the fact that the locality was a favourite resort of smugglers. Dunkirk in Kells, Kirkcudbright, is explained as 'grouse-hill,' but that explanation will not suit Dunquerque, which would naturally mean the 'church amongst the dunes.'

[7] There are six parishes of this name in the *Clergy List*, and all are ancient.

reaches the Essex coast. Berechurch in Essex means the 'church in the wood (*bearw*),' and the same meaning underlies Woodchurch (Kent and Cheshire), Woodkirk[1] (Yorks.), and Skewkirk (O.N. *Skógr*, 'wood'). Ivychurch occurs in Kent and in Wiltshire, and in the latter case at any rate is to be understood literally, 'the *ciric* overgrown with ivy.'[2] Similarly Gracechurch (Gerschereche)[3] means the 'grassy *ciric*.' Such names may be compared with Felchurch in Washbrook, Suffolk, and Felkirk near Barnsley, both meaning the 'church in the field(s).'[4] There is mention of a Windcirice at Winchester in the time of Edward the Elder.[5] Not one of these names of necessity implies the presence of any building.

The oft-recurring Whitchurch and Whitkirk[6] in some cases undoubtedly refer to a building, presumably a white-washed building, and Whithorn (Hwit-earn, *Candida Casa*) goes back to the early years of the fifth century.[7] It is, however, not at all impossible that in some cases the names allude to the use of white materials to mark either the *ciric* as a whole, or the individual graves within the *ciric.*[1] To this day an English cemetery is frequently recognisable from a distance by its white headstones only.

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[1] This was also an earlier name (Wdekyrch) for Thankerton in Lanarkshire (Mackinlay, p. 126).

[2] *Elements of Engl. Place-Names*, p. 41. It is in the parish of Alderbury, and was written Ivechirche in 1278. Henry II founded here a small priory, which was therefore styled *Monasterium Hederosum*. The Kentish Ivychurch (Yvecherche in 1327) possibly has the same meaning, but there are some elusive saint-names (Arnold-Forster, *Dedications*, ii, 267) which might be involved, and Normandy also has an Yvecrique.

[3] Before 1053 Brithmaer of Gerschereche bequeathed to Christchurch, Canterbury, the *homestal thet he on set alre halgene cherche* (*Diplomatarium*, pp. 372-3). It is commonly said that this church of St. Benet, Gracechurch, London, was so called 'because it was in the grass-market.' The name of St. Mary Colechurch, London, is said to be borrowed from that of a Coldharbour close by, but possibly it is original; for if Coldharbour meant an abandoned 'harbour,' Coldchurch would signify an abandoned *ciric*: cf. Coldkitchen, the name of a large Romano-British burial-mound in Kingston Deverill (Wilts.).

[4] Otherwise explained as 'church of timber,' from O.N. *fjol*, 'plank.' The same meaning has been seen in Bradkirk, parish of Kirkham, Lancs., as if from N.-S., *brede*, 'plank'; but the prefix may equally well represent 'broad,' i.e. 'spacious.'

[5] *Diplomatarium*, p. 156.

[6] There are ten parishes so called in the *Clergy List*, some of which appear in *D.B.*, e.g. Witcerce in Dorset (Whitchurch Canonicorum). Wicerce of the *Exchequer Book* is Whitchurch in the hundred of Roborough, Devon.

[7] Above, p. 176. The Scotic missioners probably followed the pagan Irish practice of white-washing a *dun* or a *cashel*; cf. the Welsh habit noticed in ch. xviii. Whitland (for White-Llan) is supposed to preserve the memory of Paul Hên's monastery of Ty Gwyn, 'The White House.' So late as 1842 the church of Llanrug, 3½ miles from Carnarvon, was 'white-washed all over, not excepting the roof' (Lewis, *Topog. Dict. Wales*). The epithet 'white' was applied to many English churches and monasteries: in Glouces. is a parish of Whitminster, and the Norman name of Oswestry was Blancmoustier, 'White Minster.' In *Place-Names of Bucks* it is suggested (p. 86) that Whitchurch possibly means 'church of stone,' and an Assize Roll of 1262 is cited (p. 153) in which Great and Little Missenden are distinguished as Messenden Sancti Petri and Messenden Attewhytechirche. If Little Missenden was called 'Missenden of the Stone Church,' the name must have arisen at a time when Great Missenden did not as yet boast a church of stone. The church of Little Missenden is attributed to *c.* 1120, that of Great Missenden to *c.* 1340, though it is said that 'there was probably an earlier church on the site in the twelfth

In most place-names where *Church* or *Kirk* is the prefix, it merely serves to differentiate one village from another of the like name, as with the innumerable Kirk-towns of Scotland and the Church-towns of Cornwall. Thus *Kirk Ella*[2] (E.R.) is so called to distinguish it from West Ella, a mile away, and Church Honeybourne is so distinguished from Cow Honeybourne. In such cases *Kirk* or *Church* is no integral part of the place-name. In a few cases it may have reference to the exceptional size and dignity of the church,[3] and if so, it must obviously be a late epithet. Occasionally also it preserves the tradition of an ecclesiastical manor or similar accident. Kirkby Fleetham (N.R.) represents two separate *tuns* now fused into one.[4] In a few cases the modern Kirkby represents an earlier Kirkberg (Kirkbeorh), as the *Domesday* spellings show, and Monk's Kirby, on the borders of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, stands for Cyricbyrig of

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century.' Is there perhaps rather an allusion to the fact that at Great Missenden was an abbey of Black Canons founded in 1133; cf. the French Noirmoutiers? The much-quoted remark of Ralph Glaber, with reference to the frenzy of church-building which set in with the Norman conquest, is pertinent: 'It seemed,' he says, 'that the world was putting off its dingy vesture and donning a pure white robe.' Compare the words of Llewelyn Fardd, in the same century, that 'the face of Gwynedd was bespangled with white churches as the firmament with stars' (Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, i, p. 468; Hughes and North, *Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 97). In Langland's time (fourteenth century) to white-wash a church was still an act of piety (*Vision of Piers Plowman*, *Passus* iii), and up to that time the wash was usually applied to the outside only.

[1] Crushed quartz and white shells, especially cockles, are largely used thus at the present day. The practice is more frequent in the Celtic than in the Saxon areas, and would seem to be another instance of survival from anhistoric times. Mixed with the earth composing a barrow in Carmarthenshire—Crug y Bwdran; *Inventory*, no. 597 (i)—were such quantities of small white quartz stones as to 'suggest that the mound had been "iced" over with a white covering'; *Trans. Carmarthenshire Antiq. Soc.* xlv (1925), p. 27. The fact possibly explains the name of some out of the many 'White Barrows' of the map. In the Isle of Man, parish of Kirk Michael, a spot known by tradition as the site of a chapel proved to be 'a circle of white quartz boulders about 23 ft. 6 ins. in diameter, the inside area packed with small stones, mostly quartz' (*Proc. I.O.M. Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.* for 1914, p. 611).

[2] The old spelling was Elveley, which shows that the traditional connection with King Aella is wrong.

[3] 'It is possible that . . . places having Kirk as a prefix acquired that addition when the church was built in the churchyard ready for it, a churchyard already consecrated and hallowed by years of divine service and sacred memories.' John Nicholson in Andrews' *Curious Church Customs* (1895), p. 147.

[4] *V.C.H. Yorks*, iii, 320. It appears in *D.B.* as Chirchebi *and* Fleteham. It had 'a church and a priest' at that date.

the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*anno* 915).[1] A lost Churchfield[2] in Oundle means merely the 'field where was a *ciric*.'

The absolute Church, the name of a parish in Lancashire, is a modern form. It was anciently Kirk, and when Walcott wrote (1850) the place was actually Kirk Church. St. Mary Church, a parish in Devonshire, is the *Domesday* manor of Ste. Marie Cherche (*Exch. Book*, Cerce). Chirk in Denbighshire (Cirice in the thirteenth century) is a genuine Saxon rendering of the older Welsh name of Eglwys (y Waen), 'the church (in the meadow).'[3] Kirkham (Lancs. and Yorks.)[4] and Churcham[5] (Glouces.) may very well be amongst the oldest names in the whole series, and Kirkton (Kirton) [6] may be little, if anything, later.

As before remarked, *cryc* and *ciric* have constantly been confused,[7] and thus have arisen a number of names which have no authentic connexion with *ciric*. Amongst the commonest of these is Churchill (Oxon., Worces., Som. and frequently in Devon), which in most cases unquestionably stands for an original *Cryc-hyll*,[8] and is therefore in meaning identical with *Cryc-beorh*; although such a form as *ciric-hyll*, the 'hill where was a *ciric*,' would be as natural as Kirkbergh (p. 301), Kirkbarrow in Motherby (Cumb.), and Stowborough (p. 280). Churchdown in Gloucestershire again has nothing to do with *ciric*, as the earlier spellings (*D.B.* Circesdune, later Churchesdon) sufficiently declare; but whether the original reference in this case was to *cryc*,[1] or rather to the once popular saint Cyric, remains doubtful. The latter at any rate gave his name to Churchstow in Devon.[2] A medieval *Chircelford* in Dorset[3] would nowadays be written Crichelford, with reference to the *cryc-hyll* which gave name also to Long Crichel and More Crichel[4]; but Churchinford (or Churchingford) in Devon probably represents *ciricean-ford*, the 'ford where was a *ciric*.' Churchinford is to-day a hamlet of Church Stanton, but as it anciently had fairs on 25th January (Conversion of St. Paul) and on 6th March (SS. Sithney and Kyneburga) it is to be inferred that it had also a *ciric*. Church Stanton itself (anciently Cheristontone and Churistanton) has no connexion with *ciric*, nor have Churston Ferrers, Cheriton[5] and Chirdon.[6] Churchley in the parish of Abson and Wick (Glouces.) may have taken its name from the spot where stood 'an ancient chapel of St. Bartholomew, now entirely ruined.'[7] but the spelling Chercheslege (1228) suggests that it is parallel with Kirkley in Northumberland,[8] and goes back rather to *cryc* than to *ciric*.

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[1] Intermediate forms Chircheberie, Kirkberia, and Kirkeby. The last two occur in two successive charters in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 996. Mrs. Armitage (*Early Norman Castles*, p. 37) accepts Dugdale's identification with Cyricbyrig, remarking that 'the derivation . . . is not according to etymological rules, but there can be no doubt about it as a fact.' Normally Cyricbyrig should appear to-day as Chirbury, and the place so named has in consequence long passed as the site of Ethelfleda's *burh* of 915.

[2] *Cart. Sax.* no. 1129. There is no weight in the comment (*Place-Names of Worcestershire*, p. 107) that 'from the remote situation of this place it is exceedingly unlikely that there was ever a church here.' In Ragdon, a township of Hope Bowdler, Salop, is a grass field known as Church Field. An obvious barrow in the field explains the name: the barrow was once the 'church' (i.e. burial-ground) of the township. Probably a large number of such field-names admit of similar explanations.

[3] So Sir John Rhys in his edition of Pennant's *Tours in Wales* (1883), i, 345. He compares *perc*, the South Welsh form of the English *perch* (= a rod or pole). In Lincs. the peasantry still say that the chickens are 'upo' th' perk' (perch). Prof. Lloyd and Canon McClure refer the name of Chirk to that of its river the Ceiriog (earlier Ceirioc).

[4] The Yorks. Kirkham is Chercham in *D.B.*

[5] Chirchehamme in 1297. It does not figure in *D.B.* but there was a 'church' of some sort there in 1100 (*V.C.H. Gloucestershire*, citing *Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouces.* Rolls series, i, 250, ii, 40).

[6] In (Camden's) seventeenth-century English Kirton appears also as the phonetic equivalent of Crediton in Devon.

[7] Above, ch. xv.

[8] See *Place-Names of Worcestershire* (1927), pp. 106-109, where is collated the documentary evidence for the existence of two similar but entirely different O.E. words (*a*) *cryc*, a strong masculine with genitive in *-es*, and (*b*) *cirice*, a weak feminine with genitive *ciricean*.

*Kirk*-names are far fewer now than once they were. Sometimes the entire village has disappeared, as with Kirkby (*D.B.* Chercheberie, Kirkeby) near Deene in Northants, whereof now remains only the house called Kirby Hall.[9] Naturally there was a tendency to drop the *kirk* or *church*, as this came in course of time to be less distinctive: Kendal for example represents Kirkby-in-Kentdale.[10] This tendency was already active in the eleventh century: thus *Domesday* has Langetone for the present Church Langton (Leices.), Sandale for Kirk Sandall

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[1] The church appears to stand upon a barrow, possibly the *dun* (cf. Maldon) to which the second syllable refers.

[2] Above, p. 268. 'Cyric's stow' is quite consistent with other *stow*-names, whereas *ciric-stow* would be a meaningless tautology. Church Stow, the modern name for Stowe-Nine-Churches (p. 265, *n.* 1) is no parallel. St. Cyric, the familiar St. Cyr of France, is disguised under at least twelve other forms in that country, including St. Cirq and St. Cricq. The present dedication of Churchdown is to St. Bartholomew.

[3] *Cart. Sax.* no. 708.

[4] So C. A. Sayler in *Place-Names of Worcestershire*, p. 107.

[5] According to Johnston (*Place-Names*) Churston and Cheriton are doublets meaning 'Cire's Town.'

[6] 'Ciorra's town,' says Prof. Allen Mawer (*Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*).

[7] Rudder's *Gloucestershire* (1779), p. 212.

[8] Above, ch. xv.

[9] cf. Lillychurch, above, p. 283.

[10] Similarly Kirkby Lonsdale is Kirkby in Lunedale.

(Yorks.), Sigheston for Kirkby Sigston (Yorks.). Many such names are wholly lost: the *Domesday* name of Ulwineschercha (Essex) and Wlfrechirche of the *Taxatio* (Devon) can no longer be identified. Of Lestanescherche (1428) in Herts. there remains only the name of the donor (Leofstan) in the form Leyston. The present-day Newtown-Arlosh, Cumb., represents a place which as late as 1305 was Kirkeby Johan.[1] In other cases the patronal saint has usurped the field, as with St. Lawrence in Essex, representing the *Domesday* manors of East and West Newlands. On the other hand the ancient chapelry of Pontesbright (Essex) is now the parish of Chapel. The *Clergy List* shows four parishes of this name, all ancient dedications, besides five others where the name is qualified, as in Chapel-en-le-Frith and Chapel-en-le-Dale; but all names derived from *capella* are relatively late.

In previous chapters it has been argued that the meeting-places of Celtic paganism were uniformly circular, and that the Celtic name for such meeting-places was *cruc*. *Cruc* is philologically the same word as the Latin *circus*. The *circus* was shown to have been the primitive Italian moot, and evidence was adduced to show that, during the Roman occupation, the *circus* largely superseded earlier forms of Celtic moots in Britain. This being so, it is reasonably certain that the name *circus* would during the same period largely supplant the name *cruc*, and in fact it actually appears in Old Welsh in the form *cyrch* (ch. xi). At the beginning of the seventh century we find the word *ciric* in official use to denote a place where Christians met; and it has been abundantly shown that such places of Christian meeting were in the first instance uniformly circular. Moreover these, as was originally the case with the Celtic *cruc* and the Latin *circus* before them, were places of burial. Like the *circus* again, the Christian *kirk* was the official scene, not of the communal ritual only, but of all and every communal happening. Identical in plan, in origin, and in use, can there be any doubt that their names are also identical,—that *cruc*, *circus*, *cyrch*, and *kirk* are the same word?

Did the use of the Latin word *circus* for a Christian place of meeting arise in the time of the Roman occupation, i.e. before A.D. 410 ? It did not, for had this been so, there must have appeared further traces of the word in this sense in one or other of the surviving Celtic speeches. This means that the use of the word to denote a Christian place of meeting, an *ecclesia*, did not arise until after the departure of the Romans and the dispersal of the Britons. Obviously therefore it could not arise until the return of Christianity to Saxon England, in the last years of the sixth century. It was therefore the Saxon who first used the word in this sense. For upwards of 1,000 years thereafter *ciric* (*church*) stood for the most important factor in English life, and in consequence this word tended to thrust itself in, in defiance of the older philologists and to their sore confusion, as the names above discussed amply prove.

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[1] The parish church being still dedicated to St. John, one may infer that others of the multitude of Kirkbys were similarly distinguished in earlier days.

It may be objected that, if the *circi* were really such ubiquitous and obvious facts in the time of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, there ought to be a large number of place-names which preserve the word. The answer is easy. There is a certain number of such place-names—the simpler compounds such as Churcham[1] and Kirkham, Kirkton or Kirton, and Kirkstead—which may quite possibly go back so far ; and if it be impossible to prove that they are so old, it is equally impossible to show that they are not. But further it is usually held that the Saxon avoided the vicinity of others' settlements. In any case where he came upon the scene the life went out of the *circus*. It became a dead and useless thing, whereas *strata* and *castra* and *vallum* still had life and use. The latter therefore were much more likely to leave their memory in place-names. They do, but to a very limited extent only. The *Gazetteer* shows that there are in the whole of England but one place named *Chester* without qualification, two *Walls* only, and not more than four *Streets*. Even the corresponding compound names are not many. There are but seven *Chestertons* and three *Castertons* ; *Stratton* occurs thirteen times, *Stretton* seventeen times ; and though there are forty *Waltons*, only a small number of these are referable to the word *vallum*.[2] Yet the formidable defences of Roman *castra*, the methodical system of the Roman roads, the laboured immensity of such a work as the *Vallum Hadriani*, must to the Saxons have been novelties vastly more arresting than the multitudinous grassy hollows in the soil beside the gates of the Romano-British villages. Is it any wonder if he made little of these, seeing that the world had to wait for Sir Christopher Wren to recognise the marvel of Maumbury Rings, and seeing that England still boasts a multitude of smaller *circi* which have passed unrecognised until this hour?

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[1] In Gloucestershire, four miles W. of Gloucester. A mile south of it is Minsterworth.

[2] Many of them derive from *weald*, *Weahl*, or *well*. It is remarkable that, while there are so many Kir(k)bys, there is

Commenting upon pope Gregory's advice to Mellitus in regard to the reconsecration of 'temples of the pagans' to Christianity (ch. xxv), Fergusson argued that 'the fair inference . . . seems to be that there was so little difference between the temples of the pagans and the churches of the Christians that a little holy water and a few relics . . . were all that was required to convert the one into the other'[1]; and again, 'it would appear that the temples of the pagans, between the departure of the Romans and the time of Alfred, were at least very similar to those of the Christians.'[2] Although the picture present to Fergusson's mind, alike of pagan temples and of Christian churches, was hopelessly wrong, the two generalisations above quoted seem exactly to summarise the truth.

The sum of the last three chapters is briefly as follows. Christianity came into Scotland, and from Scotland into England, in the outward form of the circular Scotic monastic enclosure. This, from its resemblance to the circular moots (*circi*) of the Romano-Britons—'amphitheatres' or others—the Saxons termed *circ* or *ciric*. Spreading beyond the walls of the monasteries Christianity was visibly embodied in the circular burying-places of Christian converts, and to these was extended the same name. Latin influence introduced the term *mynstre* for the monastic settlement, and when this presently developed something in the form of a structural church in place of the earlier insignificant oratory, this too was known specifically as a *mynstre*. This term gradually usurped the sense of 'structural church' generally, but

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not one example of *-by* compounded with *castra*, *strata*, *vicus*, or *vallum*. Clearly when the Dane came to settle, the *ciric* was now the living and forceful fact, the others (*castra*, *strata*, *vicus*, *vallum*) had ceased to be novelties. Both literally and metaphorically the Dane had travelled a long way further than the Saxon of 400 years before.

[1] *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 22.

[2] ibid. p. 23.

more particularly a church of stone. In the non-monastic *ciric*, the burial-ground, had meantime sprung up the little wooden oratory known as a *bedehus*, which through long centuries of evolution came to be a building of stone; and in due time the name of *ciric* was transferred to this building, precisely as that of *mynstre* had been transferred from the monastic enclosure to its principal feature. The graveyard which had for centuries been termed *ciric* was henceforward distinguished by a new series of names such as *ciric-tun*, kirk-garth and church-haye.

## Chapter XXV.

## God's Acre.

*The Christian attitude to death a novelty—The 'Hypogée des Dunes' at Poitiers—Burial within structural churches—Theodore's 'Penitential'—Reforms of archbishop Cuthbert—Form of the new burial-grounds—Saxon names for the burial-ground—Political consequences of Cuthbert's reforms—The parochial system—Townships—Multiple churches within one garth—South Malling, Hollington, Hellingly—Wanlip and Rushock—The churchyard fence—'God's acre'—Alfriston and Hawkshead—The handful of dust—Causes of the disappearance of the Barrow—Mounds beside churches—Taplow—Grave of Harald Hairfair—Churches within earthworks—Christianity follows the Roman roads—Churches on hill-tops—Folklore: the devil and the churchyards—Sites of parish churches—Thorp, 'Teep,' etc.*

A century ago a writer on Welsh antiquities remarked that 'As the practice of burying in consecrated ground has no foundation in Christianity, but rather the reverse, for our Saviour was buried in a garden, this custom must be referred to the practice of antiquity in the times of heathenism.'[1] Bingham similarly concluded that the sacredness of Christian cemeteries before the days of Gregory of Tours (sixth century) must have arisen from reasons other than their formal consecration by bishops.[2] Professor Baldwin Brown calls the ultimate use of the very church itself as a place of sepulture a ‘ remarkable ’ fashion, ‘ because it was entirely opposed to the customs of most other religions, especially that of the Jews. So abhorrent to the Hebrew mind was the idea of any profanation of a sanctuary by contact with the dead that Ezekiel will not even let the burial-ground of kings abut on the outer wall of his temple courts.’[1] In the Latin countries at any rate, the older feeling which had regarded the grave as an altar,[2] the tomb as a temple, was so far as concerns public religion almost extinct before Christianity was introduced ; the *parentalia* and *lemuria* survived as a matter of form only, and there was no sentimental connexion whatever between the tomb and the temple in the official religion.[3] The wealthier dead were buried along the roads leading from city or town, the poorer class and slaves mostly in public cemeteries, or in the private burial-places of the great men their masters. The poor had no memorial, and the magnificent tombs of the rich had come to be little but the advertisement of their riches. Great houses usually owned each its own *columbarium*, wherein were laid the ashes of the family and of its servants alike. Only in a few cases did there still survive the practice of inhumation.

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[1] Peter Roberts, *Cambr. Popular Antiquities* (1815), p. 54.

[2] *Christian Antiquities*, Bk. xxiii, ii, §§ 1-2.

As early Christianity forbade cremation and required earth-to-earth burial, the earliest of the faithful in Rome were buried in the catacombs. Elsewhere they would usually be laid in private graves, with no imposing monuments ; for the new faith was still suspect, so that it sought no notoriety for its dead, while the practice of inhumation did away with the *raison d'être* of the usual mausoleum or *columbarium*. When presently Christianity had gained toleration monuments might be revived for the *fideles*, but they would be of different plan and on a far humbler scale, the church discouraging display for two reasons: one was the ethical objection to any such parade of fleshly pride; the other the very reasonable fear that undue attention to the grave might lead to the revival of pagan practices. The attitude of the church was in fact wholly inconsistent, for on the one hand it preached that 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord,' and taught the efficacy of prayers to and for the dead, while on the other hand it forbade any cult of the grave. Trouble was bound to arise from this inconsistency of doctrine,[1] especially when introduced amongst peoples with whom the old sentiment of ancestor-worship, so far from being dead, was the vital part of their religion; and speaking broadly this was the case everywhere except among such few as had abandoned their real, if mistaken religion, for this or that philosophical creed. It may be true, as Bacon asserted, that no true philosopher was ever other than a religious man, though this is a difficult thesis to establish. It is quite as true, and much more easy to prove, that there is most religion where there is least philosophy, and that there is no predominant religion which does not take great thought for its dead.

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[1] *Arts in Early England*, i. p. 264. Fergusson had made much the same remark. A synagogue in Hull was promptly closed this year (1928) owing to the discovery of old funeral vaults beneath the site.

[2] Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, c. 1. Cf. the form of the Roman sarcophagus adapted for use as an altar.

[3] Greek and Roman temples had nothing to do with burial : ‘ He that looks for urns and old sepulchral relics, must not search for them in the ruins of temples, where no religion anciently placed them.’ Taking the word ‘ temple ’ in the sense presumably intended, this generalisation is probably true. Nevertheless the origin of the temple was still the tomb, and in the case of the *Prytaneum*, and similar institutions, the sepulchral character of the building was neither forgotten nor even disguised. cf. Clemens Alexandrinus (*In Protreptico*) : *Superstitio templa condere persuasit. Quae enim prius hominum sepulchra fuerunt, magnificentius condita, Templorum appellatione vocata sunt. Nam apud Larissam civitatem in arce in templo Palladis Acrisii sepulchrum fuit, quod nunc sacrarii loco celebratur. In arce quoque Atheniensi, ut est ab Antiocho in nono Historiarum scriptum, Cereris sepulchrum fuit ; in templo vero Palladis, quam Poliada Graeci appellant, iacet Erichthonius.* In Eusebius' *Praef. Evangel.*, ii, the title of cap. vi is ‘ The Temples of the Gods, which are nothing but Tombs.’ Rev. S. Baring-Gould remarks (*Cliff-Castles and Cave-Dwellings of Europe*, p. 177) that ‘ It is certainly remarkable that whereas in paganism the identification of the tomb with the temple passed away, and the temple acquired independence of such association, in the Latin church the reverse took place, and the church unassociated with a tomb—a basilica in fact—was converted into a sepulchral monument.’

'The union of devotion with interment, the development of the grave into the cemetery, and of the cemetery into the church, is essentially Christian; one might perhaps say it *is* Christianity.' So wrote Theodore Mömmsen. But this does not quite grasp the whole of the essential thing. The peculiarity of Christianity is that, unlike any other intellectual creed, not only did it refuse to see any defilement in death, or in the presence of the dead, but it made such presence a primary *desideratum*.[2] It adopted an attitude entirely foreign to all so-called civilised peoples, and familiar only to those ‘ degraded ’ savage tribes who mummify a corpse and keep it within their dwelling-places ; and upon this unpromising foundation it has reared a Church which has out-lived all the rest, and will still out-live them. The Jew had left it to the unclean, to the lepers and epileptics, to dwell among the tombs ; the Church bade its sons make their orisons and their temples there and there only. Most of all was this so in Celtic Christianity. Who has not felt a vague sense of something incongruous on finding in some remote country spot a costly new church, standing as it were naked within a newly consecrated graveyard wherein everything, from the railings to the few tombstones, bespeaks itself likewise brand-new ? In literal truth a church without an ancient churchyard is un-English, because it is un-Celtic.

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[1] 'The Christians seem to have imitated the pagans in their care for the dead, as Tertullian remarks how in his time they were sumptuously entombed, perfumed and richly apparelled. Origen also mentions the display made by the Christians in the decoration of their dead. St. Gregory of Nyssa beautifully attired the body of his sister Macrina, who died in a convent. The evils which came from the imitation of pagan customs were sufficiently important to be deemed worthy of formal condemnation at the Council of Auxerre' (C. H. Kains-Jackson, *Our Ancient Monuments*, p. 81).

[2] cf. the anecdote from Eusebius quoted by Bingham (*Christ. Antiqs.* Bk. xxiii, ii, §6). Julian the Apostate objected to the Christian practice of conducting funerals by daylight: 'How can the day be auspicious that sees a funeral?' he asked. The reply was that

The same feeling, in a somewhat more eclectic shape, dominated the early Christianity of Rome and of the east. The holy places of the faithful were primarily the spots where one or other of the martyrs had suffered, or where some more distinguished one amongst the first of their teachers was buried. And as a rule these spots were outside the walls of the towns. ‘ Aemylian, the Roman prefect, tells Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, that they (the Christians) should not have liberty to go into their cemeteries, as they called them (τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια), and there hold their assemblies for divine worship.’[1] The fifth council of Carthage (401), concerned to suppress the heresy of the Donatists, ruled that the bishops of the various dioceses should, where possible, destroy ‘ the altars (*altaria*) that were erected by the roads or in the fields as monuments of martyrs, in which it could not be proved that the bodies or relics of true martyrs reposed ’[2] ; it being the practice of the Donatists, just as it was of other Christians, to make

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the Christians ‘ knew no pollution arising from the attendance of a dead body or a funeral. The bodies of Christians were the members of Christ, alive or dead.’

[1] Bingham (*Christian Antiqs.* Bk. xxiii, i, §1) quoting from Eusebius, vii, 11. He comments that the fact ‘ would incline a man almost to think, were there not otherwise insuperable arguments against it, that it was the ancient custom of the primitive Christians to bury in churches.’ It in reality suggests nothing of the sort, but merely that the graves of the faithful were the first and most holy places of worship. Bingham has noted and faithfully recorded that ‘ churches ’ were called *martyria* and *coemeteria* (Council of Laodicea, Can. ix), but he was so much obsessed by the modern idea that ‘ church ’ or *ecclesia* must necessarily denote a building, that he failed to see the obvious explanation, (see p. 52).

[2] Bingham, *op. cit.*, Bk. xxiii, i, § 4.

the tombs of their martyrs in the fashion of altars and use them as places of worship. Of anything answering to a churchyard there is no mention. The martyrs were buried, like other people of the time, 'by the roads and in the fields.'

In the great Cimetière des Dunes, a mile or so east of Poitiers and beside the Roman road thence to Bourges, is Chiron[1] Martyrs, 'The Martyrs' Cairn,' amongst the most perfect examples at present known of a *martyrium*, that is, of the earliest form of a Christian church. It is a *hypogée*, its floor sunk 9 feet below the natural surface. In plan rectangular, it is set east-and-west, and approached by a sort of Galilee in the form of a long and narrow stairway. The chamber is divided into two portions each about 8 feet in length, of which the more easterly, 16 feet wide and raised one step, was the sanctuary, the other (13 feet wide) answering to a nave. A small altar stands in the sanctuary, flanked on either side by an enormous stone sarcophagus. Three other sarcophagi take up well-nigh the half of the second chamber, and in the floor, particularly about the altar, are sunk others. The roof of the *hypogée* had been so constructed as to allow of a small east window. Decoration had been lavished upon the fabric: several of the steps of the stairway are carved with designs reminiscent of Irish work, the jambs of the doorway are painted with still brilliant colour, and upon the plaster covering the altar was a Greek cross with the cup-and-circle set between the limbs. Painted inscriptions in debased Latin proved the whole to have been erected by one Abbat Mellibaudes (*circa* 600) to the memory of certain martyrs of the district, and a rudely carved slab represents the crucifixion of two of the number, Sosthenes and Hilarius; but there were also found within the building other objects which, but for the circumstances, must have at once been set down as part of a deposit of the Bronze Age, ornaments of bronze, earrings of amber, and beads of glass.[2] The evidence also showed that, primitive as was this 'church,' it was yet a reconstruction of some still earlier monument. Mellibaudes himself was buried in the sarcophagus which lay on the south side of the altar, that on the north side being the collective ossuary of those whom he sought to honour.[1]

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[1] The term is still in local use to denote a pile of stones, and commonly a pile which proves on excavation to be the cairn covering a Gaulish burial.

[2] Now in the Museum of the Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest at Poitiers.

A *hypogée* such as this is half-way between the simple dolmen and the complete church. It belongs to a part of France famous for its early Christian antiquities: all around it have been found burials of Gaulish, Gallo-Roman, and Merovingian date; only a quarter of a mile away is the *Pierre Levée*, a dolmen which was itself a place of Christian pilgrimage until the thirteenth century; and not many miles off is the famous dolmen-church of Confolens (ch. xviii).

The sequence of events would appear to be as follows: certain martyrs, led thither from Poitiers by the road still known as the *Route des Martyrs*, were executed and buried where they fell in a grave or graves of the common kind in the general pagan cemetery of their town. Their place of burial became a place of prayer to others of the *fideles*, an *ecclesia* or 'place of meeting.' When the days of persecution were long passed, Mellibaudes built upon the spot the oratory above described, gathered within it the remains of other martyrs to the number of 72, possibly himself retired thither as to a hermitage, and there was assuredly buried. Had fortune so willed it, some other benefactor would have reared over Mellibaudes' work a soaring French church, but mischance prevented it. Something occurred to sever the thread of tradition, and for centuries the world forgot even why Chiron Martyrs and the *Route des Martyrs* were so called.

The church taught, and teaches, the equality of its sons and daughters: they are 'one family in Christ.' This teaching harmonised with the practice of the great Roman houses, which had long treated all who belonged to the *familia* as equal at any rate in the grave. So there would grow up a feeling that Christians should be buried with Christians, and in some spot as it were under the protection of the God whom they had worshipped. But amongst the Latins this was a late development. The earliest Latin churches had no graveyards at all; they were frequently within towns, and the civil law forbade all burial within a town. Yet one finds as early as the fourth century isolated cases of the burial of illustrious dead actually within the churches, as when Constantine was buried within his great church of the SS. Apostles at Constantinople. Here again the practice of the new faith was inconsistent with its preaching, for it built churches over the actual tombs of its dead saints and martyrs, while it excluded others of the faithful from burial within their walls. Who was to decide, and by what criterion, whether the latest of the dead was more or less of a saint than others ? By the sixth century it was a matter of course to bury prominent persons within the building, and St. Augustine built his monastic church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury expressly that it might serve for his own mortuary chapel and that of his royal converts of the Kentish line.[1] Probably the provision of consecrated graveyards about the churches had, where conditions permitted, become usual some time before.[2] At any rate when Latin Christianity first reached England with Augustine, the old ' pagan ' sentiment was once more alive in it—the temple and the tomb were again one and the same, and the faithful had begun to demand as of right that they should be buried within the shadow of their church, if not actually within its walls.

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[1] Camille de la Croix, *Martyrium de Poitiers* (Paris, 1883). Discovered in 1878, the remains were again covered up, to be again uncovered and protected by a permanent building in 1909.

With Irish Christianity the development was different : religion with the Celt, whether it were Christian or not, began with the grave and the graveyard, and this was, as it had so long been, a circular barrow. The oratory, from which after long centuries developed the church, was merely the outward sign of Christianity stamped upon the old pagan symbol of mortality, the circle ; and it owed its sanctity primarily to its being actually built upon the grave. There being no sanctity where there was no burial, the more numerous the burials the greater the sanctity. Every new interment meant the addition of new *reliquiae*, and there was virtue in quantity. ' What the pagans of Ireland had called *ferta* we call *reilic*,' says the chronicler of St. Patrick's life, and there was significance in the adoption of the latter term for a cemetery. Relics became the great object of desire, and all manner of un-Christian sin was committed to obtain possession of the bones of saints and kings.

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[1] All the archbishops of Canterbury were buried there until Cuthbert (*obiit* 758) broke the tradition by causing himself to be buried in Christ Church ' because he was solicitous for the honour and dignity ' of his cathedral.

[2] The first actual evidence of such consecration is said to be a case mentioned by Gregory of Tours (540–594) ; Walcott *Sacred Archaeology*. Chrysostom (*circa* 403) states that the early Christians buried outside the towns and away from their ' churches.' But the case of Chiron Martyrs, above cited, proves that there was no keeping the ' church ' long away from the place of burial.

It is not needful here to trace further this line of development. It was not peculiar to Ireland even in its genesis. It grew out of a natural instinct of humanity, but it throve with a special and persistent vigour wherever the Ibero-Celt had come. It throve therefore all over the British Isles. It would have thriven to some extent without purposed fostering; it throve amazingly when Holy Church made it a lever for her own purposes. 'It was a strange perversion which brought the new faith to attach such importance to death as to forget life, and to fix its thoughts so steadfastly upon the terrors of hell as to forget the bliss of heaven.' Yet this was, it has been said, the prevailing Gospel and practice of Christianity until the Renaissance and the Reformation introduced a saner view.

A canon of the council of Nantes (seventh century) forbade burial within a church, except in the *atrium*, the *porticus*, or the *exedrae* of the building. Whatever be the meaning of these various terms, it is at any rate clear that the main portion of the fabric was not to be used as a common burial-place; and this ruling the council enunciated as being *secundum maiorum instituta*, the traditional practice of the Latin church. When therefore Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury 668–690, ruled (capitulary 68) that *in ecclesia sanctificata nulli mortui sepeliantur*, he was merely endeavouring to enforce the Latin as against the Celtic practice. Theodore was, if not an entirely submissive servant of the papacy (for he delayed six years in giving effect to the papal commands in regard to St. Wilfrid), at any rate as Roman as he dared to be. But even the Latin church was inconsistent in its practice, for Theodore himself was buried *in ipsa ecclesia* of SS. Peter and Paul in Canterbury,[1] and the archbishop was himself inconsistent in his rulings. In the *Penitential*,[2] for example, he deals with the question whether it was permissible to celebrate mass in a church in which interments

[1] *H.E.* II, iii, § 96.

[2] *Liber Poenitentialis*, II, i, 4–5.

had been made. He decides that while the burial of heathen and heretics does pollute a consecrated church, that of Christians does not pollute. Where non-Christians have been buried, mass may not be said until their bodies have been removed, the church purified, and its timbers scraped and washed.[1] There is no possibility of doubting that the archbishop was concerned here with buildings—buildings of *timber* only, be it noticed—and not merely with burial-grounds, and there is no difficulty in understanding how the problem had arisen. The half century preceding his appointment to the primacy had witnessed a savage struggle of the old heathenism against the new faith: it was the time of Redwald of East Anglia and of Penda, the whole-hearted pagan who died at Winwaedsfield in 655. Penda's reign must have seen the desecration of many of the few existing churches, and quite possibly some of them had actually been turned into pagan places of burial, if not into pagan places of worship. When therefore Mercia once more and finally came back to Christianity, there would be reason to ask with what provisos it were permissible to reopen such churches for Christian worship.[2] Penda's far-reaching activity would certainly involve here and there a church still in the building, or if built, not yet consecrated; and Theodore's reply covers these also.[3]

Theodore does not seem to have placed any effectual limitation upon the interment of *fideles* within the churches. We are not told what burial was offered to such of the faithful as died at spots remote from any church: as the churches of Theodore's time were exclusively the *mynstres* of the monasteries, the number of such must have been considerable. Naturally their kindred would bury them as best they might, in a Christian *locus sanctus* if such were accessible, but otherwise either in the existing pagan barrows, or in new-made barrows of precisely the same semblance.

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[1] So the text as printed by Haddan and Stubbs. Thorpe, p. 303, prints a much more copious and obviously later text. One of the additional paragraphs emphasises the course to be taken with a church which has been profaned *before it had been consecrated*.

[2] Tradition asserts that the original church of Winchester was built by the mythical King Lucius (third century) and destroyed in a subsequent persecution; that a second and less splendid church was built on the same site *circa* 312–317; that this was converted into a pagan temple by Cerdic (*circa* 519); that it was destroyed in the time of Kenwalch, as *having been profaned by the heathen*, and the third church erected and consecrated, again on the same site, by Birinus, 648.

[3] The suggestion that Theodore was thinking of pagan places of worship, and that *ecclesia* is here applied to such heathen temples, is not warranted. The question what to do with pagan *fana* had been dealt with already by a greater than Theodore (ch. xxi), not a century before. Theodore, it must be remembered, was no stranger to England, as was Gregory. He knew what he was talking about. We find exactly the same question answered in exactly the same way in Gaul of the ninth century; a Capitulary of Charlemagne and his son Louis (*Corpus Iuris Germani Antiqui*, ii, 524) forbids the sanctification of churches which had been desecrated by pagan burials, unless the pagan bodies were disinterred and the timbers (*lignis*) scraped and washed; nor might mass be said in such a building unless (*until?*) *fideles* were buried there. De Baye, *Industrial Arts of A.-S.*, p. 124.

One natural consequence of Theodore's ruling was that in such few churches as existed the number of burials soon exceeded the accommodation, and the buildings became mere charnel-houses.[1] It was in part to check this obvious evil that at last, in the middle of the eighth century, archbishop Cuthbert[2] obtained papal permission to have burial-places provided within the towns. Making pilgrimage to Rome he had noticed the prevalence of intramural burial. Permission given, he ' made burial-places everywhere in England.'[3]

The old Roman law which forbade all burial within the walls, held rigidly good until the systematic desecration of Christian graves by the ' barbarians '—whether Goths (537) in search of plunder or Lombards (755) in search of ' relics ' —led to its being first ignored and finally abrogated. So early as 609 pope Boniface IV. collected and laid beneath the altar of the Pantheon (then consecrated as the church of St. Maria ad Martyres) no less than 28 wagon-loads of the bones of ' saints,' in whose honour it is said that the festival of All Saints was then instituted.

From the earliest times and for obvious reasons the dead had been buried at some distance from the abodes of the living. Scotic monks might take another course and habitually make their abodes on or beside a grave, but they could not at once force such a practice upon the mass of the peoples whom they sought to convert. If they established a Christian place of burial amongst such a people, it would certainly not be within the *tun*, but outside it, and just so near as sentiment would permit.[1] What archbishop Cuthbert did was to consecrate burial-places actually within the *tuns*. Until this was done there must necessarily cling even to Christian burial-places something of the feeling of aversion which had always attached to a grave. The innovation tended to simplify the rites of Christian burial, and by so doing to recommend it to the masses. It would tend also to check those pagan rites and practices which stubbornly clung to pagan burial: what was done at some remote barrow could less easily be done at the *ciric* within the village and under the eyes of the priest. And by giving as it were a new dignity to the *ciric* it would relieve the congestion of the few structural churches existing, while it left no excuse for any of the flock to bury their dead as their forefathers had done, in promiscuous barrows or other unconsecrated graves, and without Christian obsequies. As Cuthbert's reform was made at a date not a century removed from that at which much of England had still been pagan, there was still a very real risk of the pagan way's reasserting itself.[2]

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[1] Bede (*H.E.* II, iii, § 96) records that Theodore himself was buried inside the church of SS. Peter and Paul, Canterbury, ' because the *porticus* was now full,' less than 80 years after its consecration (613). This was the north aisle, subsequently the chapel of the Blessed Virgin.

[2] His date is 742–758. He is constantly miscalled ' Saint ' Cuthbert, and what he did is often grossly misrepresented.

[3] Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631), p. 214 : *Cuthbertus Archiepiscopus Cant. xi ab Augustino, cum Romae videret plures intra civitates sepeliri, rogavit Papam ut sibi liceret cemeteria facere ; quod Papa annuit. Reversus itaque cemeteria ubique in Anglia constituit.* The statement is repeated by Dugdale, *Monasticon* (1682), p. 25. See further Appendix D. The pope at the time would be Zacharias (741–752), according to Gams, *Series Episcoporum.*

Up to this date then, with such exceptions as were provided for royalty by St. Augustine at Canterbury, and such accommodation as the various monasteries might voluntarily provide, English Christians had been left to bury their dead either in the scattered *loca sancta* of the Scotic missionaries, or where they pleased. In the latter case they would bury them as their forbears had done, in the open, in barrows and in cromlechs, and in the urn-fields of Saxon paganism. And that this did happen is proved by the occasional finding of Christian ornaments among the mass of pagan grave-furniture in Saxon cemeteries.[3] It is proved also by the frequency of the decrees against the practice of pagan rites associated with such burials; and even after the churches had made the required provision, similar decrees were issued from time to time. It may be quite true that Charlemagne's Capitularies are concerned with the Old Saxons of the continent, but as these were simply the less progressive brethren of their English namesakes, it is certain that the same practices would linger on in England also. The language of one of these Capitularies (789) is interesting: 'We command that the bodies of all such Saxons as die in the faith be brought to *ecclesiae coemeteria*, and not to the *tumuli paganorum*.' The expression *ecclesiae* (not *ecclesiarum*) *coemeteria* means simply 'burial-places of Holy Church,' i.e. Christian barrows; it does not mean, as it is usually rendered, 'graveyards of the churches.' In other words the antithesis is not between *coemeteria* and *tumuli* so much as between Christianity and paganism, and the wording of the Capitulary does not necessarily imply the presence of any structural church in the *coemeterium*. The Capitulary further implies that it was a common practice with the Old Saxons to lay their dead in certain specific barrows which were recognised as general burying-grounds, exactly as are our modern graveyards,[1] and this means that every such barrow was recognised by the commonalty as a *locus consecratus*, and by Holy Church as a focus of heathenism. We are told that the illegitimate children of corrupt nuns were buried in such tumuli until the eighth century,[2] and that 'the Wends, although they had their children baptised, yet buried like the Saxons in their ancestral tumuli' right down to the opening of the eleventh century.[3]

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[1] The oldest monastic foundations lay always outside the limits of the towns, as at Abingdon and at Canterbury (St. Augustine's). No one was buried within the walls (in the cathedral church) of Canterbury, until Cuthbert himself set the example.

[2] According to Bingham (*Christ. Antiqs.* xxiii, i, § 7) a similar reform was not made in the East until about 900, when Leo Sapiens 'abrogated all the old laws against burying in cities.'

[3] e.g. at Long Wittenham, where was found a cup ornamented with scenes from gospel history (*Archaeologia*, lv, 467), and the famous 'Desborough' necklace (*Archaeol.* xxxviii, p. 350) with its gold cross. Finds of this character are exceptional chiefly because the church very early forbade the burial of ornaments with the dead—a rule which she could scarcely enforce in the case of those buried in the remoter places—so that, the unsatisfactory test of orientation apart, we rarely have means of knowing whether an interment is that of a Christian or of a lower-class pagan. In Rome too the earliest Christian dead were buried in the catacombs amongst the general crowd of pagan dead.

Very possibly the deficiency of Christian graveyards was not in early times so great a grievance as is commonly imagined. So late as 1843 it was said that the Esthonians 'seem to have an aversion to the consecrated places of

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[1] The Saxon burials about Kilham, E.R. ('the Danes' Graves'), are spoken of as being 'massed together as in a modern churchyard.' At least 500 separate interments were counted. *B. M. Guide to Early Iron Age*, pp. 111–112.

[2] Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*,

[3] ibid. p. 261, citing Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipsic, 1887), iii, 417. The fact illustrates the obstinacy wherewith a people clings to its traditional forms of sepulture. The ruder the people, the more obstinate will they be; and the Saxons, for a century or more after reaching England, were quite as rude as were the Wends.

Christianity. If they can, they much prefer burying their dead in some spot of their own choice, in the depths of the forest or in the wilderness, rather than in the churchyards. Many such lonely graves may be found in the wildest parts of the country, marked only by the solitary mounds erected over them.'[1] This was fully five centuries after the first nominal conversion of the Esthonians by the Teutonic Knights.

The text referring to Cuthbert's innovation has nothing to say about structural churches. It is clear, however, from the *Penitential* of Theodore that there had already existed a few buildings which might be so called. But these were not within the *tuns*. Each stood within its own ring-wall or other circular *limes*, which marked also its burial-ground. Cuthbert ordered new burial-grounds to be made. He was not concerned with any structural churches. Sooner or later a little wooden *bede-hus* would come where the Christian dead were laid.

Of what fashion were these new 'cemeteries'? Any one who will take the trouble to examine the *old* churchyards of England will recognise that they were precisely like the general run of the pagan barrows in the open fields: they are circular and they are mounded up. A churchyard such as that of Alfriston (pp. 168, 176) is unmistakably a barrow and nothing else. It must have been built exactly as was built any other barrow. It cannot well have been there, in the very heart of the village, before 750; it may have been made at any time after that date. So the construction of barrows was in active course beyond the middle of the eighth century.

Here and there one finds a churchyard which suggests the more elaborate forms of barrow, the 'bell' or the 'disc,' as in the case of Mareham-on-the-Hill (ch. xxiv) near Horncastle, Lincs., but by far the greater number are typical 'bowls' of the late and somewhat depressed type; and the presumption is that when Christianity came to be the accepted creed, the ordinary churchyard was built in the ordinary form, without any such ring-wall as had marked—and earned a name for—the first monastic *ciric*. That, it will be remembered, was an outcome of the late and elaborate Brythonic disc-barrow, a refinement to which the Saxon seems never to have attained. As a pagan he had been content at the most with a mere 'bowl'; as a Christian he continued to content himself with the same type. It was only what was to be expected.

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[1] J. G. Kohl, *Russia*, p. 388.

Before 750, therefore, it is probable that there was no such thing as a village churchyard, let alone a village church, these expressions being understood in their natural sense of churches and churchyards *in* villages.

It need not be supposed that every then existing community at once acted upon archbishop Cuthbert's new order. With small and growing settlements it would be a matter of time.[1]

Of the older burial-grounds the larger number would pass out of memory. Some, however, would be remembered and might even come to be themselves the churchyards of new villages which presently gathered about them. Thus arose such cases as those of Fimber and Pytchley (ch. xxiv), and in the same way, the monastery drawing others to its vicinity, St. Guthlac's usurped pagan barrow at Crowland grew up to be the *tun* of Crowland, as its greater neighbour at Medeshamstede grew up to be the town of Peterborough, and Maidulf's monastery made the town of Malmesbury. But of the multitude of earlier Scotic foundations, small and remote as they were, the greater number in the upshot faded out of existence, as was the case with Old Melrose and a hundred others, whose very names are lost as completely as their sites.

The original Saxon term for a cemetery was *lictun*.[2] This was early replaced by *ciric* or *legerstow*, and these in turn gave way under the influence of Latin Christianity to a variety of Latinisms—*coemeterium*, *atrium*, *sanctuarium*,

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[1] It is hardly needful to quote instances of so obvious a truth. One will suffice. Thus 'until 1357 the churchyard [of Salehurst, Sussex] served as a burying-place for both Salehurst and Etchingham, but in that year pope Innocent VI. issued his "mandate to set apart and bless a cemetery for the church of Etchingham according to the petition of the parishioners of the same, they having hitherto used the cemetery of Salehurst, distant two leagues".' L. J. Hodson, *Hist. of Salehurst*, (1914), p. 57, quoting *Calendar of Papal Letters*, iii, 583.

[2] Still surviving in southern England in the forms *litten* and *litton*. A field in the parish of Beaworthy, Hants, known as 'The Old Litten,' presumably marks an old graveyard. Foundations, presumably those of a church, were still visible in 1835 (*Archaeologia*, xxvi, p. 1). At Angmering, Sussex, 'the inhabitants call the site' of the church of St. Peter, long destroyed, 'Lightning Hill," i.e. the *hill* of the *lictun* (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* xii, 83), albeit there is no 'hill' visible there now.

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and *poliandrium*[1]—more or less mis-spelled. By the fifteenth century *coemeterium* had become *semitorium* and *sanctuarium* had become *seyntwary*, and later still we have *sentry-garth*.[2] Finally prevailed *kirk-garth*, the modern *churchyard*.

Archbishop Cuthbert's action may be taken to mark the date at which the number of churchyards was at last beginning to be sufficient to provide reasonably for the requirements of the whole country; for it was idle to insist that people should bring their dead to the churchyards so long as these lay at remote distances. Until this difficulty was got rid of Christians must necessarily have laid their dead where they could. The Scotic missioners had consecrated numbers of *cirics*, within which there was as yet no church at all. When the time came to build a church, it was natural to place it within such a *ciric* if the site were otherwise convenient. But, strange as it sounds, it is nevertheless perfectly clear that the Roman way had originally been exactly the reverse. It had built churches no doubt, but it had not provided them with churchyards.

Doubtless archbishop Cuthbert's sole motive had been the desire to make more real the Christianity of his people, but unwittingly he had introduced a political reform of the first magnitude, creating a new franchise in which the church was the basic fact. There had been *tuns*—i.e. *civitates*, or self-governing communities — throughout England ever since the Saxons occupied it and before, but these owed nothing to the Church. There now arose the view that *civitas* and Christianity were inseparable, so that in English law a town 'cannot be a town unless it hath or had a church, with celebration of sacraments, burials, etc.'[3] Moreover, though every house, and even the church itself, disappear, it remains a town (township) in law. It follows that every borough and city is a town, and that a township of a parish is a part of the said parish which has, or once had, its own place of worship and of burial. It follows further that in law the terms *tun* and *ciric* came to be to some extent convertible: the church was the flock, and *vice versa*. Hence we have mention of *ciricsocn* side by side with *tunsocn*,[1] and ultimately find the *ciric* identified with all the communal activities of the *tun*.[2]

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[1] See Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*. In Aelfric's *Vocabulary* (tenth cent.) we have *halig legerstow* as the equivalent of *coemeterium*. The epithet *halig* suggests that there were at that date still many other *legerstows* that were understood not to be Christian. *Leger* (cf. Yorkshire *lig* = 'lie') conveys the same idea as does cemetery, viz. 'the place where they sleep.'

[2] Sometimes mis-written *centry garth*, as if from *cemeterium*, as in Wright's *Dict. Provincial English*. In Cornwall the term still survives in the sense of 'Glebe-land.'

[3] Jacob, *Law Dictionary*.

Probably this action of archbishop Cuthbert had more to do with the making of our present parochial system than anything that was done by his precursors. Henceforward each *tun* had, or might aspire to have, its own *ciric* within its own gates, and such a *ciric* from its greater convenience would speedily take priority over any older one that lay further afield.[3] If the district represented by the *tun* came to be a parish, then the building which arose within the *ciric* would be the parish church, the *tun-circe* of Anglo-Saxon documents.[4] Of the older and less conveniently situated *cirics* the greater number would sooner or later be forgotten, while others would struggle on for a time as so many subsidiary *cirics*, or might now and again develop to be 'chapels of ease' to the parish *ciric* in the *tun*.[5] Some of these might in time come to be parish churches in their own right, but this development would be largely checked by an understandable jealousy on the part of the 'town-church.' Anything in the way of recognised parish-boundaries could arise only when the growing number of such 'town-churches' had covered the whole face of the land, and one parish found itself contiguous to the next.[6]

From the middle of the eighth century, therefore, the whole country came to be divided into a multitude of *tuns* each possessing its own *ciric*. Some notion of their number may be got from the case of Shropshire, where there yet survived in 1870 as many as 817 townships averaging each about 1,000 acres of land.[7] Some of the ancient *tuns* remain to this day as individual parishes, but the vast majority have long since lost their individuality and become merged into parishes. This spontaneous grouping of other *tuns* about such centres—the *ealdormynstres* of their districts—is the real origin of the English parishes. Of Shropshire's 817 *tuns* about three-quarters have lost their ecclesiastical independence, but as townships they still retain certain shadowy rights in regard to rating and to customary law, which declare them to be the survivals of true communal entities—*civitates*—which once were independent and self-administering. The name of Ruyton-of-the-Eleven-Towns bespeaks it a parish which once comprised 11 townships; Ellesmere has 24; and Worfield near Bridgnorth has as many as 28. But numbers of *tuns* have wholly disappeared, and if their memory survives at all, it is only as the name of a house or a farm. Frequently there remains only a field-name such as 'The Churchyard,' 'Church Field,' 'The Litton,' 'Old Hallows,' or 'Hallow Furlong.'

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[1] *Diplomatarium*, pp. 369, 418, 306.

[2] See below, chs. xxvi, xxvii.

[3] 'Gregory the Great had taught that it was more profitable to be buried in the churchyard than in the distant cemetery, because in the former case the survivors may frequently behold the sepulchres as they enter the sacred building, and may put forth their petitions.' Johnson, *Byways*, p. 353.

[4] *e.g.* Will of Thurstan (1045) in *Diplomatarium*, pp. 572, 574.

[5] Kennet, *Parochial Antiquities*, p. 587.

[6] cp. H. R. Mill in *A Fragment of the Geography of South-west Sussex* (*Geog. Journal*, Mar.-April, 1900): 'The parishes appear to have grown naturally until they filled the county; the relation of the boundaries to the natural features shows that it cannot be said that the county had been divided into parishes.'

[7] Kelly's *Post Office Directory*, 1870.

The normal course would be to build chapels-of-ease for remoter parts of the parish in which were gathering clusters of population, but these would not usually be churches with burial-grounds. They would be chapels only, and the difference of nomenclature points to the fact that the word 'church' was felt to imply the presence of a burial-ground.[1] In due course, if the community throve, it would be provided with a burial-ground of its own, as happened at Etchingham (p. 306, n. 1). Sometimes, however, the outlying community built its own 'church' within the parochial graveyard. Instances of this kind are specially frequent in East Anglia, and at Reepham in Norfolk there used to be three churches—there are at present two in actual use—within one churchyard, viz. one for the 'town,' and two others for the lordships of Hackford and Whitwell.[2] The two churches at Swaffham Prior, Cambs., stand both in one garth. Most of the instances of this kind appear to be of late date, and they commonly arose from the division of what had previously been undivided manorial holdings, as at Gillingham in

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[1] Yet as early as Edgar's time (958-975) they are all called *cirics*, for his Canon (i, 2) speaks of '*cirics* which have no *legerstow*' (Thorpe, *Leges Vetustae*, p. 111). These were all on *bócland*, i.e. private chapels, not communal or parochial churches.

[2] Both Hackford and Whitwell are now parishes in their own right.

Norfolk. Other instances of a plurality of churches within one garth are cited by Walcott as to be found in his day (1868) at Altrincham (Ches.), Evesham, Willingale Doe in Essex, North Cockerington (Cockerington St. Mary and Alvingham St. Ethelwald) in Lincs., while there had been others at Fulbourn (Cambs.) and Trimley (Suff.)[1] Of the two churches within the single churchyard of Prestbury in Cheshire, one is a diminutive Norman building which was possibly the first stone-built church of the parish, spared to serve as a mortuary chapel when the larger and later church was built in the fourteenth century.[2]

Of what form would be these new burial-grounds of archbishop Cuthbert ? Circular, without question, like all other *cirics* at that date to be found in England. That was the form in which the Scotic missioners had introduced the Christian graveyard ; it was the form which the term *ciric* explicitly denoted ; it was the form to which the Christianity of the time had become accustomed ; and it is not likely that the church would add to the inherent difficulty of weaning its flock from the older sites by any needless innovations. Further, as the Latin church had hitherto made no special provision of graveyards, it had no inherited tradition as to the proper form of such things, and could therefore the less feel any jealousy upon the point. So great is the number of English churchyards of which the original circularity is still clearly recognisable, that there can be no reasonable doubt that in Cuthbert's time the circular figure was invariable. The Latin church had not even come to recognise in that figure a tradition handed down from Celtic paganism. With the *name* of the thing it did quarrel and tried to abolish it, but tried in vain. The Saxons knew that *ciric* meant something circular, and so long as they remembered the fact they refused to have *cirics* of any other plan.

The South Saxons were the last English 'folk' to accept

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[1] *Sacred Archaeology*, p. 126. Of these the second church at Fulbourn has now disappeared, and those of Cockerington and Alvingham do not now stand within the same garth.

[2] Prestbury—Priest's Barrow—claims to be one of the earliest Christian sites in this part of England. Its churchyard, although immensely enlarged, is still circular on the only original part of the periphery now remaining, and contains some fragments of a very early cross of Celtic design. The place is not mentioned in *D.B.* The Norman church has been much altered and enlarged : a drawing of 1592 shows that it originally had an apse in place of the present square eastern wall. (Earwaker, *Hist. Cheshire*).

Christianity (681). Their conversion was due to Wilfrid who was entirely Latin in his views. He succeeded where the Scotic Dicul had failed.[1] His original church of Selsey has long been under the sea,[2] so that we have no means of knowing what was its appearance, but Sussex provides a number of examples of the circular garth, and amongst them one or two of peculiar interest—more than enough to prove that it never entered Wilfrid's head to quarrel with a *ciric* of that plan.

A monastery was founded in 688, so says Leland, at South Malling on the Ouse, by Ceadwalla of Wessex,[3] who had conquered the South Saxons. Of any monastic buildings only the smallest traces remain, and these are probably those of the mediæval collegiate buildings, but the church (St. Peter) still occupies what is probably the original site within a circular graveyard of about an acre. It is of no moment to urge that Ceadwalla, as his name suggests, may have been a Celt, and may therefore have planned his monastery on Celtic lines, for the Church to whom he made the gift would in such matters have its own way. Here then is an indubitable[4] example of a churchyard of the Scotic plan consecrated, in the land of the South Saxons whom the Latin Wilfrid had converted, towards the close of the seventh century and when the Latin Theodore was archbishop.[5] If the Scotic plan asserted itself in this case, it is safe to assume that it would do so in areas nearer to the 'Celtic Fringe.' It should be added there is not at South Malling, nor ever can have been, the least topographical reason why the circular shape should have been preferred to any other.

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[1] Above, ch. xvi. Dicul's settlement was at Bosham, a few miles west of Cissa's *ceastre* (Chichester) upon a spot abounding in Roman *vestigia*.

[2] The cathedral of Chichester was founded to replace it in the eleventh cent. in accordance with the order of William I that cathedrals should be removed from insignificant villages to the more important towns.

[3] According to L. F. Salzman (in *V.C.H. Sussex*, ii, 117) the founder was one Alduulf, prince of the South Saxons, *circa* 765; but a charter of that prince (*Cart. Sax.*, No. 197), believed to refer to South Malling, explicitly speaks of the monastery as having been founded long before (*religiosa antiquitate fundati*).

[4] The churchyard is so situated that it has probably never been interfered with until recently, when the one road of approach was metalled, and the boundary of the yard on that (south) side was straightened to bring it into line with the road. This has entailed the adding of a very small angle of ground on the south-east, where the scarp of the original circular garth is still noticeable. The church (re-built in 1628 by the grandfather of the diarist John Evelyn) stands eccentrically near the southern edge of the garth. To judge from a report made in 1554 (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* xxxi, 180) the enclosing wall either did not then exist, or was in a condition of ruin, for 'horsse and cattell and swyne come daylye in to the churche, in the somer for hette, and now (November) ffor lothe (shelter from the wind).'

[5] If it should be objected that there is not sufficient evidence that this *ciric* was made at so early a date, and that it is possibly much later, this, could it be proved, would only strengthen the argument; for the later the date, the stronger would be the Latin influence. The case thus proves conclusively that the Latin rule did not at first concern itself to interfere with the traditional form of the *ciric*.

Within a few miles of South Malling are at least three other churchyards which yet preserve more or less of their original circular form, viz. Selmeston, Barcombe, and Alfriston, while there is ocular evidence that those of Berwick, Ringmer, Little Horsted, Horsted Keynes and Piddinghoe were originally circular. These are all in mid-Sussex. At the western end of the county East Wittering still retains in part its circular garth, as also does Singleton ; mutilated examples are to be seen also at New Shoreham, at Poynings, and at Coombes, where there remains a considerable segment of the original circular fosse and vallum ; and the tiny church of Chithurst, four miles west of Midhurst, stands upon an unmistakable barrow[1] rising 6 or 7 feet above the natural level of the ground about. But in the great majority of cases the original plan has been

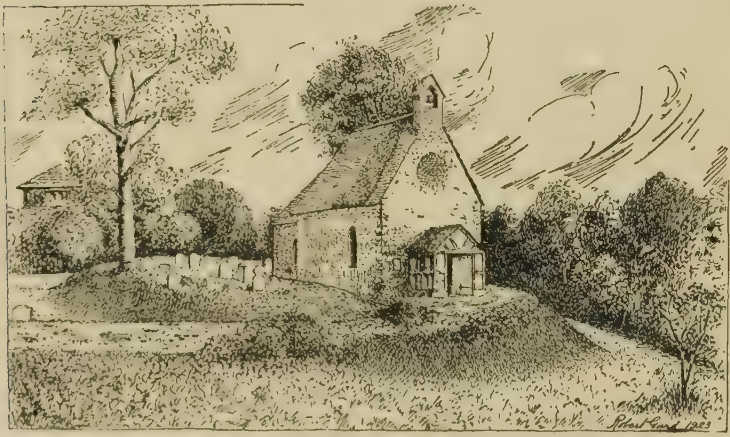

FIG. I. CHITHURST, SUSSEX.
*Drawn by Robert Gurd*, 1923.

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[1] 'Most picturesquely perched upon an artificial mound,' wrote P. M. Johnston in 1912. *Sussex, Arch. Collections*, lv, p. 99).

completely obliterated by alterations, and these alterations have frequently occurred within the last half century.

A drawing of the thirteenth-century church of St. Mary at Apuldram, near Chichester, published in 1872,[1] shows it standing within a mounded circular garth. The garth of the church (St. Leonard's) at Hollington, commonly called 'the Church in the Wood,' 2½ miles north-west of Hastings, is to-day a mere rectangular strip, but in 1814 it was 'almost perfectly circular,[2] and the whole thickly enclosed with trees, without any aperture except an entrance from each of the cardinal points[3] by four low gates . . . a church and its cemetery in a grove, and that grove in the middle of a wood.'[4]

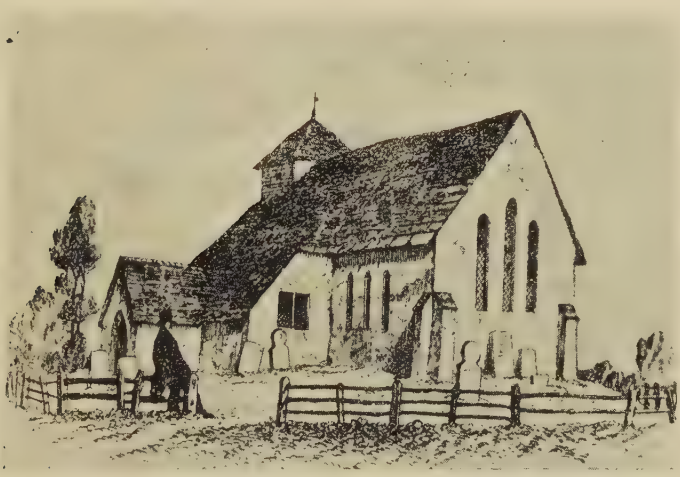

FIG. 2. ST. MARY'S, APULDRAM, SUSSEX, IN 1872.

Hellingly now presents the most remarkable circular garth in Sussex. It is ringed with trees, it has four paths of entry, and it is revetted with a wall of brick of no great age in places as much as 7 feet above the level of the roads which skirt it on three sides. On the fourth (north) side there is no such difference of level, because the churchyard occupies the extremity of a gently-falling tongue of higher ground which drops abruptly on the flanks to the flats below. Old cottages stand along the arc of the circumference on this northern side, and so careful were the builders not to interfere with the 'sanctuary' that one building is conjoined to the next at most awkward angles. The church is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. Part of the chancel is of late Norman style, but the rest of the fabric is of later dates.

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[1] Nibbs and Lower, *Churches of Sussex*.

[2] The quotation is from the unpublished narrative of a journey from Brighton to Hastings in 1814. W. Faden's map of Sussex (1795) shows the churchyard precisely as here described.

[3] Old Welsh law required that every village church should have four roads leading thereto; a proviso which at once recalls the peculiar arrangement of St. Cadoc's *llan*, with its four wide paths down the four hill-slopes leading to it (above, ch. xix).

[4] The popular account declares that the devil, who had successfully thwarted all efforts to build the church on a site more convenient to the village (two miles away), himself caused the surrounding woods to spring up and conceal the completed building.

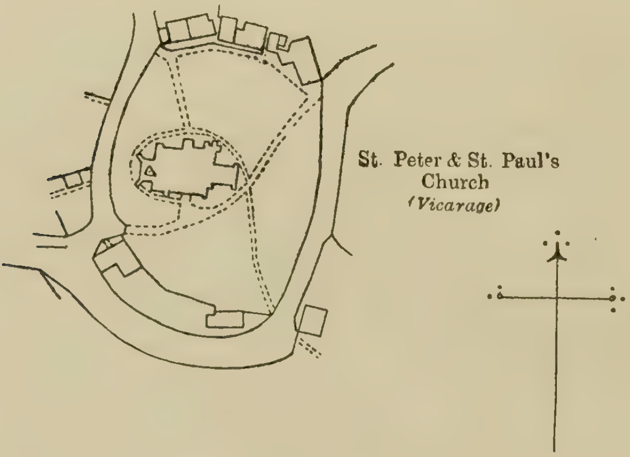

FIG. 3. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL'S, HELLINGLY, SUSSEX.
(*Scale: 25 ins. to the mile.*)

The first church was consecrated by bishop Seffrid of Chichester, who held the see from 1180 to 1204, and documents exist to show that one Nicholas de Brade at the time endowed the church with certain lands, while his brother Rykeward de Hellingly further gave a croft of land and 'six perches of my moor to enlarge the churchyard.' So there was a churchyard there before the church was built.

What happened is quite clear. The first stone church of Hellingly was built and consecrated no earlier than the close of the twelfth century. It was built within a *ciric* of the traditional circular plan, i.e. upon a barrow. The *ciric* was of some considerable size, but for whatever reason it was felt desirable to enlarge it. This could only be done conveniently on the northern side, in which direction the ground rose continuously to a sandy hillside or 'moor.' The owner of this moor was Rykeward, who gave a strip of it for the purpose. It was six perches only. The strip lay along the northern side of the *ciric*, which in consequence is to this day oval in plan (276 feet × 222 feet), the longer axis lying north and south. And this happened about 1200.[1]

For the position of affairs at Hellingly before the stone church was built there is no evidence at all beyond the fact that it had a *ciric*, and as that is circular now, it is safe to believe that it was circular then. We may perhaps assume a *bedehus*, a little wooden building, probably serving both for church and for priest's house, but this is surmise. *Domesday* does not even mention the place, let alone any church there.

In the church of St. Nicholas, Wanlip, in Leicestershire, is a brass (dated 1393) to the memory of Thomas Walsch, knight, lord of Anlep (Wanlip), and his wife Katrine, 'which in her tyme made the kirke of Anlep and halud the kirkyerd first.'[2] Yet there had long been a rector of Wanlip, and a 'church' of some sort also, but it was a chapel only (*capella de Anlep*, *c.* 1225)[3] Wanlip seems therefore to be an example of those 'churches without burial-grounds' mentioned in the *Laws* of Edgar and of Canute: it originated in a manorial chapel, and so remained until it was provided with a graveyard in 1393. The brass faithfully records the alteration in its status and calls it now a 'Kirke.' Leicestershire provides other examples of such a development, as for example at Blaston St. Giles and at Kibworth Harcourt, and there are many in Shropshire. Grasmere and Windermere in Westmorland likewise had rectors before they had churchyards, being until that date (1347) free chapels within the parish of Kendal.[1]

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[1] Salzman, *History of Hailsham*, pp. 103, 182, where the documents (from *Chartulary* of Bayham Abbey) are printed. Hellingly claimed to be the mother-church of Hailsham, a claim which was established after much litigation; and this means that the parish of Hailsham was carved out of that of Hellingly. This erstwhile importance of Hellingly may explain why the churchyard was enlarged at so early a date; the reason cannot be found in the great size of the church, for there is every reason to believe that the building consecrated by bishop Seffrid was very much smaller. The revetment wall is apparently eighteenth cent. work, and perhaps encloses a good many feet more than the area of the original *ciric*. It leans outward on the western side in a fashion which promises a speedy collapse.

[2] Cited in Pettigrew's *Collection of Epitaphs* (*Chronicles of the Tombs*), 1857, as an instance of the use of English in such a case at an unusually early date. The spelling of *kirke* and *kirkyerd*, at that date and in that locality, are worth notice.

[3] *Rotuli Hugonis Welles* (*Cant. & York. Soc.* i, 253).

Later phraseology was not always so accurate as in the case of Wanlip. In the registers of the church of Rushock (St. Michael and All Angels) near Kidderminster it is recorded, under date 1688, that in that year the bishop of Worcester 'did consecrate the churchyard and make it a buriall.'[2] As the same register contains records of interments prior to 1688, it is clear that the entry refers merely to an enlargement of the older garth.

The church and parish of Kingston-by-Lewes in Sussex were created by the Priory of St. Pancras, at the expense of the wide parish of Iford, in the year 1100, when Hugh the Sheriff gave an acre of land there on which to build a church. So there was not even a *ciric* there before that date. The original boundaries of this piece of ground are still discernible, and it was rectangular. Other examples go to show that from the time of the Conquest onward the customary form of *new* churchyards was rectangular, the customary area an acre.

The conquest brought in an administration, ecclesiastical and political, based upon the Latin tradition, whereof the geometrical expression was not the circle, but the square. Norman monasteries were planned upon the nucleus of the quadrangular cloister-garth,[3] and Norman measurement was by the square acre. Norman churchyards were therefore likewise square, or at any rate rectilineal. The Normans did not as a rule interfere with existing facts, but where they created new burial-grounds they would commonly make them rectangular. Such was the Latin way, and for that reason alone the Norman followed it—a very different reason from the inherited sentiment of centuries which made the Celt and his proselytes still cling to the circular plan.

The churchyard fence (*ecclesiae sepes*, *cirictune*) was mentioned in a law of King Edgar (ch. xxiii), showing that so early the garth was supposed to be provided with some sort of fence to demarcate it from profane ground. Some rectangular garths show evident traces of a continuous earthen vallum thrown about them, and have therefore been written down as originally 'Roman camps,' but such vallum is probably in most cases nothing but the *defensum* in general use during the twelfth-fourteenth centuries for enclosing any parcel of ground. As the Norman was a mighty builder he probably walled many of his new-made churchyards with stone; but even walls will perish if neglected, and when the first fever of Norman church-building was spent and the Norman enthusiasm for religion had been cooled by the experiences of the Crusades, there set in a period of laxity, when the church and its belongings fell into a bad way. Those in authority had frequently to call attention to the neglected condition of the churchyards. The churchyard belonged to the parish, and the parish used it for a variety of purposes, to-day mostly dissociated from the church, which were highly detrimental to the proper upkeep of any fences—for fairs and markets, games and revels and sports of all kinds. It was in fact the common recreation-ground of the parish. Therefore we find bishops from the thirteenth century onward issuing repeated orders for the more seemly upkeep of the garth and its fences. John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester (*ob.* 1304) issued a synodal statute that 'all *coemeteria* be decently enclosed with a ditch, hedge, or wall, by those to whom of custom this duty belongs,' and forbidding them to be used for sports and games.[1] His successors, bishops Woodlock and Adam de Orlton, repeated and supplemented these injunctions. The language implies that the churchyard was presumed to be fenced, that the upkeep of the fence was a customary duty of the parishioners, and that this duty was very frequently neglected. There must have been as great local differences in such a matter then as now there are in all matters relating to the maintenance of the church, statutes and authority notwithstanding. Only fifty years ago the churchyard of Marros, Carm., was open to the surrounding roads, very much as were those which called for their bishops' interference in the fourteenth century.[2]

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[1] I am indebted for these facts to Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson.

[2] i.e. a place of burial. See above, ch. xxi. The last illustration of this use of the word given in *N.E.D.* is from Caxton.

[3] This figure had made its appearance before the Conquest in Latin monasteries founded between ninth and eleventh cent.

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[1] *Synodal Statntes of John de Pontissara*, i, 225; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 295.

[2] See further, Johnson, *Byways*, pp. 354–6. Churchwardens' Presentments of seventeenth-eighteenth cent. contain repeated references to the good or bad repair

Lesser dignitaries followed where the bishops led. William Downe, archdeacon of Leicester in the middle of the fourteenth century, leaves by will ‘ for the fabric and repair of the nave and of the churchyard wall (*clausuram cimiterii*) at Georgeham (Devon), 10 marks ’ ; ‘ for the making of a stone wall or a good ditched hedge of quickthorn round the churchyard (*ad facturam muri lapidei vel fossate spinee bone circa cimiterium*)’ at Quainton (Bucks.), 10 marks ; and again ‘ for the repair and enclosure of the churchyards of a number of poor churches in Leicestershire, 10 marks.’[1]

These fences were the ‘ church-haws ’ and ‘ church-hayes ’ of mediaeval England.[2] Following a well-recognised usage of language, these names were speedily transferred to the garth itself. The transfer had occurred as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century,[3] and speedily ousted borrowed terms such as seintwary[4] and other Latinisms, in turn giving way to the northern ‘ churchyard ’ in one or other of its many forms (-garth, -yearde, -yerde, -yorde, -yerd, -erd, -arth).[5]

The extent to which this northern form (*garth*) has forced itself upon the world is remarkable, for it is found not only over the whole of the British Isles, but over the whole of Scandinavia and as far afield as Hungary. Its vitality indeed is little less than that of *kirk* itself. Inasmuch as no one questions the wide diffusion of *garth*, it is matter of wonder that there should be so much question about the similar diffusion of *kirk*. Both alike came out of the north, and specifically out of the Northumbria of the seventh century.

The term ‘ God’s Acre ’ was in common use amongst

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of the churchyard fences, and the security of the garth from ‘ annoyance of animals ’ ; but there was much difference of opinion as to what was ‘ decent.’ Thus the vicar of Salehurst, Sussex, recorded in his Tithe-book in 1650 that one Jeremiah Goffe owed ‘ a year’s rent for my churchyard at Lady-day, 1649. He hath putt horses ever since into it. . . . I pray you lett it to somebody at 10 shillings p.ãnn. and get ye churchwardens to fence it well, y$^t$ you may keepe out hoggs ’ (L. J. Hodson, *Hist. of Salehurst*, p. 57).

[1] *Arch. Journal*, Sept. 1915, pp. 247, 267.

[2] Subsequently corrupted to ‘ Churchway(s) ’ as at Warren (ch. xx) or even to Churches, the name of a Worcestershire farm. The poet Gray used ‘ Churchway ’ in the *Elegy* (‘ Slow through the churchway path we saw him borne ’) so late as 1751.

[3] As in *Ancren Riwle* (*circa* 1225).

[4] i.e. *sanctuarium*.

[5] Bardsley (*Dict. Surnames*) has the forms Kirkegarth 1297, Chircheyerde 1347, Kirkeyerde and Cyrkarth (both in Howdenshire, Yorks.) 1379, and again Chircheyerde 1492 ; forms which seem to suggest that *k*, *c*, and *ch*, had all one value in fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. We have Churcherd in Sussex in 1524.

the Saxons, but that it was ever intended to be even an approximate measure of the churchyard is not clear. Perhaps it was felt that an acre was the smallest area suitable, the donor being free to make it as much larger as he might feel disposed. Even so the measure of the acre varied in different parts of England by as much as 50%. The Welsh *erw*, as has been said, is no equivalent of the English statute acre, and in fact varied in the different Codes as widely as did the Saxon acre. Nevertheless, as the *Laws of Howel* stipulated that the measure of a churchyard should be 'a legal *erw*' in radius,[1] it may be that the Saxon expression 'God's Acre' was borrowed from Celtic usage. But even in Wales the areas of the still circular garths show wide divergences, and here too we may suppose that, while the minimum radius was in the ninth century fixed at 'a legal *erw*,' there was no limit in the other direction. The garth of Eglwys Cymmin is almost exactly a statute acre, but this is obviously an accident, for that churchyard represents a secular fort adapted to the purposes of a church. According to the Brehon laws the proper measure of the *dun* of a king was 140 feet each way, i.e. a circle with diameter of 140 feet.[2] This means an area of about $\frac{1}{3}$ acre, if the Irish foot be equal to the English. Again the standard is perhaps only the minimum permitted, for many Irish *duns* are very much larger.[3]

As the Saxon *aecre* was freely used in the sense of the Latin *ager*, 'God's Acre' may have meant nothing more than 'God's Field,' and some Saxon *cirics* of quite late date were much too small to be called 'acres' in any other sense. Thus the *burh* of Lewes, which seems to have come into being by royal order at the beginning of the tenth century only, stood within an earthwork of some two acres in all; yet room was found therein for a church and churchyard (St. John sub castro). The garth here must have been very small. Very small too was that of Alfriston in the same county, one of the rare cases in which enlargement has yet reproduced much of the original circular plan. It shows also how slight may be the relation between a present-day church and its original. The first church of Alfriston can have been no bigger than a typical early church in Wales or Ireland, but the present cruciform structure, not inaptly called the 'Cathedral of the Downs,' is altogether out of proportion to the size of the original garth, which it almost fills.[1] The garth therefore had to be enlarged at last, though this was not done till 1901, when the new 'intake' was so planned as to follow the curving line of the original area.[2] Its level, however, was different, and there remains the old *limes* within the new fence—a bold scarp sweeping round the western side and in one part actually retaining the ancient revetment-wall. A second glance is scarcely needed here to convince one that the original *ciric* was a barrow and nothing else (plate iv, no. 1).

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[1] Above, ch. xix.

[2] O'Curry, *Manners*, iii, 28.

[3] It is only reasonable to believe that the earliest Christian burial-grounds would be rather small than large. That at Warren (ch. xx) had a diameter of 25 yards only. A superficial rood is represented by a circle with diameter of 40 yards, a superficial acre by one of 80 yards (approximately).

Part of the earlier *limes* remains in many old churchyards, commonly misinterpreted as 'a portion of the *enceinte* of a camp' Roman or British. Warbleton[3] in Sussex is a case in point. A better example is that of Hanbury in Worcestershire, which has repeatedly been described as a British camp adapted to the purposes of Christianity. There is nothing to justify this view, and very much to support the belief that it was yet another Christian *ciric* which, presently revetted, came to have the appearance of a fortified hill-top.[4] The garth still retains considerable part of the original circular plan.

Yet another case is that of Hawkshead, Lancs. The church—there is no known reference to any building there before the thirteenth century—stands upon an isolated circular knoll, and the garth was circular until modified by recent additions. H. Swainson Cowper has suggested that this was once the *saetr* of a Norse Hawkr who gave his name to the village, and has construed as evidence in support of this view some slight traces of scarping and ditching.[5]

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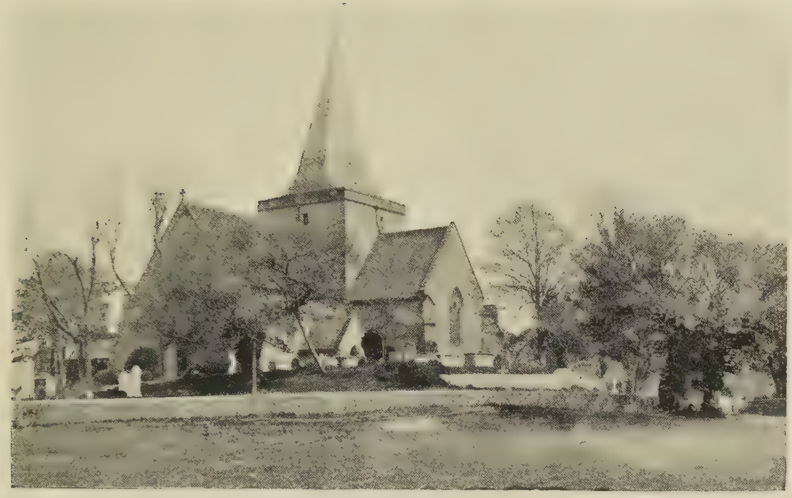
[1] 'The circumference of the church is greater than that of the churchyard which surrounds it' (Pagden, *Hist. of Alfriston*, p. 17).

[2] The masons who built the new wall did their best, however, to spoil this happy accident, constructing it in some five or six rectilineal sections, instead of on a true curve. Nevertheless the general effect of a circular *limes* remains.

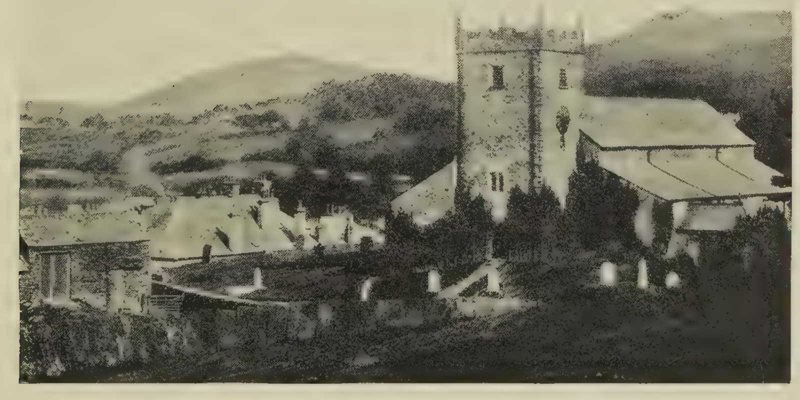
[3] Major Luard in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii, 164. He mistook the *vestigia* of a medieval homestead adjoining the churchyard for the further evidences of Roman occupation of the site.

[4] The scarping seen here and in many similar cases has no resemblance to the raised vallum of a secular camp or of a Scotic monastic *casbel*.

[5] *History of Hawkshead*, p. 30.



NO. I. ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, ALFRISTON, SUSSEX.
Showing the mounded graveyard and fragment of the original retaining wall.



NO. 2. ST. MICHAEL'S, HAWKSHEAD, LANCASHIRE.

[illegible]
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There is nothing which cannot readily be explained as part of an original barrow, or of subsequent steps to fence it from desecration (plate iv, no. 2).

Never a great earth-worker, the pagan Saxon seems to have preferred to use for a place of burial a ready-made mound, natural or otherwise; and failing this, to have laid his dead in grave-fields without individual mounds, or with none of a size to be still discernible, small both in area and in elevation. The evolution of the barrow amongst the Celts had been steadily in a like direction, and its last form —the ring-barrow—though it might be very large in area, had little or no elevation. The unfossed bowl barrows of the earliest type were certainly raised by the combined efforts of many persons each contributing his share of soil, and the same occurred when an existing barrow was heightened to receive a fresh interment, as at Carn Brea (ch. xx) and in the case of the great barrow on Lord's Down, Dewlish,[1] where the mound revealed in section three successive strata of chalk rubble, each containing an interment, covered by as many strata of earth. Doubtless all the mourners assisted in piling up these successive strata,[2] and the literature of the Heroic Age suggests that the custom was at once a duty and a privilege. But the custom died, leaving behind nothing but a symbolical piece of ritual; for this is the origin of the custom which allows, not the priest only, but all the dead man's friends to cast a handful of earth upon his coffin.[3] Even in the world of ancient Greece and Rome it had already been reduced to a like formality, and the casting of a mere handful of dust upon a corpse was accounted the necessary minimum in the way of burial.

That this was actually the early Christian practice is proved by the case of churchways, Warren (ch. xx), where the dead lay 'three or four tiers deep.' Clearly after the lowest and oldest interments had been made, sufficient fresh soil was laid over them to accommodate a second tier; and this process was repeated for a third and even for a fourth tier. The graves thus superposed one upon another lay away from the primary central grave, which was itself three feet below the surface; so the fresh soil had been put chiefly upon the flanks of the barrow, and this would help to spread the whole and give to it a less pronounced relief than it originally had. A recent instance of the same practice has been cited (ch. xxii) from Hillswick in Shetland.

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[1] Figured in Warne, *Ancient Dorset.*

[2] So it was amongst the Peruvians of Quito (*Gents. Mag.* for 1752, p. 210), whose grave-hills might be as much as 150 feet in diameter and 60 feet in height.

[3] W. Johnson (*Byways*, pp. 315–317) points out that this common participation in the rite, which had been transferred to the priest alone before the Reformation, was by the Prayer Book of 1552 restored to the mourners generally. This is an odd illustration of the suggestion elsewhere made that the Reformation was in some ways a return of the Anglican Church to its older Celtic traditions. Dr. Greenwell had hinted at this origin of the phrase 'earth to earth' (*British Barrows*, p. 5, *n.*). The old parish-clerk (Geo. Cain) of St. John's Margate, one of the last of his race, made much of his indefeasible right *as the representative of the community* to scatter the statutory 'handful of dust' (Information of Rev. W. K. Fleming).

Thus the barrows reared over the graves of Christian dead in early Saxon times would in most cases be very slight,[1] certainly of no great height, and probably in most cases of no great area. If such a barrow came to be a *ciric*, i.e. a Christian burial-ground, there would be scanty room for further interments, the whole mound would soon be filled, and any further burials would require to be made not in it, but around it; and probably in the course of a few centuries it would no longer be possible to recognise the exact position of the original burial which had hallowed the spot. When the time came to build a structural church within the *ciric*, the builders would have wide freedom of choice for its position. If they elected to place it upon the approximate centre, the chances were that, in getting their foundations, they would completely demolish what little was left of the original tumulus; and in seeking a sufficiently firm and sufficiently large foundation they would bring the floor of the building much below the level of the ground at some points. This is the rational explanation of the fact that, in the case of old churches, one usually descends several steps to reach the floor-level. But the church is not by any means always set on the actual centre of the *ciric*. Sometimes it is the chancel, less frequently the western end, which is sunk more deeply. It is a fact that few ancient churches appear to stand upon ground which is uniformly level. Most modern churches do, and this is one of the features which, whether we understand the reason or not, jar upon our intuition and suggest a something which should not be so. On the other hand, the fact that the chancel is usually at a higher level than the nave finds its ultimate reason in the fact that the former stood as a rule upon the central grave, and therefore upon the highest part of the barrow, the floor-level naturally falling as the builders moved further away from that point. The various reasons offered for adherence to the same tradition even in modern church-building—to give added dignity to the chancel, or to make the altar more visible—are adventitious, if actual. Architects have long recognised that the fact had some connexion with the provision of a crypt. They have not recognised that the crypt itself was but a development of the grave, and that the chancel was commonly higher than the nave even where no crypt existed and at a date when the construction of a crypt was impossible.[1]

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[1] Speaking generally, the churchyard in England is less mounded than that of Wales, just as the Celtic barrows of Wales are as a rule bigger and bolder than those of England. But with the churchyards, as with the barrows, there are notable exceptions. So again in Wales and in England there are circular churchyards which lie in the bottoms of hollows and show little or no signs of any mound.

If the mound was high in proportion to its area, the builders naturally put their church not on it, but beside it. To level a mound was too obvious a desecration, and too laborious withal. So the building would be set close by the mound. After some years it would be rebuilt and enlarged, and fashion demanded perhaps a new chancel, perhaps a western tower, for which room had to be made. Sooner or later some architect would quarrel with the mound which blocked his way and would encroach upon it, not necessarily removing the whole of it (as was done at Ludlow, ch. xxiv), but paring away a portion of it. There are numbers of churches which stand thus side by side with mounds more or less complete.

Whether the original mound in any particular case was actually built for a tumulus is a question only to be answered by excavation. Probably it was so in most cases, but in others it was clearly reared for some other purpose or was natural. But being a mound and having the appearance of a barrow, it was fairly certain to be used as a barrow sooner or later. Moot-mounds and eskers have been perverted into tumuli, and tumuli have been converted into *mottes*, into the moots of later peoples, into mill-balls and into *belles-vues*. So long as they are there, some one will somehow contrive to find a use or misuse for them.

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[1] See for example Baldwin, *The Old Churches of Our Land* (1894), p. 32. There is, however, no particular reason to refer the origin of the crypt to the early catacombs. Both are more probably the independent outcome of one and the same touch of human nature. There is a very striking example of the point here noticed in the little church of Rottingdean, Sussex, where the floor-level of the sanctuary is some 6 feet above that of the western door-sill. Until lately it was even higher, having been raised another two feet to allow of the burial of a Vicar who died in 1732, but the earlier level has now been restored.

The old church of Taplow stood 30 yards east of a mound, which when excavated in 1883 proved to be the grave of some warrior, whose equipment—golden buckles and jewelled studs, drinking-horn and arms—fixed the date of his interment *circa* 600, that is, at a time prior to the return of Christianity to the Thames Valley, and long years prior to the building of parish churches of stone. Yet this indisputably pagan mound, a great *howe* with diameter of 80 ft., height of 15 ft., and flat summit 26 ft. across, lay within the *ceinture* of the Christian churchyard. When the last of the ruins of the old church were removed in 1853 it was found that the western tower had been erected over an ancient fosse, and the excavation of the barrow showed that the locality had been occupied by settlements of British and Romano-British dates. Finally there were found secondary interments in the base of the mound.[1]

The sequence of events is clear. Here had stood a British settlement, which in due course became Romano-British; and like others of its kind it was defended by earthworks, a fosse and a vallum. The Saxons stormed and pillaged it, and one of their chieftains falling in the fight, they buried him on the scene of their victory.[2] The site lay desolate, the vallum crumbled, and the fosse was slowly filled in. Christianity presently returned, and some dead Christian was buried, *more Saxonico*, in the convenient mound of the old hero: if St. Guthlac could choose a pagan barrow as the site of his hermitage (ch. xxiv), lesser men might well choose such places for their graves. But these new burials, being Christian, hallowed the spot to Christianity. It grew to be the *ciric* of Taplow, and in due course Taplow built for itself a church. This was set many yards away from the great *howe*: they were not likely to demolish it, and the intervening space was perhaps already full of graves. As for the old fosse, it was perhaps altogether obliterated by then, certainly too inconspicuous to be considered. The church grew as churches do, and when presently the villagers aspired to a tower,[1] they extended their church by so much to the west, and in so doing put its foundations actually upon the site of the old fosse.

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[1] *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 199; Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeology of A.-S. Settlements*, p. 66.

[2] Precisely the same thing happened to another Romano-British settlement at Lowbury, Berks.

The very precise description of the burial-place of Harald Hairfair in Norway is to the point. 'King Harald died . . . and was buried at the howes by Kormt Sound. In Howe Sound a church standeth to-day, and just to the north-west of the church*yard* is the howe of King Harald Hairfair; but west of the *church* lies the tombstone of King Harald, which lay over his grave in the mound as aforesaid, and the said stone is 13½ feet long and near 2 ells broad. In the midst of the howe was the grave of King Harald, and one stone was set at his head and another at his feet, and on the top thereof was laid the flat stone, while a wall of stones was built below it on either side. But these stones which were in the howe stand now in the churchyard as aforesaid.'[2]

Here then was a Christian churchyard and church set as close as might be beside a pagan howe, so close that the great stones which marked the pagan king's grave could be rolled down into the churchyard.

That English churches are frequently situated within earthworks is a commonplace. These earthworks are sometimes wet moats, more often enclosures with the usual fosse and vallum, circular or rectangular, and of all sizes from large 'camps' of many acres to small enclosures only roomy enough to embrace church and churchyard. To examine each case upon its own merits is out of the question here, but some general principles are readily found which may bear upon the individual case.

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[1] Western towers are frequently later additions to earlier fabrics: they are found blocking up elaborate west windows and doorways, for example, of late Norman and Early English style. In Wales, where any sort of tower is a foreign feature, they may even block up the east light, as at Llanbister (where circumstances did not allow of building the tower at the west end). The common guide-book expression 'the tower is the oldest part of the church' is ambiguous: it is often the oldest piece of masonry now surviving, because it was of solid design and was built at a date when the builders at last thoroughly understood their work; but at the same time the tower, unless it be transeptal, is commonly the latest member of the whole fabric. There are, however, cases in which the present-day tower has been raised upon the walls of a lower stage which was originally the nave of a Saxon church. See Hamilton Thompson, *Ground Plan of English Parish Church*, pp. 30 *sqq*.

[2] *Story of Harald Hairfair* (*Saga Library*), c. 45. The description strongly suggests that Harald's monument was a dolmen crowning his barrow.

The Celtic way was to place the Christian settlement within a ringwork of earth and stone. This fashion was introduced in England along with the circular graveyard. The area enclosed was, however, very small, and the site was commonly upon the lower levels. Such a work would quickly perish if abandoned, and in the century of the Danish invasions most were abandoned. If by chance the site revived after the Danish settlement, some part of the defences might also survive. The greater number would be desecrated, ploughed over, and wholly destroyed.

In some few cases the settlement may have been made, as in Ireland and Wales, within the secular ringwork of some forgotten Celtic magnate, but the 400 years of the Roman occupation having broken the continuity of the Celtic tradition, there would be few examples of the kind surviving over the greater part of southern and middle England. They would be found chiefly in the north and along the Celtic fringes of Wales, Strathclyde, or Cornwall, and it is just there that most of the possible examples are discoverable. Of documentary evidence on this head, such as is forthcoming for Ireland and for Wales, there is little or none.

The Roman rarely built circular forts, the Saxon few of any kind. The Norman built circular baillies, and he had a fondness for including places of worship within their lines. Some of those churches which are found within *incomplete* circular enclosures of no great size are probably amongst those adopted by the Norman. If the enclosure be really extensive, it is more likely to be a prehistoric camp, as at St. Catherine's Hill, Winchester, at Cholesbury in Bucks., at Chirbury Camp near Great Bedwyn in Wilts., and at the Trundle near Chichester.

Of churches within proven Roman earthworks there is a long list. Some of these are sites which have survived to be of importance to-day, and the church came thither as it came to any other *tun*. Others, now wholly abandoned, we know to have once contained Christian settlements, as for instance Burgh Castle near Yarmouth where settled St. Fursey 'in the wilderness,' Tasburgh and Caistor St. Edmund's in Norfolk, the great multiplex fortress of Ardoch in Perthshire, Caerhûn in Carnarvonshire, Ebchester recalling the name of St. Ebba, and that unplaced fortress wherein Tunna had made his home.[1] Roman enclosures are not commonly of very small area. The many small rectangular enclosures surrounding churches are mostly late: they represent either the remains of great houses with their accustomed chapels, or if feebler in character, the *defensa* which each parish was required from the fourteenth century to provide for its church.

The motives which drew churches to pre-existing earthworks would vary from age to age. St. Fursey chose the vast ruin of Burgh Castle because it was a desolate spot and because its gaunt walls would shut him off the more completely from the world. But he had no use for all that great area: he would build the usual diminutive *mansio* within the enclosure, for in England no man and no monastery before the tenth century had any need for a spacious precinct.

There is no question that from the earliest times Latin Christianity sought to establish itself upon those sites which had been occupied by the cities of Roman Britain. The activities of Augustine and his followers at Canterbury, Rochester, and London, are paralleled by those of Paulinus at York, Lincoln, and Campodonum. In all these cases there was assuredly a direct tradition. But the Scotic missionaries show the same preference: Aidan founds a monastery at Old Melrose near Trimontium; Chad puts his see at Lichfield beside Letocetum; Sidnacester, the original see of Lindsey, whether or not it was at Stow, was certainly a Roman site; so was Birinus' see at Dorchester (Oxon.); and the first two great monastic foundations of the Hwiccas were planted at Bath and Gloucester, the chief Roman cities of the district. Of the oldest known sites of Christianity in England a very large number can be proved to have been Roman also. The inference is that the Roman road-system was still in being in those days, and that the missionaries followed the roads. Seeing that hundreds of miles of those roads are in use to-day, and that before the days of turnpikes there were in use many hundreds of miles more, there is nothing odd in such a view. The oddity is rather that so little attention has been paid to the part played by the Roman road-builder in furthering the march of Christianity. He did not know it, but it is none the less a fact, that it was he who literally 'made straight the way of the Lord.'[1]

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[1] See Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, 270 *sqq.* He cites the cases of Dover, Reculver and Othona, and his conclusion is that 'in our present state of knowledge there seems no reason to attach historical or religious significance' to such instances, for 'it does not appear to indicate a continuity of tradition.' Of non-Roman fortified sites he says nothing.

Probably in many cases the attracting force was a pre-existing barrow. There are barrows within the walls of many prehistoric camps, and paganism and Christianity alike seem to have been drawn towards such sites when once they were abandoned by the living. So there came to be a *ciric* there, and sometimes the *ciric* came to possess a church. Through far later generations the piety which saw in every circular enclosure a burial-place or the potentiality thereof, concerned itself to build churches and chapels in such places. It happened so on the Trundle by Chichester —for example, and again at Knowlton (ch. xxiv), where a still later generation, with less understanding, presently added the superfluous rectangular *limes* about the lonely church.

The earliest Christianity of England was Scotic, and the Scotic Christians made their settlements in the lower ground, avoiding the hill-tops; and so long as they had reason to fear hostility they would continue to do so. Moreover at no period subsequent to the introduction of Christianity did any considerable part of the population make their homes upon the higher ground: the Saxon conquest 'made a silence in the hills' which has continued ever since. Even in Wales there are few *llans* which can be said to stand upon the hills. The missionaries showed their wisdom by making their settlements and their 'churches' in spots easily accessible to the population. Also the missionaries required a constant and plentiful supply of water.[2] For all these reasons they affected the lower ground. The oldest church of Glastonbury stood at the foot of the great Tor, not upon its summit. Hill-top churches in this country are mostly late-comers.[1]

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[1] See on this matter Montagu Sharpe, *Parish Churches on Romano-British Sites* (1909). In his view many of those churches which stand on the lines of Roman roads, and especially at cross-roads, occupy the sites of Romano-British *sacella* and *compita*. Very possibly this may be so in some cases, but before there came to be any church there the spot must have been a place of burial, and neither *sacellum* nor *compitum* was felt to be such. Moreover, the church went there, not because the spots were *sacella* and *compita*, but because the *tun* was there; and the *tun* had come thither because the road was there.

[2] This question largely determined also the sites of the later and greater monasteries.

In the new departure inaugurated by archbishop Cuthbert may be found a sufficient explanation of that commonest of English legends, that the devil or his kindred refused to permit the building of a church upon a particular site. It probably echoes the struggle between the newer churchyards consecrated in accordance with Cuthbert's orders, and the older and remoter burial-places to which the mass of the people would cling with the obstinacy of long tradition. The older *cirics*, presumably in some cases actually pagan, and inevitably the scene of traditional rites—*diofolgild*—of a more or less pagan kind, would necessarily be regarded by the more orthodox as so many temples of the devil; and when the question was asked in later days, why the structural church had been reared elsewhere than on the older burial-ground, the ready answer was that that site was the devil's property, and that he had refused to permit the church's being built there. Thus at Waldron in Sussex tradition declares that the devil prevented the erection of the church at a spot some two miles away from the village and the present church of the parish, and to this day the rejected site is known as 'Church Field,' i.e. the field of the *ciric* or burial-ground, near Horeham Road.[2] The legend occurs again at Alfriston,[3] where, as has been stated, the older burial-ground, presumably both Christian and pagan, has recently been discovered at Hallow Furlong.[4] At Checkendon, Oxon., the rejected site is still pointed out and known by the curious name of the 'Devil's churchyard,' a small clearing in otherwise wooded ground at the extreme edge of the parish in the direction of Ipsden;[5] and of Ipsden itself is told the same legend, the forbidden site being pointed out on Berin's Hill,[7] where there have been found human remains. At Christchurch, Hants., it is said that the intention was to build the church on St. Catharine's Hill, two miles to the north, where are abundant evidences of an early settlement. In the case of Ste. Marie du Castel, Guernsey (ch. xviii), the legend distinctly points to a dolmen as the forbidden site. Other localities to which relate similar legends are Godshill in Isle of Wight, Membury in Devon,[1] Brighton,[2] Duffield in Derbyshire, St. Brelade in Jersey, Kilbarr in Barra (Hebrides),[3] Churchstoke in Montgomeryshire, the cathedral of St. David's, and Llanbedr and Corwen in Merionethshire. In Cornwall the story is very common. In that land of few or no villages there was bound to be considerable jealousy in regard to the site of the 'church town.'

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[1] At Laindon and at Wickham Bishops in Essex the old church is at the foot of the hill, the new one at the top. The reader will bear in mind that 'hill' is a very elastic term covering anything from 10 to 999 feet. The only English cathedrals (Durham and Lincoln) which stand upon hills, were secure within their defences.

[2] *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xiii (1861), pp. 83, 226.

[3] ibid. p. 226.

[4] Above, ch. xxi. Tradition, however, points out as the intended site a field now called Saffron's Close, some 200 yards only from the church, but upon considerably higher ground.

[5] Information of the rector, Rev. I. T. Munn, who describes it as 'irregular in shape, more or less circular.' In the parish of Minchinhampton, Glouces. is another 'Devil's churchyard' says Dr. Thurnam, 'in which name there is probably a tradition of the locality having been associated with pagan sepulchral rites' (*Archaeologia*, xlii, p. 243).

[6] Traditionally, and perhaps because of the legend, explained as St. Birinus' Hill,

Like most such scraps of folk-lore the tale has been varied to suit the facts and feelings of various centuries. It has been advanced as reason why a church stands upon some rather distressing hill, as is the case at Brent Tor (Devon), at Limpley Stoke (Wilts.), and at Bow Brickhill (Bucks.) : the devil refused to allow the church to be built on lower ground, removing it to the hill-top as to a locality within his more immediate sovereignty. The story may contain a reference to the patent fact that early Christianity contented itself with lowlier sites and left hill-tops alone ; left them, that is, to the old gods and to Satan. There may be a further reference to the Old Dragon and to pagan high-places in the frequent dedication of hill-top churches to St. Michael the slayer of dragons ; but it is a fact that, while very many churches of St. Michael are in no sense upon hill-tops, a very large number of English hill-top churches—and they are not many—are not dedicated to St. Michael.

Of the churches and chapels which have actually crowned English hills a great number are ruined and abandoned, which is sufficient proof that they were no natural outcome of the country's communal life, but rather eccentricities. They are mostly of late date, and frequently have no burial-ground, which is another reason

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and said to have been the scene of that bishop's first preaching in this part of Wessex.

[1] *Trans. Devon Assoc.* xxxix (1907), 142.

[2] T. S(tackhouse) in Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator* (1834), p. 278.

[4] Martin, *Description of Western Isles*, p. 93.

for their disappearance—they 'had no root.' Very many of them belong to a period (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) when piety advertised itself by the multiplication of such buildings; and hill-tops lent themselves to such advertisement.

However flat and low-lying be the site of the village, it will generally be found that the church, if at all old, occupies a site in some degree higher than the surrounding levels, a small foot-hill overlooking the flats, or a slight knoll rising at least a few feet and so beyond the reach of floods. The pagan barrow-builders followed the same rule, and so did the Celt and Saxon in their choice of urn-fields and cemeteries. Saxon cemeteries, albeit seldom far away from water, are commonly upon sites obviously chosen for their dryness.[1] The Christian church stands usually just where one might have looked to find a pagan burial, i.e. a barrow, and the explanation of the fact is simply that the Christian *ciric* actually *was* a barrow.

It is usual to maintain that a circular churchyard, if situated upon a knoll, was made circular to conform with the contours of the ground. This is to argue the wrong way round. In reality a rounded knoll was preferred because it conformed to the circular plan of the barrow to be built. And in not a few cases the slight knolls which carry the churches of fenland and riverside villages were purposely constructed for that end. They are again barrows.

In large areas of eastern England there was no other means of providing for a *ciric* than by constructing such an artificial mound—a flat circular platform which might safeguard the bones of the dead from flood, just as other such isles of refuge—'cotterells'—were built for the cattle in the marshes of the Medway. By sinking piles and brushwood in the boggy soil, by heaping up the surface, and by keeping open a fair-sized fosse around the area, something might be constructed that would serve the purpose, and practical experience would teach the fen-men where they might find a firm bottom of clay or gravel amongst the flat stretches of shaking peat-moss.

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[1] Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeology of the A.-S. Settlements*, p. 16. Even if a case can be adduced of a pre-Christian cemetery situated in a water-logged spot, this will probably be found to be no exception to the rule, but explicable by later changes. Modern efforts to drain or embank one area occasionally result in the flooding of another. There are several mediaeval domestic sites upon Pevensey Level which at the present time are entirely unsuitable for habitation, the construction of the sea-wall and the embanking of the rivers of the marsh land having prevented the rapid escape of superfluous water. The construction of locks upon the course of rivers previously open, will lead locally to similar results.

Not the churches only, but the separate houses and homesteads of the Dutch Polders are built upon just such artificial foundations, though commonly there has been more labour spent upon the church, so that this stands a foot or two higher than the houses of the village, and is so much the safer a refuge in times of flood. When the waters are out the actual structural churches are thrown open as places of refuge, and the population with all their flocks find shelter there.[1] In the fens of Friesland every house and every church stands upon its own mound, known in the local dialect as a *torp* (or *teep*).[2] This may be one of the words which reappear in England commonly as *thorp* or *thorpe*, the suffix in some hundreds of place-names which are to be found scattered thickly over the fen-levels of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Nottinghamshire, less frequently in Norfolk and Suffolk, more rarely in other lowland counties, and very seldom in the hilly counties. With few exceptions they lie at or near the saturation level,[3] and for the most part on the banks of rivers. The word might thus denote much the same thing as did *leorh*, and herein may be the explanation of its being given ' in very early glosses . . . as an alternative to *thingstow*, " place of assembly." '[4]

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[1] This occurred as lately as 1915–16. When the flood-bank of the Trent Valley, between Girton and Marton Cliff, broke at Spalford in 1795, the consequent floods inundated 20,000 acres of lowland west of Lincoln to a depth of 10 feet, and the villagers of Saxilby were forced to take refuge in their church (*Lincs. Notes and Queries*, i, 213).

[2] These have yielded a large number of Saxon burials (Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, p. 94).

[3] There is a Thorp-on-the-Hill six miles south-west of Lincoln, where the ' Hill ' is merely a slight rise at the edge of the adjoining flats.

[4] *Chief Elements in Eng. Place-Names*, p. 59.

# CHAPTER XXVI.

## SECULAR USES OF THE CHURCH.

*Secular Uses inherited from the Pagan Barrow—Gregory's Letter to Mellitus—Christianity's Compromise with Paganism—Relics the medium of the Compromise—Fuueral Feasts—Bull-feasts of St. Cuthbert, etc.—Agapae—Churches and Inns, why associated—Songs, Dances and Games in Church—Beltane Fires—The Sunwise Turn—Booths built for Church-feasts—'Anatomy of Abuses'—Games in Churches—Prohibitions of the same—Fives, Morris, Hastiludia, Cock-fighting, Racing, etc.—'Gamelands' and 'Playfields'—Meaning of 'Plaistow'—Fairs and Markets in Churchyards—Fairs held at Night—The Church as School-house—The Church-door as Notice-Board—The Church as scene of Elections—Church-Towers as Armouries.*

Among the oddest facts in ecclesiology is the variety of alien uses to which have been put the parish church and churchyard in the British Isles. Even to-day where a village feast survives it centres about the church, and commonly coincides with the patronal festival. The church-door is still the official notice-board of the Government in all matters relating to local taxation, poor-law relief, public health, and even military service. The church is still to some considerable extent an educational institution, and the affairs of the parish were until very lately still in part directed by parson and churchwardens assembled in vestry meetings. Here and there are survivals—or revivals—of things seemingly yet more irrelevant—dancing and singing, May-games, feats of strength, annual football matches, rush-bearings, and what not; and there is the fullest evidence for happenings even less accordant with modern notions of propriety—feasting and drinking and mummery of the most irreverent kind.[1]

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[1] See especially Sidney Webb, *English Local Government*, Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, vol. i, and Addy, *Church & Manor*, chaps. viii–x, xvi.

Some writers have tried to explain these facts by supposing that the Church has gathered to herself the control and direction of various activities with which originally she had nothing to do—that there has been a transfer to the church and churchyard of all these unrelated matters. There was, in the vast majority of cases, no such transfer at all. The business, the fairs, the games, etc., were associated with the churchyard because that was a barrow, and there they had grown up. On the same soil, and out of the same barrow, later grew up the structural church which inherited all that had belonged to the barrow. There was no other transfer than must necessarily happen in the devolution of an estate from one generation to the next. For almost every one of all these seemingly non-ecclesiastical happenings there is to be found an analogue in what is known of paganism and the pagan barrow.

Pope Gregory counselled Mellitus not to destroy the pagan places of worship in Saxon England, but to compromise by converting them, when possible, into Christian churches. He goes on: 'And as it is the pagans' custom to sacrifice numbers of cattle to their false gods, it were well to leave them some part of even this custom. Thus, on dedication days, or on the anniversaries of those blessed martyrs whose relics are there laid, let them build their booths of boughs around what is now a church, but was erstwhile a pagan shrine, and let them celebrate their accustomed feasts, but in godly fashion, killing and eating the victims no longer to the honour of devils, but to the glory of God, and of their fulness rendering thanks unto Him who is the giver of all things. In this way, while there be left to them some of the outward forms of their pleasures, they may the more readily find strength to understand things spiritual. It is, I doubt not, impossible to separate their stubborn hearts from all such things at one stroke.'[1] He illustrates and justifies his counsel of compromise by the case of the Israelites.

This precious record tells us that the Saxons, like the Celts, expressed their religious instincts in feasts; that these, like modern patronal festivals, came round annually; that they were held at fixed spots which were regarded in the same light as shrines or other *loca consecrata*; that in default of any roofed building to accommodate the feasters, booths were built for the occasion round the *locus consecratus*; and that Pope Gregory stongly advised that one and all of these practices should be assimilated to Christianity. And this is precisely what happened, not only with the customs mentioned, but with a large number of other practices associated with such *loca consecrata.*[1] Christianity no more dared bluntly to quash such immemorial practices than it dared immediately to denounce the immemorial fashions of burial itself. Very gradually it modified both. It forbade cremation, and fortunately for Christianity neither in Celtic Ireland nor in Saxon Emgland was cremation a fixed practice. It discouraged isolated burial in individual barrows, and encouraged the use of common graveyards. It discouraged the burial of grave-furniture with the dead, but could not suppress it all at once; indeed it never succeeded in suppressing it completely. It sought only to give to the customs of paganism a new consecration. Very hesitantly it curbed and very slowly it modified now one, now another relic of paganism; but not to this day has it succeeded in extirpating them all.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* I, xxx, § 74. This chapter is omitted in the Saxon Version.

These pagan customs were one and all connected with the grave. Therefore the new faith must likewise concern itself greatly with the grave—with the mortal *reliquiae* of the faithful at any rate, and preferably with those of some notable one amongst these. Here was yet a reason the more for placing relics of the saints and martyrs in each newly consecrated 'church.'

Teutonic funeral-feasts are repeatedly condemned in the decrees and canons of the Church, which denounced them as a form of *sacriligium.*[2] The priests themselves were frequently as guilty as their flocks, offering sacrifices of bulls and goats.[3] The Brehon Laws of Ireland mention precisely similar 'devil-feasts.'[1] Horses also were favourite victims, and various decrees prohibited the eating of horse-flesh. Within a few yards north and south of the church of Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, were found two considerable pits filled with the bones of horses,[2] possibly the relics of such feasts.

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[1] Lingard was perfectly justified in saying (*Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii, 48) that the Greek and Roman Christians did not scruple to retain many customs which had been in use with their pagan ancestors. When he goes on 'and these customs the Anglo-Saxon converts received from the missionaries,' he was making an assumption as baseless as unnecessary. The paganism of Celts and Saxons had quite enough of such customs of its own, and had no occasion to borrow any from Rome and Greece.

[2] *E.g. Capitularies* of Carloman (*anno* 742, 743, etc.), *sacrificia mortuorum; de sacrilegio ad sepulchra mortuorum; de sacrilegio super defunctos, id est, dadsisas.* See *Archaeologia* xxxv, 259; Keysler, *Northern Antiquities*; Greenwell, *Brit. Barrows*, p. 10; Bright, *Lectures*, pp. 71, sqq.

[3] Pope Zacharias to Boniface, *Ep.* 71.

At Kirkcudbright in the twelfth century there were annual bull-feasts on the occasion of the fair (St. Cuthbert's Day, March 20), and the necessary booths were erected by the villeins.[3] Mackinlay[4] points out that, as St. Cuthbert died in 687, this was not a case of the mere survival of a pagan custom upon its native site, but an instance of the deliberate transplanting of such a custom to a new and Christian site; and Professor Baldwin Brown[5] calls it 'either a remarkable coincidence, or a fact in social history of no little importance.' Bull-baiting was practised on St. Cuthbert's Day at Stirling down to 1529,[6] and there were bull-feasts in Ross-shire in honour of St. Maelrubha also as late as the sixteenth century. The old Yorkshire woman who 'thanked the Lord she had always buried hers wi' 'am,' was voicing the sentiment of her forbears long prior to the days of Christianity. The bones of the victims of such feasts are a feature in many unquestionably pagan barrows.[7] They were indeed the immediate ancestors of that abundant eating of 'funeral baked meats' which amongst certain classes customarily follows a funeral, in Lancashire and Yorkshire particularly, and which has elsewhere been refined into 'cake and sherry.' They were the ancestors also of the church-ales of the Middle Ages, which periodically turned God's House into a tavern, its wardens into professional brewers. Not very remote was the feeling which laid 'food-vessels' with the dead, and which, within the last half-century, led another Yorkshire woman periodically to place a saucer of milk upon a relative's grave. The milk was intended for the dead man's ghost, although presumably the cat got it.

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[1] Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 131.

[2] One of these was at a spot called Wanbarrow, popularly explained to mean Woden's Barrow.

[3] *Boldon Book*, *ad init.* Seebohm, *Village Community*, p. 68.

[4] Mackinlay, *Pre-Reformation Church*, p. 140.

[5] *Arts*, i, 274.

[6] *Proc. S.A.S.* x, 668. The old English sports of baiting bulls, bears, etc., took place usually on Sunday afternoons (Smith, *Festivals, Games, and Amusements*, p. 226). The Totbury bull-running occurred on the Feast of the Assumption, and the bull was loosed to its tormentors at the gate of the Priory (*ibid.*, p. 228). At Oxford the bull-ring was close to the communal church of St. Martin in Carfax.

[7] Mackinlay, p. 140.

Feasting was a part of religion irrespective of burial-rites.[1] It survives alike in Scottish Beltane-feasts and in the association of high-living with Christmas-tide and New Year. In various parts of the world various viands are as necessarily associated with the different Calendar festivals as in England are pancakes with Shrove-tide, roast goose with Michaelmas, and hot-cross buns[2] with Good Friday. Canons of the Anglican Church under dates as late as 1571 and 1603 are levelled against the practice of using the churches and churchyards for 'feasts, banquets, suppers, church-ales, and drinkings'; and in 1639 the parishioners of Berrington, Salop, were still accustomed to hold a feast in their church at Easter-tide. Even in 1750 the kirk of Stenness, Orkney, was still the scene of an annual feast which lasted, with eating and drinking and dancing, as long as the supplies brought by the participants held out.[3] Herein is to be found the sufficient explanation of the seemingly incongruous association of inns with churches. There was a time when the care of the soul and of the body were alike centred in the graveyard. Evolution presently differentiated the two, and provided one with the roof of a church, the other with that of an inn. The modern tendency is to thrust the inn further and further away from its ancient site, but in scores of our towns and villages it still holds its ground cheek by jowl with the church.[4]

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[1] Feasts in churches were forbidden as early as 363 by a Canon of the Council of Laodicea. These were the *agapae* of the Greek Church, commonly attending the *natalicia* (*i.e.* anniversaries of the deaths) of the martyrs, etc. Similar feasts were the usual concomitants of *encaenia* (feasts of the dedication) of 'churches.' The enemies of Christianity made the excesses attending such feasts the ground for attacks upon the new faith, and St. Augustine was compelled to admit that they had reason on their side. A Canon of the Council of Chalon (650) forbids the license which allowed 'companies of women singing filthy songs at the dedications of basilicas and the feasts of martyrs' (Bingham, *Christian Antiqs.* Bk. xx, vii, § 10; Labbé, *Concilia*, vi, 391). The Saxon name was '(Church) Wakes,' the German *Kirchenweihe*, dialect *Kyrwi* or *Kylwi* (Hospinianus, *de Festis*, cited by Bingham, *loc. cit.*).

[2] For similar customs in pre-Christian Rome and Tarentum, see Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 161, and Sir Arthur Evans in *Journ. Hellen. Studies*, vii (1886), p. 44. In Serbia it was the custom to keep annually the 'Slava-day' of the family, when were served various special cakes, one of which was termed *Kolyivo*, literally 'something which has been killed with a knife,' obviously symbolical of an original bloody sacrifice. *Kolyivo* is prepared only for those saints who are believed to be dead, not for those who are believed to be still living, such as St. Elias (Petrovitch, *Serbia*, p. 255).

[3] Addy, *Church & Manor*, pp. 330–333.

[4] This association of church and inn has been explained as a late development arising out of the need of refreshment after early communion taken fasting, and especially after this when (as was customary) it followed upon a wedding ceremony. This doubtless

Feasting inevitably entailed singing ; this as inevitably led to dancing ; and out of the last would be developed various forms of athletic exercise.

As connected with funeral-feasts songs would in the first instance be merely the expression of grief, or panegyrics of the dead and his ancestry. In Greece this feature developed in the long run into the homiletic splendours of Greek Tragedy and the choric odes with their ceremonial dances round the altar-tomb ; in the more matter-of-fact Roman it took shape in the funeral oration and the display of the *imagines*. In Irish *Aenachs* it came to be an opportunity for the compilation and perpetuation of a sort of history of the tribe, of the clan, or of the nation. It survives to-day only in the ' keening ' at an Irish wake, in the coronachs of Gaelic grief, and in the long-drawn chanting of hymns wherewith a Welsh or Highland bier is borne over the hills to some remote burial-ground. A canon (no. 24) of Aelfric forbids the singing of ' pagan ' songs at Saxon funerals. In Ireland, as in Greece, it promised at one time to produce a dramatic art, but this promise was not fulfilled.[1] There are traces of a similar promise in England, as when in 1197 it was found needful to prohibit ' spectacles ' in the churchyard of Bury St. Edmunds. In this country the mystery and miracle plays of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries were probably encouraged by the Church partly as a means to overbear the traditional dramatic elements associated with pagan funeral ceremonies. ' At the funeralls in Yorkshire,' wrote Aubrey, ' to this day . . . some play at cards, some drink and take tobacco. They have also mimicall playes and sports, *e.g.* they choose a simple young fellow to be a judge, then the suppliants (having first blacked their hand by rubbing it under the bottome of the pott) beseech his Lordship and smutt all his face.'[2] The very Easter-fires and Beltane-fires are but survivals of pagan ritual, which are to-day associated with various dates in the Christian calendar—Easter, St. John's

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had much to do with perpetuating, if not actually reviving, a far older association of the two. ' Among the early Christians Sunday was so especially a day of joy and gladness that all fasting on it was prohibited, even during the great annual fast of Lent' (Smith's *Festivals*, p. 126). That national institution, the Sunday sirloin, has therefore a sound historical authority.

[1] Wood Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths in Ireland*, i, pp. 314, 386.

[2] Cited by E. Peacock in *Instructions to Parish Priests*, note on l. 1465.

Eve, and Halloween. The Yule-fire and the blazing Christmas pudding are just as pagan in their origin, and almost as near extinction.

Hundreds of barrows have yielded the traces of funeral fires, and not a few have yielded what would seem to be the relics of funeral-feasts. Of the songs there can be no survival save in traditional use,[1] but the dancing or something very like it has left more concrete evidence. The floor of the 5-ft. ditch which surrounded the barrow at Whatcombe, Blandford, was observed to be 'smoothed and polished into a perfectly well-defined track' by human feet circling round the burial-mound,[2] and a similar ditch around the timber-built peristalithic circle at Bleasdale, Lancs., was carefully floored to serve as a processional way.[3] The great barrow near the church at St. Weonard's, Herefordshire, was until lately the scene of annual morris and maypole-dances,[4] the maypole itself representing possibly the pillar-stone which had marked a grave. At North Ronaldshay and at Bernera, in the Orkneys, it was the custom to dance about a pillar-stone. These pillar-stones 'may have been to the ancient Picts what the parish kirk is to the modern inhabitants—a place of worship, where they devoutly assembled under the canopy of heaven to offer their devotions to the sun-god.'[5] It is not needful to drag the sun-god in: pillar-stones frequently mark graves, but probably even when not sepulchral they were frequently *foci religionis*.

The 'sun-wise turn'[6] about a *locus consecratus* was, and is, a prominent feature of Celtic rituals. At Croagh Patrick the devotees' pilgrimage is completed by performing the turn seven successive times about three small circles at the foot of the hill[7]; and the name of these circles—Relic Mhuire—declares them to be barrows. The old custom of carrying a corpse sun-wise about the church at Dipple (ch. xxii) is merely the continuance of the pagan ritual upon a Christian site.[1]

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[1] Sir Walter Scott has reconstructed and preserved one such song ('A Lyke-wake Dirge' in *Border Minstrelsy*), of which another version is quoted by Peacock, *l.c.*

[2] *Proc. Lancs. and Chesh. Antiq. Soc.*, xviii (1900).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Wright, *Essays on Archaeol. Subjects*, i, 58 *sqq.*

[5] Spence, *Shetland Folk-Lore*, pp. 88, 89.

[6] Variously called the *deisul*, *desiul*, *dessil* and *turas*. It is 'the way the wine goes round' at table, and the way the cards are dealt. It is followed by the officiating bishop and clergy by direction of the Church herself, whenever a new church or new churchyard is consecrated. See Daniel Rock, *Church of Our Fathers* (1850), III, ii, pp. 181, 182; Martin, *Description of Western Isles*, pp. 116, 85, 247, etc.

[7] Borlase, *Age of the Saints*, p. 47.

In the *Ancren Riwle* (*c.* 1225) one of the petty sins to be confessed is that of 'going to the dancing in the churchyard.'[2] Six centuries later canons were issued against morris-dancing in the churches, 'Powles' Dance' was a recognised institution, and when Aubrey wrote the Minster of York was the accustomed scene of a riotous revel. Until lately the parishioners of Painswick, Glouces., used to join hands and go dancing round their church (St. Mary's) once a year.[3] The practice was known as 'clipping the church,' and was observed in localities as wide apart as Burbage in Derbyshire, Warminster in Wilts., and Guiseley in Yorks., W.R. (St. Oswald's).[4] On the north side of the church of Llanpumsant, Carm., used to stand a chapel, of which it was reported in a Visitation of 1710 that the clerk 'did never know any use made of it, except that on Sundays in wet weather the country people resorted thither to dance.'[5] The very name of 'revels' (French *reveiller*) reminds one that these were originally the vigils of departed saints, 'ful of songe and ful of daunce.'[6]

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[1] The pagan character of the rite is proved by its being expressly forbidden in *Capitularies* of Charlemagne. It was in fact known as the *cursus paganus*. The superstition is not confined to the Western world: it is referred to by Ovid and others. See other references in Borlase, *Antiqs. of Cornwall* (1769), p. 128. It was the dying command of a lady of the manor of West Woodhay, Berks., that her coffin, before being laid in the adjoining graveyard, should be borne thrice round the manor house, presumably 'widdershins,' for the lady had a sore grievance against her husband. This was in the eighteenth century.

[2] Titus MS., *Ancren Riwle*, 318, *eode i ring i chircheyeard*. For this sense of 'ring' the *N.E.D.* cites Douglas, *Aeneis* (1513), iv, 37, 'ringis and dancis mony a rowte.' So Spenser, *Shepheard's Calender* (1580), *October*, v. 53, 'al were Elisa one of thilke same ring.' One MS. of the *Ancren Riwle* reads *eode oðe pleowe ine chircheie, biheold hit, and oðe wrastlinge, and oð er fol geomenes*. For the meaning of *pleowe* ('play'), cf. the famous 'plays o' Peebles,' which were held 'at Beltane,' dancing being a principal item of the programme.

[3] They subsequently went through the streets in procession shouting something which had been rationalized to 'High Gates,' and thereafter adjourned to feast on 'puppy pie.' At the present day these *paganiae* are reduced to a procession in church on the Sunday nearest to 19th Sep. (Feast of the Annunciation, Old Style).

[4] The custom is said to be especially associated with dedications to St. Oswald (5th August), but at Warminster it fell on Shrove Tuesday.

[5] *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 541.

[6] For a number of Continental examples of church-dancing, some still surviving, see E. K. Chambers, *Medieval Stage*. At Echternach in Luxembourg the date is Whitsuntide and the dancing is performed by a procession as it moves from the doors of the church of Echternach *to the tomb of St. Willibrord* (*ibid.* i, 163). At Limoges 'the people used to dance round in the choir of the church' of St. Marcel (Smith, *Festivals, Games and Amusements*, p. 232). King James I issued a royal proclamation that 'our good people be not disturbed, letted, nor discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either for men or women . . . May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of

As the Saxons built booths for their pagan feasting, so did the Britons for their paschal celebration before the 'Alleluia Victory' (ch. xvi), and the *Boldon Book* shows us the same thing become a manorial custom of the twelfth century. Booths were erected for the fourteen days' session of the annual Althing of Iceland,[1] and the travelling booths which yet wander about England from one fair or feast or market to another, are the highly developed descendants of the originals built of boughs and greenery.[2]

The close association of all such activities with the church and the churchyard is emphasised in the following passage from the *Anatomy of Abuses* of 1583 (p. 93) :—

'Thus thynges sette in order, they have their Hobbie horses, dragons, and other Antiques, together with their baudie Pipers and thunderynge Drommers, to strike up the Deville's Daunce withal. Then marche these Heathen companie toward the Churche and Churchyarde, their Pipers pipyng, Drommers thonderyng, their Stumppes dauncing, their Belles iyngling, their handkerchefes swinging about their heades, like madmen, their Hobbie horses and other monsters skyrmishing amongst the throng ; and in this sorte thei goe to the Churche (though the Minister bee at Praier or Preachyng), dauncing and swingyng their Handkerchiefes over their heades in the Churche, like Devilles incarnate, with such a confused noise that no man can heare his owne voice. Then the foolish people, thei looke, thei stare, thei laugh, thei fleere and mount upon formes and pewes to see these goodly pageauntes solemnized in this sort. Then after this aboute the Churche thei goe againe and againe, and so forth into the Churcheyarde, where thei have commonly their sommer Haules, their Bowers, Arbours, and banquettynge houses set up, wherein thei feaste, banquet and daunce all that daie and (peradventure) all that night too.'

Sir David Lyndsay describes similar scenes in Edinburgh, when :

'They beir ane auld stok image through the town
With talbrone, troumpet, schalme, and clarioune . . .
With preistes and freris in precessioun,
Siclyke as Bel was borne through Babilone.'

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May-poles' on Sundays and other holidays, provided these were not allowed to interfere with Divine service (Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*).

[1] Above, ch. vii.

[2] The Jews and the Romans had the same practice.

Herein is the ancestry of all the pleasant 'pomp and feast and revelry' of May-games, still especially prominent—and indeed recrudescent—in the Celtic West, in Somerset and Devon.[1]

In some of the Western Isles of Scotland the dance took the form rather of a military ride, both sexes being mounted. At Kilbar[2] they rode three times about St. Barr's church on the patronal day (September 27), a performance at once recalling the rides about the graves of Patroclus, Anchises, and Beowulf.

Irish *Aenachs* were accompanied by sports and games of whatever kind might be locally in vogue. So were the later lych-wakes[3] of Yorkshire and the wakes of Lancashire and of Ireland. Aubrey mentions card-playing and the mock-assize, and the game of hot cockles. These however were indoor amusements. Outdoor sports of every kind were customary features of every *Aenach* and every churchyard. The wrestling is mentioned in the *Ancren Riwle* (p. 54, *n*. 2) and John de Pontissara,[4] Bishop of Winchester (in 1295), forbade all such *lucte*, along with dancing and *ludi spectabiles*. In Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests* are mentioned other sports:—

'Castynge of ax-tree and of ston
Sofere hem þere to use non;
Bal and bares and suche play
Out of chyrcheȝeorde put away.'

A gloss on this passage, of a date somewhat later than the text, reads: 'Daunsyng, cotteyng, bollyng, tenessyng, hand-ball, foot-ball, stoil-ball, and all manner other games out churchyard.'[5]

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[1] See Addy, *Church and Manor*, pp. 338–9, on the 'Midsummer Game.' The ceremonial crowning of a May Queen amidst dancing and games took place on 20th June, 1919, in the churchyard of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, London.

[2] Martin, *Description of the Western Isles* (1703), p. 99. The same writer repeatedly mentions the like performance on St. Michael's Feast Day. In the Isle of Harris it included bare-back races (p. 79).

[3] The Anglo-Saxon equivalent of 'vigil' and 'revel,' the all-night watching of the corpse (*lic*). In the shortened form 'wake' it is still in use for the local fair or holiday ('holy day' of the patronal saint), as at Oldham Wakes in Lancs., and Compton Wake at Compton Abdale, Glouces.

[4] *Reg. of John de Pontissara*, i, 210, 225.

[5] *Instructions to Parish Priests*, vv. 334–7. 'Bares' is the game of casting the bar, still popular in the sixteenth century. The stone, upwards of 100 lb. in weight, was, like the parish top, a part of the apparatus of every village and was kept in the church. One is still preserved in the church at Llanwddyn (Lake Vyrnwy), Mont.; cf. *Reliquary*, 1896, p. 159. 'Cotteyng' is the game of quoits. The old English game of stool-ball is now again vigorous in Sussex, where it had never wholly died out.

Even the game of fives originated in ball-playing against the walls of churches, and Elias Owen instances churches in the Vale of Clwyd, of which the walls are scored with lines and marks for the game. Eton and Rugby have each developed rules of their own, conditioned by the architectural features of their several chapels, but it would seem that neither had the right to pose as the first inventor of the game. A contemporary description[1] of 1746 speaks of 'a dozen lusty fellows playing tennis against the tiles of the church' at Diserth, Radnorshire, 'and as many playing fives against the steeple (tower).' The 'nine-men's-morris' was sometimes played in the church, and flat stones marked out with the necessary lines and holes for this or some similar game have been found in the churches of Hargrave, Northants., and Sempringham, Lincs.[2]

One hears even of *hastiludia in coemeterio*: Bishop Adam de Orleton of Winchester (*ob.* 1345) expressly forbade them.[3] The word is generally understood to mean tournaments, but there was perhaps hardly room for such things in the average medieval churchyard.[4] Possibly the reference is to some such game as that of tilting at the quintain.[5]

Until 1850 or thereabouts the circular churchyard of Penmachno, Carn., 'was used as a public playground, and had as many as seven stiles into it.' The last statement helps one to understand how easily the old-time regularity of the circular garth might be distorted and lost.[6]

A peculiarly popular form of sport amongst the Celts was that of cock-fighting. It was a pre-historic taste, for cocking-spurs have been found in the *débris* of the lake-village at Meare. A cockpit—a shallow circular depression 24 ft. in diameter—is visible to this day in the churchyard of Pennant Melangell, Mont., and the association of this sport with the Sabbath-day meeting at church was in Wales maintained until the last century, as also in Cumberland. There is a cock-pit in the churchyard at How Gill. The pit was commonly on the north side 'as being less sacred,' and when at last decency had altogether barred it from the garth, another was frequently made immediately outside, as at Pennant Melangell, and at Llanfechain in the same county, and again at Llangelynin, Carn.[1]

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[1] See *Reliquary* 1895, p. 136. Such games were usually played against the north wall of the building, because there were fewer doors and windows on that side, and fewer graves in this part of the garth. The scores were scratched upon the wall, and may be seen here and there.

[2] Murray's *Guide to Northants.*, p. 196.

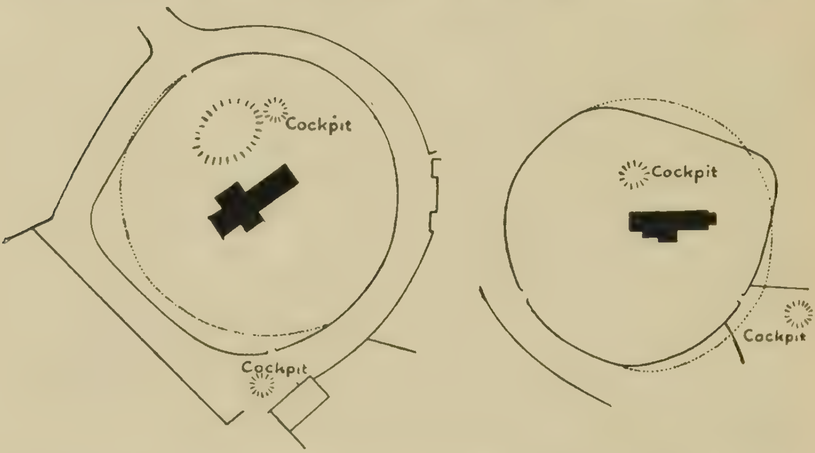
[3] Gibson's *Codex* (1761), i, 191.

[4] See Ducange *s.v. hastiludium.*

[5] Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* (1810), pp. 104 *sqq.*

[6] Hughes & North, *Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 118.

Different forms of sport took precedence at different spots at different periods. At Merryn in Cornwall, until very recently, the special game was hurling. Earlier generations had cultivated manlier forms of exercise, such as running and leaping, horse-racing and wrestling, and there was probably a time when the sports took even more dangerous forms, such as combats involving the risk of actual bloodshed. The case of the survival of footraces at Cnocan has been cited above (ch. xvii). Borlase remarks[2] the survival of horse-racing round the dolmen in Giants' Ring, co. Down, and similar may be the origin of the great horse-fairs at Woodbury Hill, Dorset, and at Yarnbury, Wilts. Crayke in Galtres, a spot peculiarly associated with St. Cuthbert, was until the eighteenth century the scene of one of the largest race-meetings in Yorkshire, the prize taking the strange shape of a little golden bell.[3] The



CHURCHYARDS OF (1) LLANFECHAIN (BEFORE 1888) AND (2) PENNANT MELANGELL (1896), MONTGOMERYSHIRE, WITH EARLIER (INSIDE) AND LATER (OUTSIDE) COCKPITS.

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[1] *Reliquary*, 1896, p. 154. In some parts of England at the present day the north side of the churchyard is regarded as being 'not in the sanctuary.'

[2] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 907.

[3] Gibson's *Camden* (1772), i, 179. The race-meetings were discontinued before 1772. For Crayke, see above, ch. xv. The

Easter games at The Kirk, Kirkby Ireleth (ch. xxiv), are another case. There is something more than mere coincidence in the resemblance between such cases and that of the Greek Olympic Games or that of the *Circus Maximus* in Rome. Stone-circles in Wales, it will be recalled, are frequently called *Meini Campau* (ch. xx), 'Play Stones.' In a field in the parish of Orton, Westmorland, were lately to be seen the remains of a large peristalithic barrow or cromlech. The field is to this day called 'Game-lands,' because it was the scene of annual sports associated with the barrow. At Holne, Devonshire, is a 'Ploy Field,' the property of the parish, and the scene erstwhile of an annual 'Ram-feast' on May-day. In the centre of the field is a pillar-stone, at which the ram was despatched and roasted. The festival was attended by the usual dancing, wrestling, and similar sports.[1] At Donington, Lincs., where was once a small chapel of St. Bartholomew, the patronal day used to be celebrated by strewing the chapel's floor with rushes, and after service adjourning 'to a piece of land known as the "Play Garths," where . . . the remainder of the day was spent in rustic games.'[2] Near what Stukeley named the 'Arch-druid's Barrow' at Rollright, Oxon., he remarked 'a square plat, oblong, formed on the turf,' whereon annually, upon a certain date, 'the young men and maidens customarily meet, and make merry with cakes and ale. And this seems to be the remains of the very ancient festival here celebrated in memory of the interred.'[3] A yearly revel used to be held in the parish of Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts., the rendezvous being a tumulus known as Cross Hill, presumably a Christian *ciric* which had failed to make good, and conceivably the original burial-place of the community before the creation of the parish *ciric* at some date after 750. Annually on Good

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annual fair at Clachan St. John's, a village in the parish of Dalry, Kirkcudbright, is popularly known as 'Clachan Race.' A good many modern race-meetings seem to be the survivals of old fairs, *e.g.* that of Brighton: the Grand Stand is set close beside a now destroyed camp on White Hawk Hill, and White Hawk Fair was, in the eighteenth century, the great event whereof the races were but one incident. See Erridge, *Hist. of Brighthelmston* (1862), p. 285.

[1] Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, pp. 32, 163. According to one view this ceremony represents a survival of the old feast of the *Terminalia* ('Beating the Bounds'), and the custom of sacrificing a victim at each boundary-mark.

[2] *Curiosities of the Church* (W. Andrews), p. 56. At Playden near Rye, Sussex, was again a Hospital of St. Bartholomew (*V.C.H.*, *Sussex*, ii. 104).

[3] Abury, p. 13.

Friday there was a similar revel—dancing, rustic games, etc.—about a great barrow at Hove, Sussex, which ceased only when the barrow was destroyed in 1857.[1] The same date was marked by similar meetings on Chilswell Hill, near Oxford, and St. Martha's Hill, near Guildford.[2] The more usual date was Easter Monday, as at Kirkby Ireleth. Both dates point back to the immemorial spring-feast of humanity, the festival of the Saxon Eostre. To this day certain children's games are regularly associated with certain definite seasons, and even cricket is no exception: the 'season' begins on Easter Monday. An antiquary who notes the coming and going of battle-dores, hop-scotch, and the like, might almost dispense with any printed almanack. The names of 'Play Garths' and 'Play Field' recall that of Plaistow, which still figures thrice in the *Gazetteer*, and was at one time very much more frequent.[3]

As *stow* commonly denoted a place of burial, a barrow (ch. xxiv), and as barrows, whether anhistoric (as at Orton and Holne) or Christian (*i.e.* churchyards) were the traditional scenes of the village revels and games, Plaistow (for *pleg-stow*) presumably meant originally a barrow[4] which was the scene of such revels. In old documents the name usually has the definite article (*e.g.*, 1271 La Pleystow = Plaistow in Essex), just as has 'church.'[5]

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[1] *Sussex Arch. Coll.* ix, 120. This was the 'Amber Cup Tumulus.'

[2] Johnson, *Byways*, p. 195.

[3] It is frequent still as a local name in Herts., Essex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Berks. and Hants., but in the rest of England is less common, if not altogether unknown in some counties. *Domesday* has a *Pleistou* in Shirwell, four miles N.E. of Barnstaple, Devon., and there is one instance in Herefordshire, possibly not a genuine old name. In Warwickshire it is disguised under the form of Plestins. Kent has also a Plaxtol, and records of the county furnish the intermediate forms Playstoll, Pleystole, and Pleystool. These Kentish instances, Canon Scott Robertson thinks (*Arch. Cantiana* xiii, 216, 341), took their name from medieval miracle-plays here performed; but the name itself is older as its occurrence in *D.B.* proves.

[4] Possibly barrows which were admitted to be non-Christian? It is a curious fact that no Plaistow is an *old* parish, though some of them were ancient chapelries.

[5] As the A.-S. Glossaries give *plegbus* ('playhouse'), there can be no doubt about the initial syllable. Otherwise, on the analogy of most other *stow*-names, one would incline to seek a personal name therein. T. G. Roberts (*Place-Names of Sussex*) postulates the personal name Plega to explain the place-name Playden, Sussex, but Plega does not figure in the *Onomasticon*, although derivatives are common. The Glossaries equate *plegbus* with *theatrum*, but there is no evidence that the Saxons knew anything of structural theatres. There is plenty of evidence that they knew and frequented open-air 'play-places,' and there is great probability that they took over many of these direct from the Celts. How explain otherwise the case of the revels at the Amber Cup Tumulus, for example, or that of St. Weonard's (p. 339), both of which appear to have been pre-Saxon burial-places? Later, it would seem, a village benefactor might give a *plaistow* without reference to any pre-existing spot or any particular shape, just as nowadays one gives a parish

It is as easy to understand how here and there a burial-place, pagan or Christian, should come to be named from the 'play' therewith associated, and should retain the name to the present day, as to understand the admitted fact that, out of all the vast number of burial-places which were the scenes of fairs, one only should still keep the name of Chepstow; or, if we include also those which bear the name of Chipping, a total of eight in all.

The Irish *Aenachs*, invariably held at the graves of heroes and kings, came ultimately to be fairs where goods of all kinds were bought and sold. So in Greece the Olympic meetings came to be the most important commercial events of their age, even as in Jerusalem the Temple became the haunt of dealers and money-changers. It was the same everywhere and for the same reasons. In this country the churchyard, and subsequently in many cases the actual church, became the scene and centre of every great fair.

The market of Balquhidder used to be held in a haugh 'where there are seven stones remaining of a circle which appears to have been about 30 ft. in diameter.' The patron saint was Angus, whose name still clings to a knoll overlooking the scene of the market.[1] St. Columba's fair at Kingussie in Strathspey was held at Clach-Chollum-Chille, 'Columba's Burial-ground.'[2] The spot is spoken of as the hallowed site of the old church of Kingussie, 'but there is no church there now.' The fair was held 'partly within and partly without the graveyard,' which means merely that the fair had outgrown the narrow limits of the burial-place. At Kelso in Roxburghshire an annual fair was held on the spot (St. James' Green) reputed the site of a long-vanished church of St. James. A fair used to be held on All Saints' Day in the church and churchyard of All Saints, Northampton. At St. James', Bristol, an arrangement

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recreation-ground or cricket-field. There is a case in White, *Antiquities of Selborne* (Letter X): Sir Adam Gurdon and his wife Constantine give (1271) to the Priory and Convent of Selborne 'a certain place (*placea*) called La Playstow in the village aforesaid.' It was a level area near the church, about 44 yds. long by 36 yds. wide, a rectangular plot with an old oak in the centre, and in White's time it was called 'The Plestor.' There is a 'Chapel of Playster' or 'Chapel Plaster,' in Ditteridge, Wilts. The building, which was already desecrated in Aubrey's time, was of the primitive type with a western bell-cote, and dated apparently from about 1460–80. It stood near the junction of six roads, 'at the end of Corsham Ridge.' See Aubrey's *Topog. Collections for Wiltshire* (Devizes, 1862).

[1] Mackinlay, p. 12, citing *Proc. S.A.S.*, xxi, 83.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

was made in 1374, by which the parish minister was to be supported by a moiety of the profits arising from the fixing of pales or anything else penetrating or occupying the soil of the churchyard at the fair annually held there on the feast of St. James.[1]

The churchyard of St. John's Chapel, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yorks., is of unusual area, and was the scene of one of the largest fairs in the country.

The great fair at Christ's Kirk in Kennethmont—'Chrystis Kirk o' the Green'—was actually held at night.[2] When it is realized that the fair was in origin nothing but a 'revel' or 'wake,' the fact ceases to be in any way surprising.[3] These patronal festivals were the *Consualia* of their communities, and like the *Consualia* (chap. vi) they long outlived all memory of their meaning.

In days when the churchyard was still an unfenced barrow only, and commonly the topographical centre of the village, it was the natural place to choose for a market or a fair, affording a most convenient stance for the traders and their booths. It was in fact the most public place to be found, and in Scotland one still hears the expression 'do it at kirk-door,' *i.e. coram populo*, the reference originally being not to the porch of the church, but to the gate of the churchyard. The decline of such churchyard fairs goes *pari passu* with the movement towards giving to the churchyard a decent and permanent fence. Nevertheless the habit of holding all fairs upon such *loca consecrata* was too inveterate to be lightly extinguished. A statute of Winchester (1285) enjoining 'that henceforth neither fairs nor markets be holden in churchyards,' was but one, and not the first,[1] of a long series of similar enactments. A second was issued by the Synod of Exeter in 1287, and a third by Archbishop Thoresby in 1363. The *Lincoln Episcopal Registers* provide many illustrations of the habit and of the difficulty of suppressing it. 'Dalderby in 1302 wrote to forbid the market in the church of Ingoldmells. Gynwell in 1360 issued a general prohibition against the selling of wares and the holding of sports and games in churches and churchyards. In Bokyngham's rule the prior of Holland was denounced for holding a market in a church; and an order of 1392 forbade the selling of merchandise within the conventual church of Stainfield.'[2] The habit was not dead even in the days of Henry VIII. To this day the local fair or feast, if it survives at all, is so generally associated with the patronal day that, in many cases of dubious dedications, the date of the local revel may be taken as the criterion whereby to distinguish between the genuinely old and the adventitious claimant. Many of the greater fairs were known simply by the Saint's Day, *e.g.* Bartlemy's, Michaelmas, and Tawdry (*i.e.* Saint Etheldreda's) Fair at Cambridge. Such a thing as a fair without a corresponding saint would seem to have been at one time as unthinkable as an *Aenach* without a burial-place.

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[1] Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, 274. The proceeds of such fairs were a valuable perquisite. A fair was held until recently at Michaelmas about the parish church of Eastbourne. [The dedication to St. Mary is probably late and mistaken.] The lord of the manor, coveting this source of revenue, obtained license to hold a second fair, which he astutely fixed for St. Matthew's day, a week before Michaelmas, thus cutting out the older fair, the proceeds whereof had gone to the rector. At Norwich the rival claims of the Benedictine Priory and the townsmen to the control of the fair held at Tomblands and the revenue thence arising, led in the upshot to a positive civil war, the storm of the fortified priory, the burning of part of its church (now represented by the Cathedral), and the excommunication of the towns-folk for some four years (1272–6). Tomblands lies just without Ethelbert's Gate, one of the gates of the Priory. It derives its name from its having once belonged to the Abbey of St. Michael in Monte Tumba (Mont St. Michel).

[2] It began at sunset and ended an hour after sunrise next morning. From this it was known as the Sleepy Market. About 1759 the proprietor of Rannes, who was lord of the fair, *changed it from night to day*, but the people were dissatisfied and *neglected it altogether* (*Proc. S.A. Scot.*, lii, 164). The fact provides a curious parallel to the case of the fair at Cnocan.

[3] Sir Norman Lockyer (*Stonehenge*, 2nd Ed., p. 447) has something to say of the identity of such fairs with ancient *gorseddau*. We learn from Homer (*Iliad* xxiii, 216–8) that it was usual to burn the dead at night in Achean Greece, as it was in Rome (ch. xxv). All the sovereigns of England prior to Queen Victoria, were buried by night, and so late as 1919 a Sussex Yeoman was, by his own desire, buried at night-time.

The practice of using part of the church as a school-room is too well known to call for illustration. It was commonly the porch or the tower which were so used, but there was nothing but sentiment to prevent worse desecrations; at St. Alban's the Lady Chapel became a school, and in some cases the western half of the building (nave) was walled off and used as the parish school-room. In very many cases a school-house was ultimately built apart from the church, but still within the garth, as at Old Alderley in Cheshire (early seventeenth century); and in other cases there is reason to think that a pre-existing building, originally erected to be a duplicate church or chapel, was appropriated for the purposes of a school, as at Carew in Pembrokeshire. At Tideswell, Derbyshire, it would seem that the Elizabethan Grammar School stands upon what was once part of the churchyard. Such facts bespeak a direct descent from the days when the stone circle was the scene not of pagan ritual only, but also of instruction, whereof the modern Sunday-school is the later and more seemly daughter.

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[1] Markets in churches and churchyards were explicitly forbidden on *Sundays* by the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests*, but in *D.B.* it is mentioned that the town of St. Germans, Cornwall, kept its fair *in die Dominica*. Ellis (*General Introd. to Domesday*, i, 253) cites Matthew Paris as protesting against the habit, which prevailed 'all over England,' and also prints a petition (of 1595) for its suppression, which alleges that at that date it still prevailed 'in Wales and the Marches.' Such an entry as that of *D.B.* ii, 418 (of the manor of Aspella), *in eadem tertia pars aecclesiae et tertia pars feriae*, suggests that the presence of a church commonly implied the occurrence of a fair.

[2] *V.C.H. Lincolnshire*, ii, 33, where the references are given.

In hardly any of these various uses of the modern church is it less difficult to recognise continuity than in the practice of using the door of the building as a public notice-board. The explanation offered by Walter Johnson[1] is that it arose from the fact that 'the church-porch was pre-eminently the spot for discussing parish business, because it formed a convenient shelter and halting-place for worshippers . . . a most appropriate rallying point for the transaction of business.' But there was business to be transacted and proclamations to be made for long centuries before there was any church-porch. Proclamations were made from immemorial antiquity at the barrows of the dead, the *agger tumuli* of Vergil, the *cnoc* of an Irish *Aenach*, the law-hill of Northern Britain; and they were naturally made also from the Christian barrow, the churchyard. That evolution presently offered a convenient church-door upon which a written notice might be fixed, and later still offered a spacious porch which had all the publicity of a parish room,[2] was but a happy accident. Analogous was the use of the church-door, or of some convenient tree in the garth, as a 'keeper's tree' for the display of slaughtered vermin.

Lastly the officials of the community were customarily elected in the church, as for example the mayors of Grantham, Boston, Salisbury, Sandwich, Fordwich and Northampton, and the bailiff of Lydd. At New Romney election takes place at a particular altar-tomb in the south aisle of the church.[1] The election of the mayor of Brightlingsea, Essex, takes place annually in the belfry of the parish church. Even members of Parliament were sometimes elected in the church of the borough, as in the case of New Shoreham in Sussex.

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[1] *Byways*, p. 143.

[2] It offered sometimes further conveniences. Thus in the porch (a small one) of the church of Marystowe, Devon, is a fire-place and chimney. The usual explanation advanced, that the provision was for the comfort of the parishioners on cold or wet Sundays, is scarcely sufficiently profound to convince.

In all these varied uses there is to be seen only legitimate survival, for without doubt the same things, or their equivalents, were habitually done at the barrows of paganism in Britain. There is nothing at all which can be called usurpation until in the fifteenth century we find the parish church used even as the village armoury.[2] In earlier days this had probably been unthinkable, and again and again the earlier codes implicitly preclude anything of the kind. The *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* and the *Canons* (xvii, cv) of Ecgbert laid heavy penalties upon the priest who came into church, *i.e.* within the churchyard, with weapons. So did the *Laws of Howel Dda.* The law forbade the Druid to bear arms. The Saxon Coifi declares his apostasy from the faith of Woden by mounting a steed and seizing a lance; and he defiles the sanctuary of his race at Godmundham by flinging into it the lance (ch. xxi).

In the *Paston Letters* (no. 978) is an account of a raid made by the Duke of Suffolk upon the village of Hellesdon in Norfolk, in 1465, when the 'gere' taken out of the 'stepell' by the raiders included 'ix sheffe arwys, ix bawys, ij hand gonnes, iij chambers for gonnys, ij mallys of lede, ij jakkes (coats of mail),' and 'a stokke-gonne with three chambers.'[3]

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[1] Johnson, *Byways*, p. 143, referring to *Notes and Queries*, ser. 10, xii, 148, and *Arch. Cantiana*, xiii, 141–2. The tomb was erected expressly for this purpose so late as the year 1622.

[2] Even when the church is not expressly mentioned as used for an armoury, the churchwardens were still responsible for the proper provision of arms. Thus at Brighthelmston at the end of the sixteenth century they had to provide '4 barrels of powder, 40 round shot, and 10 chain-shot for every great piece' (Erridge, *Hist. of Brighthelmston*, p. 35).

[3] For other examples see Johnson, *Byways*, pp. 157 *sqq.*; Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 396, and references. It is to be noticed that the weapons and armour were kept not in the church proper, but in the steeple (*i.e.* tower) or in a room over the porch. There was a tacit conviction in medieval times that neither the porch nor the tower were sacred in the same degree as were nave and chancel. This was particularly the case with the tower, which is frequently specified as a thing as much apart from the nave as was the chancel. This and the fact that the priest frequently had his dwelling-place either in the tower or over the porch, are matters which explain each other. It was ruled in the present year (1928) that a suicide in the tower of a church did not necessitate the reconstruction of the building, 'because the tower is no essential part of the church.' In provincial Sweden the customary name of the church porch

When the church had come to be the parish armoury it was a natural development to use the churchyard as an archery-ground. Hence in Queen Elizabeth's time it was statutory that archery should be there practised 'on Sundays and holy days'; and in the reign of James I it was ruled that no person might participate in the 'lawful games in the churchyard' unless he had previously attended the Sunday service.

## Chapter XXVII.

### SECULAR USES OF THE CHURCH (*continued*).

*Barrows as Manorial Courts—Churchyards as Manorial Courts—The Tounecherche of Leicester—The Halimote—Charters of Beauchief Abbey—Godmanchester's Moot-hall—Thorpe-le-Soken—'Terra Cuthberti'—'Sac' and 'Soc'—The Vestry—Why no Municipal Buildings in Early England—Vinogradoff's Conclusions—The Manor of Celtic Origin—Druidism merging into Christianity—Who built the first Churches?—Different ownership of Church and Churchyard—Possession of a church a proof of Freedom—Identity of 'Circus,' 'Curia,' and 'Church'—Dual Ownership of Churches—The Circle in Folklore and in Magic.*

Alt the Irish *Aenachs*, that is, at the barrows of the dead, the old laws were recited and new laws were promulgated. There is abundant evidence for the close association of the mound and the law throughout the centuries and in every part of the British Isles: the Celtic *cruc* and the Teutonic moot-*hill* were alike in their origin and in their use: each was a 'law-hill,' and each was either actually or symbolically a barrow, the exact counterpart of the Homeric ἱερός κύκλος, the sign visible of Themis, encircling its central symbol of a sepulture, the 'goodly Posideum.'

In precisely the same way the church has been at one time or other the scene of every process of law and even of every form of punishment short perhaps of the actual death-penalty. It was the customary courthouse of the period, where sat the judge and his jury. The Prior of Christ-

is *vâkenhus* (*vapenhus*), 'Weapon-house,' because worshippers there piled their arms before entering the building (Earle, *Deeds of Beowulf*, p. 120).

church, Hants., used the great porch of the church as an office, and the place occupied by his table is still pointed out. In the eleventh century the south porch of Canterbury cathedral was used as a court of justice, and had evidently long been so used, for ‘ litigants from all parts of England ’ flocked to it.[1] In the church were made oaths and attestations, testaments were sworn, lands were surrendered, deeds of transfer were executed, acts of sale and purchase of every kind were completed, rents and mortgages and other debts were paid,[2] slaves were manumitted, and every form of legal act was completed. In Chaucer's day the church-porch of St. Paul's was the regular scene of lawyers' consultations, and in St. Paul's John Wyclif was put upon his trial. In the church men and women did penance or underwent trial by ordeal, and the stocks and ‘ juggs ’ were commonly either close beside the building, within the churchyard, or at any rate just without the gate of it. The ‘ juggs ’ were sometimes affixed actually to the church-door.[3] There is no doubt whatever that each and all of these things had their place at the same spot before any structural church existed—that the real *venue* was not the church, but the churchyard. In some cases there is documentary proof of the fact ; at King's Ripton, Hunts., for example, surrenders of land were made according to the custom of the manor in the thirteenth century, not in the church, but in the churchyard.[4] In the latter part of the thirteenth century John de Bokeselle had to make ‘ a yearly render of a rose in the octave of St. John Baptist in the cemetery of Salehurst ’ for all services due in respect of his lands in the parish.[5]

*Canon* 79 of Ecgbert declares that manslaughter within the precincts (*saepta*) of a monastery shall be punished by lifelong exile or by lifelong dedication to God, but the very next *Canon* (80) says *Qui peccant in loco sancto, in eodem quoque occidendi sunt.* Any shedding of blood within the church or churchyard required, however, to be 'reconciled' according to a set formula by the bishop. Needless to say the irrepressible habit of using the churchyard as a recreation-ground led to constant brawls and to consequent effusion of blood, so that the bishops found it impossible to 'reconcile' all such pollutions in person. Bishop Sutton of Lincoln told the Pope so in 1291, and asked to be allowed to commission a priest, with holy water blessed by the bishop, to perform the necessary 'reconciliation.'[1] Archbishop Laud quarrelled with the burgesses of Tewkesbury because the latter, 'according to ancient custom,' persisted in holding their sessions in the churchyard. He was compelled, however, to admit that 'temporal courts might be held on consecrated ground or within the church upon urgent occasion,' but he insisted that it was not lawful to do so in cases involving 'trial for blood.'[2] Yet the parishioners of Ravenstonedale, Westmorland, exercised jurisdiction of life and death within their church, sitting behind the altar, and within the churchyard was an arched vault which was used as a lock-up.[3] The actual execution of their sentences possibly took place on Gallow Hill, a little distance away.

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[1] Willis, *Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 11.

[2] The church was commonly utilized as a bank for the safe keeping of valuables. At Lincoln even the Jews deposited their documents in the cathedral ; in the anti-Jewish riots in the thirteenth century, the mob forced its way into the building and destroyed the deeds.

[3] At Talland, Cornwall, the stocks stood within the church porch (1893). They still stand in the churchyard at Thornton, near Ingleton, Lancs. ; at Mylor, near Falmouth, Cornwall ; and at Lovington, Som. ; just outside it at West Chiltington, Sussex ; at Saddleworth, W.R. ; at Rock, Worc. ; at Painswick, Glouces. ; and at White Waltham, Berks. In the last-named case they stood within the garth until half a century ago. The juggs are to be seen at Refirth, Shetland, affixed to the door of the church. Similarly the ‘ scold's bridle,’ the ducking-stool, and the pillory were kept in the church, which was the equivalent of the modern police-station.

[4] *Selden Society Publications*, ii, 120.

[5] L. I. Hodson, *Hist. of Salehurst*, p. 57.

Places of sepulture, barrows and cromlechs, have been, and indeed still are, the customary scenes of moots of various kinds, and more particularly of manorial courts[4]; whence the frequency of such names at Mutlow Hill near Balsham, Cambs., Muthill, a village near Crieff, and Modbury (*D.B.* Moteberia) in Devon. In southern Scotland the name of Mote Hill is frequent, and the mounds so called are not seldom found in the immediate vicinity of cromlechs. Prior to 1154, the court of the sokemen of Stoneleigh, in the Hundred of Knightlow, Warw., met in the open air at a spot called Motstowehull, *i.e.* at a barrow. In 1154 the parish passed into the hands of the Church, an abbey was founded, and the abbat presently made a new moot in the centre of the village[1]; but the original place of meeting had been a *stowe-hull*, which means a barrow.[2] Some of the courts actually met at night, as for example that of Knightlow Hill, in the parish of Ryton-on-Dunsmore, near Coventry, where the 'wroth-money' is still paid in the customary manner at the accustomed mound and hour[3]; and that of the manor of Stanbridge, held at King's Hill near Rochford, in Essex, on the Wednesday following Michaelmas Day. This is known as the 'Lawless' or the 'Whispering' Court. The customary court of the commoners of the Forest of Epping is still held on Goldings Hill, between the hours of 11 and 12 p.m. on the night of Nov. 11th. Such cases at once recall the midnight fair at Christ's Kirk (ch. xxvi), and the only explanation of the identity of practice in regard to funerals, fairs, and courts, is to be found in the fact that all alike were centred about sepulchral barrows.

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[1] *V.C.H. Lincs.*, ii, 33.

[2] Jeaffreson, *Book about the Clergy*, i. 341.

[3] Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 188. But in other cases the lock-up was actually within the church, as in the chamber over the north porch of the church of Ticehurst, Sussex.

[4] For examples, see *Proc. S.A.*, 2nd Ser., viii, 282.

Christian barrows, that is to say churchyards, and by consequence even churches in the upshot, were similarly the scenes of manorial and other courts, and of moots of various kinds.[4] A moot was held in St. Paul's, London, in 973.[5] The court of the manor of Lewes, Sussex, was held in the churchyard of St. John sub Castro so late as 1467.[6] A presentment made in the year 1472 states that 'all the parishioners' of Gate Helmsley and Stamford Bridge 'hold pleas and other temporal meetings in the church and churchyard.'[7] In 1260 the King's Justices, when on circuit, held their courts in the churches of St. Nicholas and

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[1] *Domum curie in medio ville de Stonle* (Vinogradoff, *Villeinage in England*, pp. 382, 430). Unhappily, the actual date of the transfer is unknown. Parker believed the existing church to date from much the same time as the foundation of the Abbey. It will be noticed that the villagers were previously *sokemen*, which means that they were entitled to manage their own affairs, i.e. to have their own *moot*; but, for whatever reason, their ancient moot-hill had not been *in medio ville*.

[2] Above, ch. xxiv.

[3] On the eve of Martinmas (Nov. 11) and before the morrow's sunrise. Knightlow gave its name to the Hundred. The memory of such usages is preserved in not infrequent names like Moneybury and Money Hill attaching to barrows. Moneybury is a barrow in Ashridge Park, Berkhamsted, and a *long* barrow in Piddinghoe, Sussex, is known as Moneyburgh. Greenwell (*British Barrows*, p. 329) advanced another explanation of such names.

[4] J. R. Green, *Conquest of England* (1883), p. 13: 'The village church seems often to have been built on the very mound that had served till then for the gatherings of the townsfolk.' Green recognized that the Christian church had inherited the functions of the pre-Christian moot. He had also observed that churches commonly stand on mounds. But he did not grasp the true origin of such mounds, or the reason why they came to be used as moots.

[5] *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 580.

[6] W. Heneage Legge, *Guide to Lewes*, p. 22, citing from MSS. in Lambeth Palace.

[7] York Fabric Rolls, p. 256.

St. Andrew in Newcastle.[1] Four centuries later the Justices of the Peace customarily held their sessions in the churchyard at Tewkesbury,[2] and Archbishop Laud's protest against the practice was itself regarded as at least as great an illegality. The court-leet of the manor of Poynings, Sussex, was meeting in 1811 in the porch of the parish church, and had so met for centuries.[3] Three large stones lying within the churchyard of Ste. Marie du Castel in Guernsey 'marked the spot where open-air courts were held until recent years.'[4] Beside an old yew-tree in the churchyard of Totteridge, Middlesex, met the Hundred-court of the district.[5] The court of the Hundred of Earsham, Norfolk, met in the churchyard of the village of that name, near Bungay.[6]

Authority tried in vain to stop the practice, and the failure is evidence of its deep-rooted antiquity. Myrc directed the parish-priests of the fifteenth century to see that 'court-holdynge or such manner chost (strife)' should not be permitted in the 'seyntwary' (churchyard),[7] but on into the seventeenth century the practice continued to be the subject of rebuke. It was the same in Scotland, where repeated laws forbade the holding of courts *in sancta ecclesia vel in cimeterio, aut in aliquo alio loco sacrato.*[8] Manorial courts were held in the churches of Yoxall and Alrewas, both in Staffordshire, in an unbroken sequence from the time of Edward III down to the eighteenth century.[9] The practice is in fact a commonplace of ecclesiology from the Conquest onward. But it did not originate with the Conquest. It was as old as the church, that is, as the churchyard.

In Wales about the same date the same practice prevailed. The *Laws of Howel* expressly mention the *mynwent* as a customary court of law (ch. xix), and moreover the proper court for the cognizance of certain cases of graver kind. They make further the pregnant remark that, whereas in courts held elsewhere it was necessary to provide relics upon which the litigants might take their oaths, 'relics were not needful in the case of trials held in the *mynwent*, because that was itself the place of relics.' It becomes plain that the use of the structural church as a court-house in later times was but the necessary outcome of the earlier use of the churchyard as a moot. Evidently the practice goes back, not merely to a time when no structural 'church' as yet existed, but to the still remoter time when Christianity was not. It had grown up about the pagan barrow, and passed thence, just as did fairs and feasts and other matters, directly and necessarily to the Christian barrow, the *ciric*.

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[1] Rendel, *Newcastle-on-Tyne*, p. 121.

[2] Jeaffreson, *Book about the Clergy*, p. 341.

[3] *Gent.'s Magazine*, 1811.

[4] Johnson, *Byways*, p. 34.

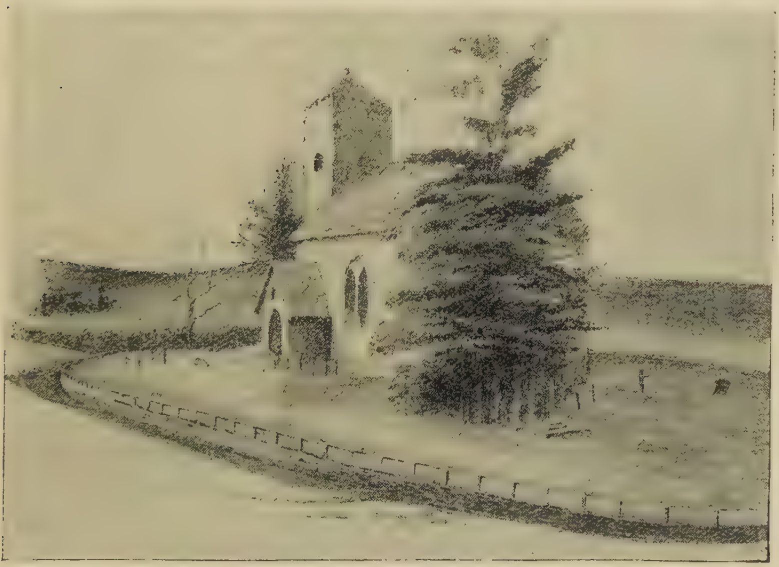
[5] Lloyd, *Hist. of Highgate*, p. 21.

[6] W. A. Dutt, *Little Guide to Norfolk*. The churchyard was formerly of oval plan.

[7] *Instructions to Parish Priests*, v. 338.

[8] Skene, *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, i, 388. The attentive reader will notice the use of *vel* in the citation, and will draw the legitimate inference, viz. that *ecclesia* and *cimeterium* expressed much the same idea.

[9] J. C. Cox, *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals* (1890), i, pp. 390–1.



CHURCHYARD OF HAMPTON GAY, NEAR OXFORD.
(After a sketch by Miss Margaret Neave, 1929.)

The original scene of the moots of the burgesses of Oxford was the churchyard of St. Martin in Carfax. It is the oldest church in the city, occupying the very centre of the old town. In all likelihood its garth was the original *ciric* built in accordance with Archbishop Cuthbert's directions in the eighth century.

At Corfe, in Dorset, the town-hall is built into the north-western side of the churchyard, which is still subcircular. The hall has two stories, and the rise of the garth is such that the door of the upper story originally opened to the garth and at the same level, while that of the lower story is level with the roadway without. This lower room is the old prison. In the upper room, the town-hall proper, the quarrymen are still annually sworn in. From time beyond memory they had entered the hall from the churchyard, of which it is in effect a part, and when (*circa* 1872) the old doorway was bricked up and a more convenient entry made from the street, the men of Corfe declined to make use of it, battering an entry by the old approach. To proceed to any municipal business save by way of the *ciric* was not to be thought of, because it had never been done. At Chew Magna, Som., the medieval court-house stands in a similar position at the entrance to the churchyard. When at long last it was felt proper to separate the secular from the religious functions of the church, it was still felt that the former should be housed as near to the latter as might be, and the secular town-hall was built at first actually within the garth, at a later date just upon its edge. Complete separation of the two has occurred only within the last century or so.

In a charter (twelfth century) of Robert Earl of Leicester it is ordered that the burgesses of that town shall not be required to go outside the borough to plead, *sed tantummodo ad Coumecherchiam, sicut antiquitus constitutum fuit*. For the obviously corrupt *Coumecherchiam* Miss Bateson suggested either *Touncherchiam* or *Communecherchiam*, and beyond doubt the place intended was the town church (-yard).[1] Burghs, that is to say chartered towns, had their own moots, the *burgomotus* of lawyers' Latin, just as had the Hundreds and the counties; and the meeting-place of the burgomote was commonly outside the walls, just as was usually that of the Romano-British community in its *circus*.[2] The people of the burgh of Leicester were specially privileged to hold theirs within their civic churchyard 'as they had always done (*sicut antiquitus constitutum fuit*).' So it would seem that they had enjoyed the privilege of a moot of some sort before they were promoted to the dignity of a burgh, and that this moot met in the churchyard.[1]

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[1] *Records of the Borough of Leicester*. Commenting upon this suggestion, S. O. Addy (*Church and Manor*, p. 251) remarks: 'The church (*cherche*) is plain, but where is the yard?' The answer is that *cherche* originally meant '(church-) yard.' The charter proves that it had not ceased to bear that meaning in Leicestershire in the twelfth century.

[2] Cf. above, ch. ix, on the A.-S. right of *burhgeat-setl*. The question arises whether the extra-mural position of the normal *burgomotus* were not directly inherited from that of the normal extra-mural *circus*.

Here then is an indisputable case in which the earlier village-moot—the 'town-meeting'—was continued upon the original site under the new style and dignity of a burgomote. There is no apparent reason why other such village-moots should not have been similarly continued as manorial courts—no reason why the many manorial courts which customarily met in churchyards, should not likewise be the continuation of older village-moots under another name and with somewhat altered powers.[2]

Where were the moots of other free and extra-manorial communities which had not yet attained to the dignity of burghs? Some sort of moot they must have had, and the case of Leicester provides the answer. It was the *toune-cherche*, in other words, the churchyard of the *tún*.

Medieval records make frequent mention of some sort of moot called specifically the halimote.[3] Legal writers of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries understood this to represent *halig-mote*, 'holy-moot,' but the *New English Dictionary* declares this view to be erroneous, and prefers the explanation of earlier writers by whom it was identified with the *aula* (*curia*) *domini*, the 'hall-moot' of the lord of the manor.[4] If this were the correct view, one does not see why the halimote should, in more than one passage of the so-called *Laws* of Henry I, be mentioned as a distinct variety of moot existing side by side with those of the County, the Hundred, the Burgh, and the *Curia Domini* itself; for the latter is unquestionably the court of the lord, the 'hall-moot' of later times. An analysis of the various moots specified will suggest that, while provision is made for the individual at one end of the scale, for the entire county at the other, and for the Burgh and Manor and Hundred between these extremes, there is no provision for the small free non-chartered villages of England, unless the halimote be intended for these.[1] If they are represented at all, the halimote is the only variety of moot which can belong to them; and if this be correct, there can be no doubt at all that the halimote was properly the traditional village-moot of the village churchyard, the 'holy-moot' held at the *locus consecratus*. Churchyards were holy ground, and the evidence of archaeology and of documents alike declares that they were used as moots. And this is precisely what is implied by the term halimote.[2]

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[1] In 1700, the Burgery of Sheffield began to erect a town-hall in the south-east corner of the churchyard, and the Duke of Norfolk, Lord of the Manor, contributed £100 towards the cost, on condition that he might be allowed to hold his manorial courts there; Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 263. So the men of Sheffield were using, some 500 years later, just such a place of meeting as was by charter reserved to the men of Leicester; and the lord of the manor had no rights within the *toune-cherche*.

[2] Why does *D.B.* think it worth while to mention in the case of Acton, Cheshire, that the manor 'holds its court in the hall of the lord (*habet suum placitum in aula domini sui*),' if such cases were not the exception rather than the rule? This was the view of Prof. Maitland, albeit on different grounds (*Domesday and Beyond*, p. 91), for he identified the halimote with the *curia domini*.

[3] This, and not Hallimote, is the spelling in the *Laws* of Henry I, in which it seems to be first mentioned (*c.* 1101). It does not seem to occur in purely Anglo-Saxon writings, which, however, does not prove that 'the word was unknown in Anglo-Saxon times' (Addy). The form of it, indeed, proves the contrary. The form *alimot* ('of Leiuesham and Grenwic') occurs *circa* 1161–8 (*Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, Rolls Office, p. 505).

[4] See *N.E.D. s.v.* HALLMOOT, where the various writers are cited. The derivation advanced in *N.E.D.* is Mid.-Engl. *hall-ymote*, for an old Engl. *heall-zemote.* It is not clear why *halig* should not satisfy the requirements here, as it is admitted to do in such words as *halidom*, *hallimass*, *halikeld*, and *haliwerfolk*; or why there should be assumed here a form in *zemote* which has left no trace in the parallel (and contemporary) form *burgomote.*

Henry I was greatly concerned to curb the powers of the baronage. To this end he sought to strengthen those of the people. One most obvious and easy means thereto would be to recognize and re-habilitate the local halimotes.

It is quite evident from their own language that law-writers of the eighteenth century were conscious of a conflict between the popular identification of halimote with hall-moot and the existing facts of their day. Jacob,[3] indeed, was driven to assert that there were two sorts of halimote, one the holy-moot and the other the hall-moot, and to justify his position he adopts different spellings. Thus he writes :—

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[1] *E.g. Laws*, c. lvii, § 8, where the various moots are to be held *in divisis vel in erthmiotis, aliquando super ipsam terram vicine, aliquando in curia domini, aliquando in hundreto vel hundretis, aliquando in comitatu, vel burgomoto, vel halimoto* (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*). In *Laws* c. v, § 4 we have *omnis causa terminetur vel hundreto vel comitatu vel* halimoto socam habentium *vel dominorum curiis.*

The holding of moots *in divisis vel in erthmiotis* is illustrated by the following excerpt from Jones' 'Answers,' in Toland's *Hist. of the Druids*, p. 94: 'When an assembly met together for the title of lands, the king or his deputy came upon the land, and with the contending party and their friends, and a champion for each side, viewed the contested lands; then caused a mound to be cast up, and upon the same was the judgment-seat placed. . . . Some of these mounds were square, some round, and some sorts bore the name of *gorseddwydadle*, "mount of pleading."' Here, therefore, is another example of the Saxons' practising a specifically Celtic method of procedure.

[2] S. O. Addy (*Evolution of the English House*, p. 187) finds a parallel in North-West Spain, where 'the local council was summoned by the church-bell on Sundays, and seems to have been held in the church.' This he regards as 'an accidental survival of what was once the universal practice in Western Europe.' It seems to be a fact that the halimote, when heard of at all, is commonly in *ecclesiastical* manors.

[3] *Law Dictionary* (1739).

'*Halymote* is properly a Holy or Ecclesiastical Court ; but there is a Court in London, formerly held on the Sunday next before St. Thomas' Day, called the Halymote or Holy Court (*Curia Sanctimotus*), for regulating the bakers of the city, etc.'

The facts that this court met on Sunday, and that the particular Sunday was determined by the incidence of St. Thomas' Day, are of importance, equally with the explicit admission that *halymote* meant simply the Holy Moot (*sanctimotus*). Jacob continues :—

'*Hallmote* or *Halimote* (Saxon *heall*, *i.e.* *aula*, and *gemote*, *conventus*) was that court among the Saxons which we now call the Court Baron ; and the etymology is from the meeting of the tenants of one Hall or Manor. . . . It hath been sometimes taken for a convention of citizens in their public Hall, where they held their courts, which was also called Folkmote and Halmote ; but the word Halimote is rather the Lord's Court held within the Manor, in which the differences between the tenants were determined.' Follows the citation from *Laws* of Henry I (i, c. 10) above given, and another from the Records of Hereford, *temp.* Henry VI.[1]

What is of interest here is the express admission that the halimote was a Saxon institution in existence before the arrival of Norman feudalism.

The *ecclesia* is expressly named in the *Laws* of Henry I, side by side with the market, county court, and Hundred-court, as the proper scene of the legal act of manumitting a slave ; and in the same chapter it is laid down that the purchase of a slave, to be valid, must take place *in halimoto vel hundreto vel vicinio.*[2] So in the *Laws* of Edward the Confessor, where the question is that of trial by ordeal :

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[1] It is more than possible that the term 'hall-mote' is itself due to a false etymology, which confused *halig*(*mote*) with *aula*. The entries in *D.B.* suggest that at that date it was very unusual for the *Curia* to be held in any *aula*, and in a general way that was the case with all moots for two or three centuries more. It might be perfectly legitimate to argue that the term *halimote* cannot mean 'a moot held in the hall,' because it belongs to a time when halls were not used for moots.

[2] *Laws of Henry I*, c. lxxviii, § 2. Cf. above, ch. xxvi, on Bodmin.

*si barones sint qui iudicia non habeant in hundreto ubi placitum fuerit, ad propinquiorem ecclesiam ubi iudicium regis erit, determinandum est.*[1] Trial by ordeal indeed was usually made in 'churches' only, and the form of procedure laid down by the Laws of Āthelstan (925) for the ordeal by fire belongs to a time when 'church' still meant '(church-)yard.' If this be borne in mind a good many of the difficulties disappear from narratives like that of the famous ordeal of Queen Emma (1043), the Confessor's mother, as related in the *Annals of Winchester* (pp. 20–25). In another of the laws of the Confessor, 'church' still has this meaning, namely, where it is enacted that stray animals shall be brought 'to the church,' and the priest shall enquire into their ownership.[2] This again brings us back to the churchyard as a court of justice, the *haligmot*. A grant made in the thirteenth century to the Abbey of Beauchief allowed the grantees to answer any summons for delinquency, not in the grantor's *curiae* of Norton and of Alfreton, but 'at the churches' of those places only. The term *halimote* is not used, but the thing intended must be this, the traditional moot of the free village within its *ciric*.[3] Herein, too, may be found the explanation of seeming anomalies in connexion with now inconsiderable places such as Little Hucklow,[4] in Derbyshire, 'where there has never been a church.' Doubtless Little Hucklow never attained to the pride of a *mynstre*, but as doubtless it had its own *ciric*—the very name of it (Huck-hlaw) says as much—and therefore naturally its own *halimote*.

Amongst the witnesses to an agreement between the monks of the Priory of St. Pancras, Lewes, and one Walter de Hertefeld, respecting certain land in Cudnor (*i.e.* Westham, Sussex), in the early part of the thirteenth century, occurs the 'Hallemote of Langeneya'[1] (Langney in the parish of Westham), in other words the freemen of Langney assembled in their traditional village moot. Langney had a chapel as early as 1121,[2] and there is some evidence that it had a *ciric* or burial-ground; and this would be the place of assembly of its 'Holy Moot.'[3]

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[1] Thorpe, *Laws of Ed. Confessor*, c. ix.

[2] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 452. Cp. above, ch. xxiii, on the bringing of animals *into* 'churches.' The Confessor's law explains the intimate connexion between the village church and the village pound. It is quite usual to find the pound, like the stocks, immediately beside the church, as at Eglwys Newydd, in Cardiganshire (Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire*, p. 46), and at Llanstephan (*Inventory*, *Radnorshire*, no. 446, 'a few yards away' from the church). At Llanbadarn Fawr, in the same county, the site of the pound is still traceable across the road and immediately opposite to the gate of the churchyard. At Southover, Lewes, Sussex, the pound still stands almost opposite to the twelfth century church of St. John.

[3] The Latin of the Charter (printed in facsimile in Addy's *Beauchief Abbey*, 1878) reads *apud ecclesiam*, not *in ecclesia*; not 'within' the structural church, but beside it in the churchyard.

[4] Webb, *English Local Government* (*The Parish and the County*), p. 178.

It is certain that no moot of whatever degree was *ab initio* held under a roof. The halimote was no exception; it met *sub divo*, and probably it long continued so to meet even when the *ciric* had come to boast a structural church of some dignity. The convenient church-porch would offer the intermediate stage. But the traditional feeling that the moot ought to be held under the roof of heaven survived until quite recently, if it be not still alive. The old moot-hall of Godmanchester, Hunts., was standing as late as the eighteenth century. It was a rectangular hall of timber, opening upon a fenced yard of the same plan and area. The moot-men met, weather permitting, in the open yard; but if the weather was bad, they used the roofed hall.[4]

As they successively came to be included in manors the small free villages would for the most part lose the freedom of their halimotes, though occasionally this might be reserved to them in part by the special grace of the lord, as occurred in the case of Beauchief, or might be permitted on sufferance, as seems to have happened in the case of the late monastic manor of Langney.[5] Either way, the facts suggest that the issue between the halimote and the *curia domini* was not merely the issue between freedom and villeinage, but also that between the lay power and the power of Holy Church. The latter was bound to stickle for the old privilege of the churchyard court as against would-be lay impropriators, and herself to safeguard it when she came into the position of landlord.[1]

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[1] *Lewes Cartulary* (Cotton MSS., Vesp. F. xv, fol. 69*d*.)

[2] '. . . *pellas* [? *capellas*] *de Horsteda et de Langeneia*,' in a charter of bishop Ralph of Chichester (1121) confirming to St. Pancras' Priory the grants of various churches, etc., printed in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xxxv, 193.

[3] Positive proof of the existence of a *ciric* in Langney in the thirteenth century is not yet forthcoming. There is, however, a 'Burgh Acre,' a field close to the highest point of ground in the parish, where is a mound which has much the appearance of a barrow. 'Burgh Acre' seems to represent an earlier name written Berghlond, so that it must be referred to *beorh*, but whether in the sense of 'hill' or 'grave-hill' is not certain. There is some evidence to show that a Roman road from Anderida (Pevensey) ran through Langney to the Downs by Willingdon, to which latter manor Burgh Acre or Berghlond belonged. This information I owe to Rev. W. Budgen.

[4] *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, xlv (1909), where is an illustration from a contemporary drawing. Godmanchester was an important Roman station, and is to this day a chartered borough, whose freemen claim the franchise in virtue of their having been born in one or other of certain specific houses, all situated within the limits of the old *castra*. Its moot hall is of further interest, for there is some reason to think that it stood actually within the *circus* of the Roman town, at the junction of the Roman roads to London and to Sandy. The church, which stands within the old *castra*, has a garth still partially circular.

[5] See Seebohm, *Village Community*, p. 270, on the continuity of 'thousands of *villae*' under Frankish rule 'upon the widely extended ecclesiastical estates,' citing Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, p. 81.

Such a case as that of the three Essex villages of Kirby-le-Soken,[2] Thorpe-le-Soken, and Walton-le-Soken (now Walton-on-the-Naze), points the same way. The name of Kirby proves that there was a *ciric* here from very early times, the dedication (St. Michael) is one of the oldest, and this particular village seems to have taken priority of the others in virtue of its having its own *ciric*, that is, its own machinery of government.[3] With this machinery in some way the manorial lord seems to have made common cause, and by so doing to have secured for himself and for his tenants undisputed powers of *sac* and *soc*, which survived the expropriation of the manors by Henry VIII, were still absolute when Camden wrote, and are not altogether extinct at this day.[4]

Under the new name of *Libera Curia*, the Free Court, the older Saxon moot survived especially in the county of Durham, and the explanation of the fact is simple: from pre-Conquest times the land betwixt Tyne and Tees was 'Patrimony of St. Cuthbert,'[5] and so remained until the nineteenth century, never passing into lay ownership. Here then, if anywhere on English soil, one would expect to find survivals of the social system of pre-Conquest times. Here, in fact, the machinery of Anglo-Saxon village-government went on uninterruptedly side by side with the seignorial *dominium* of the Bishop and Prior of Durham. And if, as is also the fact, we find the *Curia Libera* most frequently and most persistently within the *Terra Cuthberti*,[1] it is a legitimate inference that it represents a form of local government once much more general and very ancient. But by a curious chance the rightful name of the older Court had come to be usurped by that of the lord Prior: thrice a year he or his officers held courts for the various manors of the Priory, and while such court is consistently spoken of as *Curia domini Prioris*, the court-roll is uniformly headed *Halmota*. But side by side with these existed the Free Court (*Curia Libera*), and the court-rolls constantly mention the summoning of one or another person to answer for an offence before the *Curia Libera*. Over the *Curia Libera* the Prior had no control, and even when the offence is trespass on the Prior's land, neglect of hedges and mere-stones, or even encroachment, if the offender be a free man, the Prior has no redress except by process in the Free Court; and the court-rolls suggest that this was not always satisfactory. Of the Free Court itself we have no details, save that it seems commonly to have met on Sundays.[2]

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[1] In *D.B.*, and specifically in Norfolk, it is a common thing to find a holding by freemen described as *in commendatione* to some lord; which would naturally result in the lord's gradually acquiring full lordship.

[2] The court of the manor (Eadwulfsness) was annually held 'in the church of Kirby-le-Soken' as early as the year 1181. Addy, *Church and Manor*, pp. 184, 202, from *Domesday of St. Paul's*, p. 111. With Kirby-le-Soken cp. the Icelandic (Danish) *ting-soken*, ch. vii.

[3] Similarly, the name of Kirkham in Lancs. points to the fact that it was 'once the ecclesiastical head of the district,' extending to as many as 14 townships. (*V.C.H. Lancs.* vii, 143).

[4] Gibson's *Camden*, i, 358; 'the Bailiff (of the Liberty) executeth all matters, as if he had Viscountile authority,' but only 'with the consent of the lord first obtained.' The lord of the Soke still appoints his own coroner.

[5] The *Patrimonium Cuthberti* took its rise from a grant by Ecgfrid of Northumbria (685), who gave to the Saint large parts of what are now Northumberland and Durham. This grant was greatly enlarged by Bishop Ecgred of Lindisfarne, *circa* 830, who added further parts of the county of Durham. See Rev. H. Gee, D.D., in *V.C.H. Durham*, ii, 5.

The *Domesday Book* makes constant mention of 'freemen'—*liberi homines*, *socmanni*—and frequently in localities where it is not easy to account for their presence. Ellis estimated their total number at not less than 35,000, and such a figure, no insignificant part of the whole population of the time, must represent a very appreciable number of separate communities. Professor Maitland's conclusion was that there were, at the time of the Survey, a number of independent villages, the lands of which were worked in common by a body of freemen[1]; and most authorities admit that, by whatever means, there did actually survive, until the Conquest and after, a limited but considerable number of free Saxon peasants enjoying the privileges of *sac* and *soc*. The testimony of place-names is to the same effect, says Professor Stenton.[2] It is not after all a very difficult matter to imagine how such extra-manorial communities might grow up even to the dignity of *túns* possessing each its own *ciric*, and might automatically develop that national form of self-government which seems to have been the Saxon's birthright, undefined perhaps, but only because it was indefeasible.[3] Antiquaries are fond of dwelling upon the decay and disappearance of communities; that communities also grew and multiplied, then as now, is perhaps a fact not sufficiently remembered. New communities must have been in constant process of formation, each must necessarily have its place of burial, and the majority would in course of time come to have their own 'churches'; and each would automatically produce its own machinery of government as instinctively as a bird learns to fly. Save for minor accidents of detail, the machinery would be essentially the same; it would be that of the halimote assembling in the *ciric*. In a very literal sense the *ciric* made the community, and there was, therefore, a certain fitness in the event of Holy Church presently stepping in to claim for herself, and in some measure to safeguard, that which the lay lord had inadvertently overlooked.[1]

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[1] See *Durham Halmote Rolls*, *passim*.

[2] See APPENDIX C. Such a confusion as is here suggested would arise the more naturally as the Prior represented the most holy St. Cuthbert and his church in Durham. His was necessarily, therefore, a Holy Court. When there arose the need of distinguishing between this and the older halimotes of the free *tuns*, as necessarily the Prior would insist that the name of Holy Court belonged peculiarly to his own Court, and there would be coined *for use in documents* the new name of *Curia Libera* for the old and rightful *halimote* of the *tun*. But the term *Curia Libera* may be assumed to have been justified by the facts, in which case the halimote may very well have been known even to the Saxons as the Free Moot. At any rate the Latin name remained a technicality of lawyers, while such terms as 'Free Court' and 'Free Town' held their ground stubbornly. When Shakespeare (*Romeo and Juliet* I, i, 109) makes the Prince of Verona summon both Montagu and Capulet

'To old Free-town, our common judgment-place,'

he was reading his knowledge of English ways into his Italian original, where Villa Franca is the name of either the castle or the pleasure-villa of the Capulets. He rendered Villa Franca by 'Free-town' legitimately enough, but that he did not do so without purpose is shown by his adding the explanatory phrase 'our common judgment-place.'

It is curious to read that the site of the A.-S. cemetery at Long Wittenham, Berks., was 'a plot of ground called the Free Acre, formerly known as Town Furlong.' The name of an analogous institution is preserved in that of the Palais du Franc in Bruges, where the modern tribunal still stands upon the same site and fulfils the same purpose. Cp. also Miss R. R. Reid in *Eng. Hist. Review*, April, 1920, p. 199.

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[1] *Domesday and Beyond* (Camb. Press, 1897), p. 140. They seem to have been collected chiefly in the Danelagh. As free communities they would frame their own by-laws, *i.e.* laws of the *by* (= *tun*), and their officials were sometimes known as By-lawmen. The name and office survived in Yorkshire until the time of Charles I. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*; Stubbs, *Const. History*, i, 103. F. M. Stenton in *Eng. Hist. Review*, July 1918, p. 344, cites from *D.B.* striking figures to show the preponderance of sokemen over villeins and bordars in the neighbourhood of Blankney, Lincs., the total of 9 villages (11 manors) showing 244 sokemen to 43 villeins and 52 bordars. In the same article is printed from the *Cartulary* of Haverholme Priory a charter (*c.* 1139–41), whereby Walter Deincurt gives to the Priory 265 acres of the waste of certain villages *concessione Oliveri filii mei et concessione sochamans praedictarum villarum quorum praedicta terra fuit*. One of the villages, it may be remarked, was a Kirkby (Kirkby Green).

[2] *Introd. to Survey of Eng. Place-Names*, p. 42.

[3] See for example the Will of Siflaed in *Diplomatorium*, p. 592. She held Mardingford in Suffolk (*anno* 1060), and by her will declares that 'my church' and 'my men' shall be free; whereby the non-free community presumably became a *tun* with its *tunkirk*. The testatrix unfortunately appointed St. Edmund 'protector of the free-shot,' which gave excuse to the monastery of Bury to seize a large portion of the property (*ibid.* p. 593).

There is clear proof of the existence of a village moot—the *Libera Curia* of the *Terra Cuthberti*, the halimote of other parts of England—composed of the freeholders. These freeholders have *sac*, *i.e.* the right to deal with certain kinds of offences, and *soc*, *i.e.* a definite area over which such jurisdiction extended, co-extensive with the lands of the said freeholders. It would seem to follow that *sac* and *soc* were not so much incidents of lordship as the necessary privilege of the Saxon freeholder, not to be alienated except by express act of the Crown.[2] They might be, they inevitably were, constantly usurped by the encroachments of the lord in post-Conquest times, but they showed a vitality only to be explained by some indefeasible foundation in pre-Conquest freedom, and an elasticity which not only revived them, if moribund, but spontaneously called them into being where they had never before been exercised, upon the failure of the force which had prevented their normal development or had usurped them.[3]

William de Warrenne, who in 1077 founded the priory afterwards famous as that of St. Pancras in Lewes, gave to it before his death the whole of the tongue of land—he calls it *insula*—between the streams of Winterbourne, Cockshut, and Ouse, land which had heretofore been part of the wide parish of Iford, but had apparently had no community resident within it.[4] About the priory grew up a community which came to be known as Southover[5];

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[1] For *sac* and *soc*, see Stubbs, *Const. History* (1880), i, 213. The names, as he remarked, prove the things to be pre-feudal. For the utterances of other and earlier authorities on the matter, see Larking, *Domesday of Kent* (1869), App. vi. He concludes: 'All the authorities then after all confirm the statement . . . that the term *saca* signifies the privilege of holding pleas, and that *soca* was the territory within which the privilege was exercised. . . . It seems as though this tenure by free and common socage had remained a relic of Saxon liberty after the Conquest had established feudal tenures.'

[2] 'The tenants of manors were originally no serfs under a lord, but co-equal partners in a social group to which the lord himself belonged' (Gomme, *The Village Community*, p. 262).

[3] Cp. Niebuhr, *Hist. Rome* (1838), i, 353, of a similar phenomenon in ancient Latium.

[4] When de Warrenne made his gift its only inhabitant, excepting the 12 monks of the Priory and the household of the lord himself, was one person named Lewinus.

[5] This name first appears in the twelfth century.

and for the needs of this community the priory built the church of St. John in Southover. After the dissolution of the monasteries Southover continued to manage its own affairs, ecclesiastical, communal and others, by means of the customary vestry, though there is no reason whatever to suppose that this form of government was in any way thrust upon it. It was the national way, and therefore the natural way; and so soon as the community was left to look after itself, it spontaneously developed the needful machinery, and this nearly 500 years after the Conquest, and in a village which had no existence until about a century after the loss of Saxon freedom.[1]

The presidents of such free village-moots would naturally be the village-priests, and there is evidence that it was so. In some Anglo-Saxon writings the priest is called *thingere*, *i.e.* 'thing-man,' or *ciric thingere*, 'church-thing-man'[2]; and in Aelfric's *Glossary* the Anglo-Saxon equivalent of 'senator' and 'preacher' indifferently is given as *gemotman*. One of the priest's duties was to attend with the reeve and six *villani* at the Hundred Court.[3] He was in fact *advocatus* of the village which he represented, and from this duty comes the modern word advowson (*advocationem*), albeit the meaning has now wholly altered. The Saxon *Laws* show the priest acting as president of the moot when he holds enquiry 'in the church' as to the ownership of stray cattle (p. 362). It has been remarked[4] that in early documents, whenever the priest is mentioned, 'the sacerdotal idea is almost always in the background,' the administrative always in the foreground. He is less priest (*sacerdos*) than prefect (*qui plebi praeest*) or rector (*qui plebem regit*), and on resigning office he is said *ab ordine et titulo et regimine plebis se exuere.*[5] The use of the term *persona* to mean the rector of the parish (not the vicar or any other priest) likewise arises rather from his temporal than from his spiritual importance.

Professor Maitland maintained that the now defunct parish vestries were the heirs to the functions of the manorial courts,[1] a view very justifiably questioned by other authorities. It is a truer view that the manorial courts had themselves usurped some or all of the powers of the halimotes or 'town-meetings,'[2] and that, with their decay, these usurped powers reverted very largely to the original owners, the freemen of the *tún* in their halimote assembled, albeit the *name* of the halimote had in most cases disappeared through long desuetude.[3] The simple fact which affects the present discussion is that the 'old parish-meetings, like the modern vestry, were held within the walls of the church.'[4] If we take 'church' in its original sense of churchyard, this sentence needs no alteration. Here is the sufficient explanation of the historical fact that courts were throughout the centuries held in the churchyards and the churches, and of all the other miscellaneous uses of the same for purposes administrative and judicial. Here, too, is the answer to the question raised by Fergusson,[5] why there should be found in the England of the Middle Ages so few municipal buildings. The customary municipal building of an English *tún* was its church, and before it had a church, its churchyard. When in the fourteenth century the merchant-city of Southampton, fired doubtless by the example of the great towns of Flanders and the Lowlands, proceeded to build a town-hall, the site selected was the actual spot upon which stood the town-church of Holy Rood: the existing church was pulled down and rebuilt further back, 'that the hall might stand on the exact site' of the older church.[6] There could scarcely be found a more exact illustration of the peculiar sentiment which had led the men of Megara, some 2,000 years before, to include within their council-chamber the very graves of the dead forbears.[7] Such was the old way of the Celt, and the Greek and the Saxon followed it also. Intermediate between the older and the newer ways is such a case as that of Cirencester, where the scene of all public meetings was for many years the magnificent three-storied south porch of the church.

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[1] For the evidence in this case, see the writer's article in *Arch. Journal*, lxxiv (1917), pp. 36–78.

[2] Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 180.

[3] Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 118–120.

[4] Smith, *Dict. Christian Antiqs.*, *s.v.* PARISH; Addy, *loc. cit.*

[5] So in Iceland (pre-Christian) the priest was *rector* of his own *thingmen* and controlled all matters of law, administration, etc. See Dasent's Introd. to *Story of Burnt Njal*, pp. xlvi *sqq.*

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[1] *Law Quarterly Review*, ix (1893), 227.

[2] Webb, *Eng. Local Government* (*Parish and County*), p. 38.

[3] They possibly passed under the general name of 'Courts Christian,' together with other ecclesiastical courts of higher status. In law the meeting of the vestry was public, and any member of the parish might attend it. The rector was *de iure* chairman.

[4] W. Johnson, *Byways*, p. 143.

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[5] *Hist. Architecture* (3rd edit.) ii, pp. 199, 413.

[6] Mrs. J. R. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 156. When the ancient corporation of Pevensey was suppressed in 1885, the *insignia* were placed in the parish church, where they still remain, an apt illustration of the abiding folk-memory which identified the church with the privileges of self-government.

[7] Pausanias ii, 43, 2.

Circular villages are to be met with in many parts of Europe north of the Danube. They are very numerous in Mecklenburg and in Bohemia, particularly about Marienbad. In Bohemia it is usually said that they were thus planned for purposes of defence in the Seven Years' War; another view has regarded them as Slavonic; a third maintains that they reflect the *wagenburg*—the ring of wagons drawn up circle-wise as a protection to the encampment—of the still nomadic tribes. As the central feature of the plan is commonly the church, it is possible that a truer explanation is to be found in the centralizing force of the church; and the possibility is increased when one reads that, in regard to Mecklenburg, the central feature is 'either the church or the town-hall.'[1]

Working upon entirely different evidence and wholly ignoring the halimote as a factor, Sir Paul Vinogradoff arrived at the emphatic conclusion that the elaborate system of Norman manorial courts was grafted upon a 'communal organization and representative institutions' which were in full and acknowledged existence amongst the Saxons long before the Conquest of 1066.[2] The social and economic unit, he points out, was the township; and a township, we know, was a community possessing its own *ciric*. He further raises the question whether the Saxon *tún* may not have owed a great deal to a yet earlier Celtic organization. The present enquiry would seem to adduce something to confirm his surmise.

The late Professor Freeman[3] has been scoffed at as one who 'saw all things through a mist of moots and witans,' and one of the latest writers[4] on the matter declares that modern thought rejects such a view. But is it so certain that Freeman was wrong? This moot-system

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[1] See A. Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Westergermanen*, etc., i. 170.

[2] *Growth of the Manor* (Oxford, 1905). The cardinal weakness of this otherwise admirable volume is its entire disregard of religion as a factor in early social organization. It may not have been quite so important a factor as the present writer believes, but assuredly it was a factor to be taken into account. Yet as a fact the *halimote* is mentioned once only in the volume (p. 365) and that without discussion or explication.

[3] See *e.g.* his *Origin of the English Constitution* (1872), pp. 20 *sqq.*

[4] C. H. Haskins, *Normans in European History* (1916).

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—'the primordial cell of Anglo-Saxon liberties,' as it has been called[1]—was assuredly not taught to the Anglo-Saxon by the Normans who for a couple of centuries tried their utmost to enslave him. That it was to some extent existent here before the Conquest almost all authorities admit, but no one seems to have recognized it in the halimote, the universal and obvious, and for that very reason undescribed, moot of every Saxon *tún*. It was upon this that the Norman seized as the ready means of riveting upon the conquered people his own feudal system.[2]

There being manors in England before the Norman Conquest, it is not impossible that the very name, usually regarded as indubitably Norman (*manoir*) and derived from a Low Latin *manerium*, may itself be of Celtic origin. In Wales the *maenawr* (*maenawl*, *maenol*, *maynaul*) was an ancient territorial division containing 4 *trefs*, or 1024 *erws*; and it has not seldom survived to this day in the form of a parish, a manor, or both at once.[3] As Grenier has shown,[4] the French medieval *manoir* was frequently identical with an earlier Gallo-Roman estate. Such estates must have had their own native appellation, and this may very well have been something very like *maenawr*, which some would derive from *maen*, 'lord,' and regard as the equivalent of *dominium* or 'lordship.'[5] With the decay of Celtic speech there would come a natural tendency to connect the word with *manere*, and when the Norman brought *manoir* into

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[1] J. K. Hosmer, *Hist. of Anglo-Saxon Liberty*.

[2] Cf. Gomme, *Village Community* (1890), p. 143: '. . . a suggestion I am strongly inclined to make, that manors are the form in which the central government in England, in the eleventh and perhaps the late tenth century, clothed the then existing village communities.' *Ibid.* p. 260: 'The identification of manor-courts with the old township assemblies, and hence with the assembly of the primitive village community, cannot reasonably be denied.'

Little seems to be known of the organization of the people whom the Normans found and conquered in Normandy some 150 years before the conquest of England, but it may be that in point of composition and evolution there was little to choose between those and the Anglo-Saxons. In each country was an originally Celtic people, first Romanized and thereafter Teutonized.

[3] As also in England. For the *maenol* see Seebohm, *Eng. Village Community*, pp. 203–4. *Maenor* is the South Welsh, *maenol* the North Welsh form. The word is a constituent of place-names of very great antiquity: thus Manorbier (Pemb.) is the Maenor Pyr of the *Life of St. Teilo* (twelfth century). So Prof. Ed. Owen tells me.

[4] *Habitations Gauloises*. The evidence of place-names leads Prof. F. M. Stenton to admit that in England also 'it is at least possible that some of the great estates of the early Middle Ages . . . descend, in fact, from the time of the [Saxon] migration and the movements which followed it' (*Introd. to Survey of Eng. Place-Names*, p. 41).

[5] T. Lewis, *Glossary of Medieval Welsh Law*, p. 213. The more popular derivation is from *maen* 'stone,' with reference to the boundary-stones used to demarcate the *maenawr*.

Wales he would have no knowledge that his dog-Latin *manerium* was actually the Welsh *maenawr* in disguise. The Norman lawyers habitually used *mansio* in *Domesday* for a 'messuage,' but in classical Latin the word signified nothing more residential than an 'inn' or 'posting-house,' and there is little evidence for the use of *manere* to denote residence, let alone ownership of an estate.[1]

There are archaeologists of high standing who assert that, in the case of genuinely old manors, every English manor-house represents the *villa* of an earlier owner in Romano-British times, if it does not actually stand upon the *villa's* site. In the south of England, at any rate, the position of such ancient manor-houses is an important clue to the course of Roman roads, the houses frequently standing upon the lines of such roads.

But even the *haligmote* was possibly itself borrowed from the Celt, just as was perhaps most of the elaborate system of moots upward to that of the *burh*[2] and that of the Hundred (ch. xxi), and 'it may appear after all that we owe to the Britons more than we have usually awarded to them of the blessings of our constitution.'[3] This pronouncement belongs to an age which is to-day esteemed uncritical, but its author was a man of decided originality and of independent judgment, with some knowledge of Welsh speech and Welsh antiquities. Sir Paul Vinogradoff is very justly regarded as a leader in modern critical research. That these two thinkers should arrive from data so different at conclusions so very similar, and with an interval of fifty years between them, is a fact of some significance.

Bearing upon the same conclusion is the suggestive fact that in so many cases the meetings of the English courts, manorial and others, were held either twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas, *i.e.* on dates closely approximating to the equinoxes, or thrice a year, on dates nearly coinciding with the equinoxes and the summer solstice.[1] The courts of the manor of Brighthelmston were held at Easter and at Michaelmas; the three *turni* of the Durham halmotes were respectively in the summer, in the autumn, and in the spring; by the laws of Cnut and Edgar the burghmote was held thrice a year[2]; and in the Bishop of Winchester's manor of Taunton, a markedly Celtic area, there were annually three courts which all his men must attend 'without summons.'[3] If there was no summons, the dates must have been astronomically fixed, and that, too, in some very elementary fashion. It is possible that we have here a direct inheritance from Celtic practice as indicated by the solstitio-equinoctial 'pointers' which accompany some of the moot-circles; and the likelihood is not lessened when one recalls that the same arbitrary division of the year is still followed by the Church, the Law, and the Universities.

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[1] But *manentes* occurs in the sense of 'tenants,' *e.g.* in a charter of 714 (*Cart. Sax.* 132). According to *N.E.D.* the original significance of *manoir* was '(manor) *house*.' What is here said of the origin of the term has nothing whatever to do with its peculiar connotation in Anglo-Norman law.

[2] Cp. on *burhgeatsetl*, above, ch. ix.

[3] Thos. Barnes, *Notes on Ancient Britain and the Britons* (1858), p. 37; Cp. *ibid.* pp. 34–5. Compare also the express assertion of Geoffrey of Monmouth (above, ch. xi) that the Molmutine Laws (concerning motes and carmotes) had been translated into Latin by Gildas and into English by Alfred, and were 'famous amongst the English' in his own day (1147). He may have been mistaken about Gildas and even about Alfred; he cannot have been mistaken about the rest of his assertion.

No small part of the business of an Irish *Aenach* was that of match-making. So it was at the Icelandic *Althing*, and at the annual Scottish revel at 'Chrystis' Kirk on the Green.' Before churches came to be used for the purpose, 'publication of the banns' was made in such assemblies *coram populo*, as it is to-day made in the church. Those young people who until lately plighted their troth at the Stone of Thor by the Ring of Stenness were merely doing, without the same excuse, just as their remote forbears had done at the same spot. Their forbears of a later generation 'went to church' to be married, but not until the sixteenth century was it ruled that the ceremony must take place within the building.[4] It had anciently been performed in the churchyard, that is, at and on the Christian barrow, as previously it had been performed at and on the pagan barrow on the occasion of revels and *Aenachs*. When a structural church was at last built, its porch came to be the convenient scene of the ceremony: 'Husbondes at chirche-door she had had fyve,' wrote Chaucer of his Wife of Bath.

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[1] A frequently recurring date is St. Thomas' Day (Dec. 21), the winter solstice. Others are on or about St. Gregory's Day (Mar. 12th) and about July 1st. One of the annual folc-moots of the Anglo-Saxons is said to have been held on the summer solstice, while in Scandinavia the great moots took place at midsummer, midwinter, and in the spring; see the *Sagas*, *Story of the Ynglings*, cc. 38, 42; *Story of Olaf Tryggvison*, c. 72. The Manx Tynwald meeting is always on the eleventh day after midsummer day (July 1st), and the *boltings* of Holland were held on St. Peter's Day (June 29th).

[2] Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, p. 184.

[3] *Ter in anno placita Episcopi sine ammonitione; D.B. Somerset*, i, 87*b*.

[4] By the rubric in the *First Prayer Book* of Edward VI.

From their birth to their death the churchyard, the *ciric*, was the focus of all and every happening in the lives of English folk after they had abjured paganism.

If those writers[1] are correct who assert that the name of Druids continued, for some years after the introduction of Christianity, to be applied to the Christian priests, one may see an easy explanation of the error which attributes to Druidism, and therefore by implication to paganism, so many anhistoric circular precincts. In reference to a circle at Auchincorthie, Aberdeenshire, it is recorded that 'the people that live near by . . . have a tradition that the pagan priests of old dwelt in that place, and there are yet to be seen, at a little distance from the monuments standing there, the foundations of an old house which is said to have been the Teind Barn. They report likewise that the priests caused earth to be brought from other adjacent places upon peoples' backs to Auchincorthie, for making the soil thereof deeper, which is given for the reason why this parcel of land, though surrounded with heath and moss on all sides, is better and more fertile than any other places thereabouts.'[2] This may be a vague folk-memory of a practice like that described in Plutarch's assertion that each comer cast into the *mundus* a handful of the soil of his own land, and in the Manx tradition that the Tynwald Hill was built up of soil brought from every parish in the island,[3] though it has apparently been confused with the customary method of raising a burial-mound. The passage seems also to preserve a memory of the fact that priests were attached to the early Christian *cirics* before any churches were erected.

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[1] *E.g.* Malkin, *Scenery of South Wales* Ed. London, 1807), ii, 103; Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry* (1844), pp. 61, 69, 71. The fact that St. Columba explicitly speaks of Christ as 'my Druid' certainly suggests something of the kind. Had the word in his time conveyed any necessary connotation of paganism and devil-worship, it is scarcely conceivable that it could have been so used by any Christian, least of all by one in Columba's position, at a period when paganism was still very much alive. *Drycraeft* (*i.e.* Druids' Craft) was the familiar A.-S. term for 'sorcery' so late as Alfred (*Orosius*). Jamieson (*Hist. Culdees*, p. 29) mentions an old man who invariably addressed God in his prayers as 'Archdruid or Coifi.' See further on possible traces of a fusion of Druidism with Christianity, A. L. Lewis in *Journal Anthropol. Inst.* xii (1883), pp. 184–6. According to Mackay, *Dict. of Lowland Scotch* (1888) the term *coifi* still survives in the cant gipsy 'Queer Cuffin,' meaning a Justice of the Peace (the Archdruid in his *côr* or choir).

[2] *Archaeologia*, i, 339.

[3] A similar practice is suggested by the peculiar construction of the moots of Church Barrow and Buckland Bank (ch. ix). In each case it is difficult otherwise to explain the extraordinary depth of pure brown mould and its peculiar disposition.

The evidence suggests that the earliest Christians in these islands buried their dead with precisely the same external forms as paganism had employed—cromlech, menhir and dolmen. For reasons which need no explanation Holy Church, so soon as it was feasible, set her face against such forms: cromlech, menhir and dolmen were declared to be symbolical of paganism, and hence arose the persistent tradition that all such monuments are actually pagan. The outstanding figure in paganism being that of the Druid, the name of Druidism supplanted that of paganism, abetted by the possible fact that for many years even Christian priests were styled Druids. In other words Druidism in this connexion originally signified early Christianity, and not paganism at all.

There has been much discussion and speculation upon the questions, Who built the first churches? and Who were the owners of them? So long as the precise meaning of 'church' remained undefined, there could be no convincing answer forthcoming. Now that it is possible to put a precise meaning to the term, there may be some hope of a better result.

Taking 'church' in its original sense, the builders of the first English churches were those who built the first Christian barrows; and the vast majority of these were certainly not built before the time of Archbishop Cuthbert (*c.* 750). But there were Christian 'churches' for more than a century before that date, in the sense of places where Christians were buried and Christian prayers were said. According to the Welsh *Laws*, the owners of the 'church' were the community and their priest,'[1] and in default of any evidence to the contrary one may believe that the same held good among the Saxons. The *ciric* was, and still is, the common burial-place of a community, knowing no distinctions of rank and degree. It is still the property of those who form its congregation and of their priest conjointly; all the parishioners are entitled to burial within it, and no one that is not a parishioner may be buried there except by courtesy. Even the lord of the manor has no right of property therein. The very words of the burial service, and the ritual of scattering the handful of earth over the dead, point to the fact that the original *ciric*, like any other barrow, was built by the combined efforts of all the community (ch. xxv). So does the practice which made the parish jointly and individually responsible for the proper fencing of the churchyard, and the fact that the sittings in parish churches customarily devolved with the several messuages of the parish. To this day the ancient seats in the parish church of Shermanbury, Sussex, still bear the names of the different farms to which they belonged. Bettws-y-Crwyn in Shropshire provides another example of the practice, which was probably general at one period. A case is cited so late as 1902 of the public advertisement of the sale of a sitting in the parish church of Chertsey, which carried with it a parliamentary vote for the county of Surrey.[1] The fact sounds strange, but it is only the converse of what is, or was, once perfectly familiar: ownership of a seat in the communal church was a proof of the holder's full rights as a freeman of the community, just as much as ownership of land in the parish was a title to a sitting in the parish church.

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[1] It was so also in the twelfth century, when the Welsh 'churches have almost as many parsons and sharers as there are principal men in the parish.' Girald. Camb., *Description of Wales*, ii, 6.

Doubtless from the beginning of time there have been such things as individual *mausolea*, and the great houses of paganism had their own barrows exactly as those of to-day have their mortuary chapels and their family vaults. Individualism probably went very much further in pagan times than now it does. A characteristic of the Christian burial-ground is its democratic quality.

When Archbishop Cuthbert took the momentous step of authorising the making of cemeteries within the *túns*, most of the communities of Saxon England were certainly still free in the fullest sense, but others had as certainly passed into the *dominium* of the thane. The fact would make no immediate difference: the thane might, if he so pleased, build for himself a private *bedehus*, but he could not make and own a communal burial-ground. If in the course of time circumstances demanded that such a private chapel should be raised to the dignity of a church, the necessary ground around it was consecrated by a bishop and thereby passed into the ownership of the new parish or the village which it served (ch. xxv).

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[1] Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 420.

The question at what date the first structural churches were erected depends entirely upon the further question when the original *bedehus* came to be thought of as more important then the burial-ground. It is not needful to repeat the evidence bearing upon this point: the sum of it is that, while there seems reason to think that some sort of *bedehus* might be constructed almost as early as the *ciric* containing it, this was certainly not necessary; and on the other hand there is no reason to think that a structural church as we understand it, was anything but the rarest exception even in a Saxon monastery before the eighth century, and for perhaps 200 years later in the towns and villages. Not until the twelfth century can it be said that the church had finally taken precedence of the *ciric*.

The builders of the first *bedehus* were probably the builders of the *ciric* itself, *i.e.* the community. Such is assuredly the commonsense view, and it is borne out by the little evidence forthcoming.

Professor Baldwin Brown,[1] endorsing Albert Hauck's suggestion[2] that this was so, and that the 'church' was as much the property of the community as was the village mill, says that 'it is *a priori* likely,' but complains that 'it is most difficult to find direct documentary evidence for it.' It would be strange if it were otherwise, and it is, therefore, the more fortunate that there is forthcoming at least one indisputable document to prove it. The instance comes from Bavaria and belongs to the year 778, and, therefore, represents what may well have occurred in England at any time as far back as a century earlier. In that year 'Lautperht the priest hands over to the episcopal church at Freising the oratory in the vill which is called Assling; and in their piety the neighbouring inhabitants have together determined that the church should pass into the possession of the see, and this by resolve of the inhabitants themselves, who were the founders of the same house of God (*firmantibus ipsis vicinis, qui hanc ipsam condiderunt domum Dei*).'[1]

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[1] *Arts*, i, pp. 286–7.

[2] In *Kirchengeschichte Deutsch.*

Nothing more explicit is likely to be forthcoming of a date so early, and though one could wish that the case had been English rather than Bavarian, there is no reason at all to doubt that the procedure in both countries was the same. It will be noticed that the men of Assling not merely claim to have built their own oratory, but they exercise also the right to dispose of it as they choose. They debate and decide the matter, one may suppose, in something exactly similar to the English halimote, and their priest acts as representative (*advocatus*, *thingere*, *gemotman*) of the vill. This voluntary surrender by the people of Assling of themselves and their oratory to the see of Freising suggests another and probably not unusual way whereby the Church acquired so many of its possessions. It is quite easy to understand how a free village might be drawn to seek the protection of some powerful religious house, and how such a course might be taken expressly to escape from the threatened alternative of incorporation in some feudal manor. In so doing, the village might hope, conceivably might even stipulate, that it should keep its communal form of government by halimote, a privilege which it could scarcely hope to make good against the encroachments of a grasping lay lord.

In old Irish law the possession of a 'church' is the first of the three essentials to a free community : 'It is no *tuath* without three free *neimhedh*, or dignitaries—the *Eclais* or church, the *Flaith* or lord, and the *File* or poet.'[2] Again, according to the Welsh laws, the building of a church by a non-free community, subject to the permission of the lord, made the community free.[3] From these statements it would appear to follow that any community having its own church was therefore free, *i.e.* self-governing ; and if the church was the sign visible of such freedom, there is apparent another reason why the moot of such a community should be at its church. Inasmuch as the Saxon learnt his Christianity from the Celt, something very similar may have prevailed in England, and certain other facts point in this direction. It was Saxon law at least from the time of Athelstan that any churl who had become possessed of 5 hides of land, a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell, should become not merely a freeman, but a thane.[1] It seems to be a logical inference that every manor must have its own place of worship, and there is a good deal of evidence to show that this was so with any community. In *Domesday* are mentioned here and there incidentally churches endowed by a number of ‘ free men ’ in co-partnership : thus a group of 15 free men hold the moiety of the church at Braiseworth in Suffolk, each with one acre of land ; the church at Stonham was endowed with 20 acres by 9 freemen ; and that of Helmingham was held by 3 persons, one of whom had a half-share of 3 acres, while the other two held each a quarter-share of 1½ acres.[2] Thus, exactly as in Achean Greece every free community must have its own ἱερὸς κύκλος, and in classical Italy each must have its own *circus*, so in the England of the tenth century every free community must have its own church. The term *curia* is equivalent both to the Latin *circus* and to the English *church* ; and, things which are equal to the same thing being also equal to one another, it follows that *circus* and *church* are identical. That they were identical in function has been demonstrated. In the next chapter it remains to be shown that they are also etymologically identical.

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[1] *Arts*, *loc. cit.* The document is printed in Meichelbeck, *Historia Frisingensis* (1724), i, p. 61. The event occurred in the time of Duke Tassilo, 'a period of great activity in church-building in the newly Christianized territory.' The expression 'church-building' must, however, be construed in the light of archaeology.

[2] Quoted by Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii, 72) from *Cotton MS.*, *Brit. Mus.*, *Nero A vii.*

[3] *Ancient Laws of Wales*, i, 445 ; ii, 873.

Doubtless in the first instance the community erected the original *bedehus* or oratory, which was at once the dwelling-place and the ‘ church ’ of their elected officer the priest ; but in the course of time was bound to grow up the idea that this building was the private property of the priest for the time being, and when many years later the parishioners aspired to have a roof of their own for worship, and enlarged the building for that end, the priest’s portion of it remained as the chancel, while that of the people became the nave. Throughout the centuries, in England as in Wales, runs this pronounced distinction between the two, and moreover, as the term ‘ church ’ came more and more into use to denote the structure, it was habitually used to denote only that part of the structure (the nave, etc.) which did not in quite the same sense belong to the priest. Just as in Wales *cagell ac egluis*[1] together denote the whole building, so in English the expression 'church and chancel,' or something of the like kind. The same distinction is in Scotland reflected in the proverbial utterance 'he rives the kirk to thatch the choir.' Occasionally the tower is mentioned[2] as a third element in the whole, and sometimes the separate ownership of the chancel is emphasized by styling it *rectoria.*[3]

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[1] Hume and Smollett, *Hist. of England* (1854), i, 163.

[2] Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 437, citing V. B. Redstone.

Herein is to be found explanation of the fact, peculiar to the Anglican Church, that while the entire structure is the parson's freehold, the responsibility for the upkeep of the chancel and of the nave is divided. For the repair of the chancel the priest is answerable, for that of the rest of the fabric—chapels in private ownership excepted—the parishioners must answer[4]; and the same evolution will explain the peculiar legal position of the churchyard, which is the priest's freehold indeed, but subject to the control of the parishioners through their churchwarden; and while the parish is liable for the proper upkeep of its fences, the priest may not cut down a tree thereof without the consent of the parishioners.[5]

Every one recalls the peculiar virtues attaching in magic and folklore to the symbol of the circle. Large part of such ideas must be derived from the ritual circle of Celtic paganism, that is, from the circular hut of the living and the circular barrow of the dead. 'The house that is favoured of God'[1] is the round Celtic hut of wattles. 'Whoso lives in a house that is built over a fairy-ring shall wondrously prosper,'[2] and the pretty fancy that the 'Little People' fashion these fungoid circles, what time they

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[1] Archaic Welsh for *cangell ac eglwys.*

[2] So an epitaph (*circa* 1404) in the Church of Holm, Norfolk :—

'Henry Notingham and hys wyffe lyne here,
That maden this churche, stepul, and quere.'

Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs.* Cf. Jacobs, *Law Dictionary* (London, 1739) : 'A church in general consists of three principal parts, a belfry or steeple, the body of the church with the isles (*sic*), and the chancel.'

[3] *ad reparationem cancelli seu rectoriae* (*Yorks. Wills*, iii, 29).

[4] This suggestion has been made before. Thus Howard and Crossley in *English Church Woodwork* (London, N.D.), p. 214 : 'It has been suggested that the earliest Christian buildings in these islands were sanctuaries built by the efforts of the first missionaries, and that the nave was probably added at the cost of the converts. This tradition has never died out, for even at the present day the rector is responsible for the upkeep of the chancel, while the duty of repairing the nave rests with the parishioners, and the screen, the property of the parish, forms the boundary between their respective domains.'

S. O. Addy has attempted to explain this divided ownership by the theory that the church has developed from the lord's house, remarking that 'at all events no other explanation will bear examination' (*Church and Manor*, p. 426).

[5] Disputes about the churchyard were, says S. O. Addy (*op. cit.*, p. 427), more serious than those about the church itself, which was the inevitable consequence of so mixed an ownership, itself the result of the total disappearance of all memory of the real origin of church and churchyard alike. Seeing that the lawyers, like the clergy, used *ecclesia* indifferently for both, the wonder is rather that disputes were not more frequent.

> 'dance their ringlets to the whistling winds'

must go back to the same dim memory.[3] Whoso would 'call up spirits from the vasty deep,' and 'command them when called,' must mark about him on the floor a circle, across which could reach no evil influence to harm him. 'You must make a circle if you would conjure.'[4] The dead were buried within the circle because they had lived within a circle, but when that fashion of dwelling was forgotten, there was invented the reason that the circle prevented the dead man's ghost from passing out to vex the living. Conversely, therefore, the necromancer stood within a circle that the Devil might not reach him, for within the circle he felt himself 'sure against all ye deuils in hel.'[5] Moreover, the Devil lurks in corners, and a circle provides no corners for his accommodation. The more the circles, the greater the security: 'Weave a circle round him thrice, and close your eyes with holy dread.'[6] The sunwise turn is itself symbolical of the same belief, and to reverse it, to make the turn 'widdershins,' was as potent for evil as the other for good, like the repetition of the Lord's Prayer backwards or the utterance of any palindromical doggerel. The very pebbles which, according as they were used, brought blessings or curses, were themselves also round, and doubtless, some part of the symbolism of the finger-ring has its origin in the same notion that the sign of the circle was a prophylactery.[1]

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[1] Sullivan in O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, iii, p. 33.

[2] *Athenian Oracle*, i, 397.

[3] In Irish folklore rabbits and fairies are frequently associated; the fairies are believed to take the shape of rabbits on occasion. This fancy may be in part due to the fact that rabbits actually form rings in their romps, as anyone may see for himself where the turf is of suitable quality, *e.g.* on the Downs behind Eastbourne. These rabbit-rings are moreover remarkable for the fact that they are frequently penannular, there being left a definite gap in the circle, where is to be found no slightest trace of the animals such as cover the rest of it.

[4] Shakespeare, *Henry V*, v. ii, 281.

[5] More, *Dialogue of Heresyes*. The Saxon term for astrology was *circol-craeft*. Chaucer's Poor Parson mentions (*Parson's Tale*, §37) the magic circle amongst other matters pertinent to necromancy. But there was originally no necessary association with *black* magic; witness the legend of St. Cuthman's safeguarding his father's flock by means of a magic circle which nothing could overstep or break.

[6] That the magic circle had ultimately this sepulchral origin is shown by the almost invariable association of a skull with the circle in old representations of it.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD 'CHURCH.'

*The Structural Church of Early Greek and Latin Christianity—'The Lord's House'—Various theories as to the origin of 'church'—Walafrid Strabo—Ulfilas and the Gothic Bible—Difficulties in the current theory, historical, geographical, archaeological, and philological—Latin loan-words in Saxon speech—'Ciric' one of these—Used by Alfred of the Circus of Romulus—'Ciric-tun,' 'Church-hay,' 'Churchyard'—Activity of Hiberno-Saxon missionaries on the Continent—Evidence from Switzerland—France—Friesland, Holland and Denmark—Scandinavia and Finland—Germany—Russia and the Slavs—Hungary—Poland—Isle of Man and Iceland—Finis.*

What then is the derivation of the word 'Church'? Since the ninth century, when Walafrid Strabo—he received his training as a monk in St. Boniface's Scotic monastery of Fulda, and died abbot of Reichenau in 849—hazarded the guess that it comes from the Greek κυριακόν (*scil.* δῶμα) meaning 'the Lord's House,' this theory has held the field against all others. It is repeated by the writer of the O. E. *Homily on the Credo* (*circa* 1200),[2] accepted as fact by Richard Hooker,[3] asserted by Professor

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[1] In the East the circle is the symbol of eternity, and *ergo* of divinity, but it is not clear that either of these meanings belongs to the circle in the West, except in so far as it was adopted in Christian times under Latin or Eastern influence. Obviously, however, the Western value of the symbol as the token of the presence of Death lent itself readily to confusion with either of the Oriental meanings.

[2] Ich leue þat Chireche is holi Godes hus on eorðe, and is cleped on boc *Kiriaca*, *i.e. dominicalis*, þat is on Englis louerdlich hus.—Morris, *Old English Homilies*, 2nd Series (1873), p. 23.

[3] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, v, 13: 'Churches were consecrated to none but the Lord only. The general name "church" doth sufficiently shew this, for it doth signify nothing but "the Lord's House."'

Skeat,[1] and defended by the *New English Dictionary*. As the compilers of the last-named work discuss the matter to the length of a column of small print, it would appear that it is clearly not beyond argument.

There is no doubt that the Greek Christians had sporadically—probably not generally—structural churches of some sort as early as the close of the third century,[2] and that such buildings, though it seems for a limited period only and perhaps never generally, were known by the name of κυριακά. The word occurs in the *Apostolic Constitutions* of 300, and is frequent for some years thereafter. Eusebius, who died in 340, says that Constantine styled by this name several of the churches which he built.[3] But there is abundant evidence that in still earlier days of Christianity, in the East as much as in the West, it was not usual to have any special *building* for the purposes of worship, and that the places of meeting, although they might be anywhere, were especially at the graves of the faithful dead. Such a thing as a structural church did not then exist. The meetings were called by a variety of names, such as *synodi*, *concilia*, *conciliabula*, and *conventicula*.[4] Chrysostom could declare (*c.* 385) that '*Synodos* and *ecclesia* are the same'[1]; and Augustine of Hippo (*ob.* 430) explicitly says that '*ecclesia* is the name of the place where a congregation meets (*quo ecclesia congregatur*), for the *ecclesia* is the congregation (*nam ecclesia homines sunt*).[2] In the time of Eusebius and Constantine the term *martyrium* seems to have been as usual as any in the sense of a structural church: it is applied by Eusebius and others to the building erected by Constantine on the site of the Holy Sepulchre (*Martyrium Salvatoris*), and to others at Edessa, Rome, and Chalcedon, upon the sites of the tombs or of the martyrdoms of SS. Thomas the Apostle, Peter, Paul, and Euphemia.[3] St. Augustine makes frequent mention of the *Mensa Cypriani* at Carthage, *i.e.* the altar of St. Cyprian, which stood upon the spot where that saint was martyred (258) and buried;[4] but there is nothing whatever, beyond the preconception of centuries, to suggest that there was any structural church on the spot. Apparently in Asia, in Africa, and in Italy, precisely as in Ireland, Wales, and England, the early converts knew of no more proper place of meeting, no more usual *ecclesia*, than a burial-place. 'With the Christians,' wrote Onuphrius[5] in the sixteenth century, 'their burial-places used to serve them for temples and places of prayer, as indeed they do to this day. There their bishops assembled their congregations, administered the sacraments, and preached the word of God. Hence the remarkable fact that when any Emperor resolved to persecute the Christians, he would first and foremost debar them from their burial-places, and so deprive them of the opportunity of assembling together.'[6]

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[1] *Etymol. Dict. of the Eng. Language.* Bingham (*Christian Antiquities*, viii, i, § 2) accepted this derivation without criticism, albeit he expressed his inability to agree with 'a learned man' (Bishop Beveridge) in the corollary 'that the Greeks, and not the Latins, were the first planters of Christianity in Britain.'

[2] Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bp. of Caesarea (*obiit c.* 270), is said by Gregory of Nyssa to have built several churches at Caesarea and in the adjoining parts of Pontus. An Edict of Diocletian in 302 ordered the demolition of the churches and the confiscation of the lands belonging to them. Lactantius (*De Morte Persecutorum*, xii) describes the destruction of a large church at Nicomedia in 303; see Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiqs.* (1893), i, 366. The earliest existing building in the nature of a church is said to be the so-called 'Basilica of Reparatus' (the ancient Castellum Tingitanum) in Algeria, which is doubtfully attributed to the year 252 (Hill, *Architect. Hist. of the Church*, p. 11).

[3] *De Laud. Constantini*, xvii. The term occurs in *Edict. Maximini* (303-313), quoted in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* ix, 10; in Canon 15 of the Council of Ancyra (314), Can. 5 of the Council of Neo-Caesarea (314-323), Can. 28 of the Council of Laodicea (*οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν*). The date of the Council of Laodicea is disputed, but it was not earlier than 314. The actual first instance of the use of *κυριακόν* in the sense of a building wherein Christians worshipped is said to be in Eusebius' *Eccles. Hist.* ix, 5 (*Notes and Queries* xii, 302). The feminine *κυριακή* (scil. *οἰκία*) was also used in the same sense, but rarely, and at a date (says *N.E.D.*) too late to affect the question. See also Ducange, *Lexicon Med. et Inf. Graec.*

[4] See Bingham, *Christian Antiqs.* VIII, i. That author, like almost every one else, was prepossessed with the idea that the Christians had structural churches from the earliest times, and therefore entirely failed to see the purport of the evidence he had collected. The view that 'for the first three ages [centuries] the Christians had no such distinct places of worship' he dismisses as 'a singular paradox which has been advanced by some learned men in these last ages,' based (he declares) 'upon certain mistaken passages of Origen, Minucius Felix, Arnobius and Lactantius, who say "the Christians had no temples".' Lactantius, author of the last remark, lived in the early part of the fourth century. Bingham fails to adduce any evidence for the existence of any buildings expressly constructed to serve as churches before the days of Thaumaturgus.

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[1] *Hom. in Psal.* cxlix.

[2] *Quaest. in Levit.* lvii.

[3] Bingham, *Christian Antiqs.* VIII, i, § 8. *Martyrium* is the Welsh *Merthyr*, for which see above, ch. xix.

[4] Ibid. VIII, i, § 9. The *mensa* was the stone slab which marked the Saint's grave and served also as an altar.

[5] *Appendix ad Platinam*, *De Coemeteriis*, xi; Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, Bk. VIII, i, § 9. Onuphrius Panvinus, the Italian historian of the Papacy, died in 1568. Hospinianus, who quotes (*Opera*, Geneva, 1681) this passage from Onuphrius, and refers to various passages in the *Acts of the Apostles*, adds the following: *Ubi Bellarmini impostura notanda est. Probare enim volens* (Col. 2188) *fideles Apostolorum tempore et paulo post habuisse ecclesias, hoc est templa, a privatis aedibus distinctas, ex I. Cor. cap.* 11 *and* 14 *et aliquot locis patrum, vocem Ecclesiae, quae apud eos reperitur, pro templis extructis sumit; quum ibi pro solo fidelium conventu in privatis aedibus collecto usurpetur. Est igitur aequivocationis fallacia.* The equivocation was, however, far older than Bellarmine, for it goes back to Bede; and if Hospinianus himself did not carry it so far as did Bellarmine, he did not altogether escape it.

[6] As for example did Valerianus in 253.

Pope Damasus I (366–384) wrote a *Life* of the martyr-Pope Fabianus (236–251), in which he asserts that the latter ordered the building of many wooden structures (*fabricas materiales*) in (*per*) the Christian cemeteries of Rome; and that a century later Pope Liberius (352–366), on his return from exile, made his dwelling in the cemetery of St. Agnes (*habitare in coemeterio Agnetis*).[1] In other words, as late as the third quarter of the fourth century there were in Rome itself a number of wooden *oratoria* precisely like those of early Celtic Christianity, and the Bishop of Rome saw nothing derogatory to his dignity in dwelling in such an oratory amongst the tombs, precisely as did St. Cadoc and the multitude of early Celtic saints. 'Moreover,' adds Hospinianus, 'in the cemeteries at Rome the Christians administered baptism, celebrated the Lord's Supper, sang the vigils, and conducted all the offices of the Church.'

The Latin Christians had early made it a practice to meet on occasion in a room in the secular *domus* of one or other of their number, and when they were presently permitted to worship without molestation in public, they not uncommonly styled any structural church which they built *Domus Dei*, 'The Lord's House,' a name still surviving in the common Italian *duomo* and the Teutonic *dom*. An alternative name of the same purport was *Dominica* or *Dominicalis* (*scil. domus*), which passed into Ireland as *domhnach*.

Saxon and other early theological writers, whether or no they retained any recollection of another origin for their peculiar word *ciric*, *kirk*, etc., must have been well aware, like Walafrid Strabo, that both in Greek and in Latin Christianity the structural church had been called, or was still called, by terms denoting 'The Lord's House'; and it is probable that for that very reason they would wish to read the same meaning into their own word. It may be that Walafrid was innocent of any deliberate juggling with language to this end, but it is almost certain that the writer of the *Homily on the Credo* was expressly concerned to establish this derivation : when he wrote that ‘ chireche is holi Godes hus ’ he meant men to believe that ‘ Godes hus ’ was a translation of *chireche*. As *ciric* could not by any effort of ingenuity be referred to *dominica*, it had to be referred to κυριακόν if it was desired to explain it as meaning ‘ The Lord’s House ’[1] ; and while all Christians of the time would welcome such an identification, there was not forthcoming any philologist either able or wishful to refute it. Walafrid’s guess of the ninth century had become an article of faith when the *Homily* was written.

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[1] All cited by Hospinianus (*op. cit.*). The *coemeterium Agnetis* might possibly mean the *Catacombs* of St. Agnese, but the *coemeteria* in which were built the *fabricae materiales* can hardly have been catacombs. It is said that the Christians began to abandon the secrecy of the catacombs and to make their burial-places above ground from the date of the Edict of Milan (311), but it would seem that some such burial-places above ground existed at least 60 years earlier. The use of the catacombs became infrequent after 350, and ceased entirely after 410.

It is admitted on all hands that Walafrid Strabo’s derivation presents difficulties which the ingenuity of a thousand years has failed to overcome. These are partly philological, partly geographical and historical ; and long before philology had been raised to the dignity of an exact science there had been writers to doubt the traditional view. As they did not however for the most part advance any detailed evidence for an alternative derivation, the *New English Dictionary* is able to dismiss them with the somewhat damaging remark that much of the strength of the traditional derivation lies in the fact that ‘ no other conjecture offered will bear scientific statement, much less examination.’

It has been shown in the preceding chapters that the word *ciric* did not originally signify a building of any kind, but a circular place of burial. By what stretch of language could the Saxons call such a thing by a name which was consciously understood to mean ‘ God’s House ’, and this at a date, as the evidence shows, many years before any structural building was to be found in most of such *cirics*, and still longer years before the structural building came to be thought of as the more important thing ?

The evidence of archaeology points very decidedly to the Latin *circus* as the real original of ‘ church.’ The suggestion is not by any means new : it was made at least so long ago as 1599 by Justus Lipsius,[1] and repeated by Edward Lhuyd[2] in 1707; it has been hinted by many writers within the last half century and to all intents asserted by James Fergusson.[3] Some have found the connexion in their belief that druidical temples were circular,[4] and others have seen it in the occasional use of *circus* by classical writers in the sense of the people therein assembled, the 'congregation.'[5] Of the mass of archaeological evidence which is still to be gathered on every hand no one has heretofore availed himself. That evidence ignored, and the true significance of *circus* and of *ciric* alike misapprehended, it might well be difficult to trace any connexion between the two terms, and authority might with complacency 'set aside'[6] the suggestion that any connexion existed. But there having been adduced some reasons (ch. vi) for the belief that *circus* primarily meant a place of sepulchral origin which was used as a moot, and evidence enough to convince all that *ciric* originally meant a place of sepulture which was likewise for long centuries the moot of its community, the question whether the two words are ultimately related is worth reconsideration, the more so as the only alternative derivation of 'church' admittedly holds the field only until a better be forthcoming.

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[1] The obviously intentional effort thus to explain it must have been prompted by the knowledge that the word in reality went back to the Roman word *circus* with its unhallowed associations, or at any rate by the fear that this derivation might be entertained. The persistent efforts of those in authority to substitute some other word, *e.g. minster*, and the use of the non-Latin word *amphitheatrum* when speaking of the true *circus*, are both to be explained by the same fear. At any rate the statement in the *Homily* is an *ex-cathedra* pronouncement, based either upon ignorance, prejudice, or purposed obscurantism.

It is generally agreed that the κυριακόν-theory presents difficulties both philological and historical. Archaeologically it has no support whatever. If therefore it can be shown that, as regards the *circus*-theory, the philological difficulties are at any rate no greater, and the historical difficulties infinitely less, while further there is a mass of archaeological evidence to support it, then it must be allowed that the *circus*-theory is so far better than the other.

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[1] *Epist. Selectarum*, *Cent.* iii (*Ad Belgas*), no. 44. Lipsius, a jurisconsult of Louvain, is writing to another jurisconsult upon the flux of languages and the traces of Latin words in the Germanic tongues. After giving a number of examples, he continues: *Credo et a circo* Kirck *nostrum esse, quia veterum templa instar circi rotunda; quod tamen aliis a Graeca κυριακῇ esse placet.*

[2] *Archaeologica Britannica* (Oxford, 1707).

[3] 'I believe the word *kirk*, common to all Teutonic languages, to be derived from the word *circulus* or *cirque*, Teutonic *kirk*' (*Handbook of Architecture*, 2nd Ed. 1859, p. 508). He suggested the sequence:—circular burial mounds (Étruscan, Chinese, etc.), circular sepulchral buildings (churches), circular churchyards. This is wrong. The correct sequence is:—circular barrows, circular churchyards, structural churches; and the structural church is circular only by rare occasion and for quite different reasons.

[4] Mackay (*Dict. of Lowland Scots*) flatly states *kirk* to stand for *kirkyl*, = *circulus*, and to have reference to circular druidical temples and stone-circles. T. A. Wise (*Hist. Paganism in Caledonia*, p. 174) says: 'These groups or circles of stones were called by the new converts the *Clachan*, or church-stones, a name afterwards applied to the Christian place of worship . . . The Romans called such a circle of stones *circus*, which was converted by the Germans into *kirche*, by the Saxons into *church*, and by the Scots into *kirk*.'

[5] Eden, *Churchman's Dict. of Theology*.

[6] This derivation, says *N. E. D.*, 'has been set aside as untenable.'

The philological difficulties need not detain us long. To provide the missing link between the Greek and the Teutonic forms there is assumed a Gothic form **kirika*. If this assumed Gothic form were really derived from κυριακόν, it ought to appear as *kūrika*; and as κυριακόν is of neuter gender, the derivative ought normally to be of the same gender, and not feminine, as are all the *kirk*-forms without exception. Authority confesses that these are real difficulties, but declares that 'they can be answered.' It does not go so far as to say that they can be quite satisfactorily answered. Unanswerable, and fatal to any suggestion of a connexion with κυριακόν, is the further fact that the Anglo-Saxon form *cyrice* is of later appearance than the forms *cirice* and *circe*.[1] In other words the forms in *cir-* are older than those in *cyr-*.

Some may esteem this dictum, the last word in English linguistics, sufficient to dispose for good and all of the κυριακόν-theory. Others may, not altogether unreasonably, entertain doubts of its sufficiency. The wiser course were to enquire how far the other evidence justifies one in rejecting the derivation from κυριακόν and preferring another. If the other evidence points all in the same direction as does that of linguistics, then the latter may be accepted as a most powerful reinforcement, but it must not be held to be in itself sufficient.

Those who support the κυριακόν-theory are concerned to justify Walafrid Strabo's guess that the Greek word was introduced among the Goths in the fourth century by their apostle bishop Ulfilas, and was thence passed on to the other Teutonic peoples. As the Goths are known to have been living at that time north of the Danube in Dacia (Wallachia), this suggestion seemed better than any other to satisfy the geographical and chronological requirements of the problem. So the worthy abbat's guess has come to be regarded as a statement of fact, and philology has so long concerned itself to explain how this thing *might* be so, that it at last has come to believe that it actually *was* so. It has declared that, granted a Gothic form **kîrika* or **kirika*, the evolution of all other forms of the *kirk*-word from the known Greek κυριακόν, is, if not wholly satisfactory, at any rate good enough.

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[1] So Prof. Allen Mawer in a personal letter under date 3,7,'22.

Walafrid Strabo deserves some credit as one of the first of comparative philologists. He noticed the similarity subsisting between certain Teutonic and certain Greek and Latin words, and inferred that the former were therefore borrowed from the latter. Without examining his list in detail, it is worth while to point out that he blundered over so cardinal a word as *basilica* ( = *ecclesia*), which he derived from the Greek βασιλεύς, *ut regia a rege.*[1] It is quite true that the Latin *basilica* is derived ultimately from the Greek βασιλεύς, but it is not true that in adopting the term as the name of a church of peculiar plan the Roman Christians of the fourth century implied any connexion at all with βασιλεύς. To put it in another way, *basilica* did not mean, as Walafrid says it meant, to the Christians of his time and earlier, ‘ the King's House.’ It meant simply a church of a particular plan, *i.e.* an aisled apsidal building like the pagan Roman *basilica* or law-court.

Certain ‘ brothers in Christ ’ had told him, says Walafrid, that there were Christian congregations ‘ among the Scythians,’ and especially at Tomi (Kustendjeh), who used the Gothic language in their liturgy ; ‘ for the Getae and the Goths are the same, and history tells us that certain learned Goths shortly translated the Holy Scriptures into their own tongue.’[2] It may be so, but it is not generally accepted that the Getae were Goths,[3] or spoke the same language, and we cannot be sure that the language of those liturgical books was Gothic.[4] Walafrid assumed both these identifications, and thence others have argued that there must have existed a Gothic scriptural literature in the fourth century. It is indeed the accepted belief that Ulfilas gave to the Goths a vernacular Bible, or most of it, before he died in 383, and that fragments of his translation remain to us in the famous *Codex Argenteus*, which is thought itself to have been written in Upper Italy at the beginning or middle of the sixth century.[1] But Walafrid says nothing of Ulfilas as the translator.

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[1] *Sicut domus Dei basilica, i.e. regia a rege, sic etiam Kyriaca, i.e. Dominica, a Domino nuncupatur ; quia Domino dominantium et Regi regum in illa servitur. De Rebus Eccles.* Pt. I. *c.* vii (Migne's *Patrologia*, nos. cxiii, cxiv). In the contemporary inscription (1056) preserved in the little chapel of Holy Trinity at Deerhurst, the building is styled *aula regia*, *i.e.* a basilica.

[2] *De Rebus Eccles. l.c.*

[3] *Encycl. Britann. s.v.* GETAE.

[4] If it was really so, one may compare the curious survival of an Illyrian liturgy in the churches of the island of Veglia off the Dalmatian coast, excepting in the city and convent of Cassione, where Latin is used ; T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria* (1887). The ancient name of Veglia was Curicta (Ptolemy and Pliny) or Cyractica (Strabo), from a Slavonic word (cf. Croat *krk*, ‘ leg ’) meaning something long and narrow.

The Goths displaced the Romans in Dacia in the third century. They defeated Gallienus there in 256, and Aurelian (270–275) ceded to them the province. About the same time they came into direct contact with the Greeks, and raiding the coasts of Asia Minor, penetrated in 264 into Cappadocia, carrying off some of the population—Christians amongst them—to Dacia. In 321 they crossed the Danube and plundered Thracia and Moesia, to be again driven out by Constantine in 336. They were as yet pagans, and the work of converting them did not begin until 342.

Ulfilas—the name is Gothic and signifies 'Wolf-cub'—was their apostle. Of Cappadocian descent and the son of a slave-girl, he was born between 311 and 318. As there was a Bishop of the Dacians at the Council of Nicaea (325), there must so early have been some Christians, Goths or others, amongst the Dacians. Ulfilas came to Byzantium in 332, was consecrated in 341, and in the next year returned to Dacia as bishop *in partibus Gothorum*. After seven years of mission-work he and his followers were expelled in a pagan reaction (349). He continued his work in Moesia, and died in 383. One writer of the time[2] asserts that Ulfilas had translated into Gothic the entire Bible excepting the *Book of Kings*; but his pupil Auxentius,[3] who wrote a *Life of Ulfilas*, says nothing of any such translation.

The Goths of Dacia had reverted to paganism, expelling all Christians. Into Dacia (*circa* 370) burst the Huns: half of the Goths fled south of the Danube and reappeared as the Ostrogoths of history; the rest fled westward to become the Visigoths. Some of the latter settled in Noricum, whence Alaric led them to the invasion of Italy in 410. Noricum was missionised by Severinus in the latter half of that century, but before that date the bulk of the Visigoths had pushed farther west into the Rhone Valley, Southern France, and Spain. Behind this wave of migratory Goths came that of the Huns, and in the wake of these again a further swarm of peoples quite as pagan, if not so utterly savage—Alemanni, Heruli, Rugii—who overran all Noricum, Pannonia, and the *Agri Decumates* to the confines of the Franks and the Saxons and other northern Teutonic peoples. Can any one seriously believe that amidst all these successive cataclysms of a century there could survive any trace of that slight tincture of Christianity which had been brought into Dacia by the seven years' labours of Ulfilas ? It is in the highest degree unlikely.

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[1] So Balg, *First Germanic Bible* (Trübner, London, 1891). The exact date at which the *Codex* was written is of no particular moment here, for the Scriptures containing no mention of any structural church, there could be none in any translation of the Scriptures, Gothic or otherwise. The word used in the *Codex* for ἐκκλησία is *aikklesjo*, in the Scriptural sense of 'congregation' only.

[2] Philostorgius (*circa* 360-430). Two hundred years later Isidore of Seville (560-636) roundly asserts that Ulfilas had 'translated into his own tongue both Testaments.'

[3] He became bishop of Milan, the precursor of St. Ambrose, and died in 374.

The silence of Walafrid Strabo as to Ulfilas' alleged translation of the Bible is very remarkable. Had he known of it he must have mentioned it, for it would have been the very best possible evidence for his case. Equally remarkable is the silence of Auxentius, the bishop's own pupil. It is at least thinkable that both these writers had a better chance to know the facts than had later generations, and it has recently been seriously argued that the so-called Gothic Bible of Ulfilas is a myth, and that those fragments of the Gothic Bible which have come down to us really belong to a much later date.[1]

The argument of those who maintain the derivation of 'church' from κυριακόν would seem to be as follows: Some of the Goths were Christians in the fourth century; therefore they must have possessed structural churches, and necessarily a name for these. As they learnt their Christianity from Byzantium, they must have borrowed from Greek their name for the structural church; and as they did not use the *ecclesia*-word in that sense, the word borrowed must have been κυριακόν. If one assumes a Gothic **kirika* as the form in question, this provides the missing link between the Greek κυριακόν and all the European *kirk*-forms. Therefore the Goths used the word *kirika*.

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[1] Leo Wiener, *Commentary on the Germanic Laws and Medieval Documents* (Harvard), p. xxxiii. His conclusion is that not only is the Gothic version of the Bible a work probably of the eighth century, possibly written in Spain, but that 'the tradition which has grown up in regard to the whole Germanic question is based on a vicious circle, of which the authorship of the [Gothic] Bible [*scil.* Ulfilas'] is the initial step. Upon close inspection the whole structure of Germanic philology, in so far as it rests upon the assumption of a fourth-century Gothic literature, collapses from its own weight.' It may be remarked that Wiener is not concerned with the specific point here at issue, the derivation of the word 'church,' or with anything at all ecclesiastical. So early as the eighteenth century Welstein (*Prolegomena*, i, p. 114) questioned whether Ulfilas was the author of the text of the *Cod. Argenteus*.

Now the only sense in which 'church' occurs in the Scriptures is that of 'congregation,' and the word used is ἐκκλησία. The Goths adopted that word (*aikklesjo*) in that sense and in no other. In the whole of the surviving Gothic literature there appears to be no trace whatever of any word which could conceivably be derived from κυριακόν, and in the Scriptural portion of that literature there is not, nor could be, any equivalent for 'structural church.'[1] There is therefore no evidence for the existence amongst the Goths of the fourth century of any such thing as a structural church, and as little evidence of the existence of any word referable to κυριακόν.

The Goths, at whatever date, adopted (*aikklesjo*) the Greek word ἐκκλησία in the sense of 'congregation'; but as it is a fact that every other Teutonic and Slavonic people declined to follow their example, what reason is there for believing that they adopted an assumed Gothic loan-word **kirika* for 'structural church'? It will not do to say that the former concept is more difficult than the latter, for it is just to express the more difficult concepts that peoples do borrow loan-words. Moreover 'congregation' was to them the prior concept. Greek Christians had been familiar with ἐκκλησία in the sense of 'congregation' for two centuries before it can be proved that they had any structural churches. Yet the *ecclesia*-word, which the Goths are alleged to have adopted so early as the fourth century, utterly failed to make good amongst any other Teutonic or Slavonic people.

On the other hand every people which was directly missionised from Rome or Gaul, even so far afield as the

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[1] Balg, *Comparative Glossary of the Gothic Language* (Trübner, London, 1877-9), has 'a church, churchyard, *gards*,' in his English-Gothic Glossary; in his Graeco-Gothic Vocabulary, '*κυριακόν*, *κυριακός*, *κύριος*, *gards*.' In his Gothic Vocabulary *gards* is given as 'house, enclosure, yard,' and cited from Ulfilas' Bible; *Matth.* viii, 6, ix, 6; *Mark* iii, 25, x, 30; 1 *Tim.* iii, 12. *Gards* corresponds to English *garth*, M. E. *ȝard*, O. E. *ȝeard*, Gk. *χόρτος*, Lat. *cohors*, O. Ir. *gort*, 'cornfield, crop.' Gabelentz and Doebe (in Migne's *Patrologia*, no. xviii) have '*ἐκκλησία*, *aíkklesjo*, *gemainþs*'; but *gemainþs* does not appear in their Gothic Vocabulary. Stamm (*Ulfila*, Paderborn, 1858) gives it = *gemeinde*, which is modern German for 'commonalty, communion, church (not structural), parish,' the word still used for the assemblies of the Swiss Cantons (*Lands-gemeinde*).

Bretons, Cornish, Welsh, Scoti and Irish,[1] adopted, and for the most part still uses, the Greek ἐκκλησία in both senses of that word,[2] and shows of the *kirk*-word no trace whatever.[3] So hard and fast is this linguistic difference that it cannot be shown that the Saxons in England, albeit in closest and uninterrupted contact with the Welsh, ever used any form of the ἐκκλησία-word. They obstinately used the *kirk*-word only, and, as the cases of Chirk and Falkirk declare, even ousted the ἐκκλησία-word where they found it already established.

If κυριακόν, as is implied, had sufficient virility to perpetuate itself in every language of Western Europe from the Danube to the Shetlands, it is remarkable that it should have failed completely to hold its own within the Greek-speaking area, its original home. Such however is the fact. The word ἐκκλησία has forced itself upon the Arab, the Persian, and even the Turk,[4] whereas, a vulgar and rare form κυρικόν excepted, there is not to be found any trace of the word κυριακόν either in the speech of the Greek races, or in any other tongue spoken between the Persian Gulf and the Adriatic. That it should have left no mark in Syriac is only less remarkable because even ἐκκλησία has left no trace there.[5] Even in Armenian the sole trace is the use of the word *kırakʻe*, denoting not the structural church, but 'Sunday' (ἡμέρα κυριακή).

According to one view the *kirk*-word is 'common west-Germanic'; according to another it is 'a western loan-word.' If it be west-Germanic, loan-word or otherwise, it is not clear why its assumed oldest form should be found so far east as Dacia. Further we are assured that the Slavonic forms of the word were probably derived from the Teutonic. If that be so, how comes it that the forms least like the supposed parent-form (κυριακόν), such as the Russian *tserkova* and the Bulgarian *criky*, are to be found in the areas immediately contiguous to the Greek-speaking countries and admittedly receiving their Christianity directly thence and at a late date; whereas the forms least unlike κυριακόν are found only in the regions most remote from the Greek-speaking countries? These facts seem to be in direct conflict with the theory. On the other hand it is curious that the Slavonic forms should approximate so remarkably to the Anglo-Saxon *kirk* and *ciric* and to the Latin *circus*; *e.g.* modern Slavonic *cirkovĭ*, Russian *cerkov*, *tserkova*, Bulgarian *čerkova*, Servian *crkva*, Slovenian *cerkev*, Czech *cirkev*, Polish *cerkiew* and Lusatian *cyrkej*.

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[1] It may be remarked that the adoption of the *ecclesia*-word by the Gallic Church and by all the Western Celts, to the absolute exclusion of anything which can be imagined to represent *κυριακόν*, is itself a strong argument against the identity of the latter with the *Kirk*-word. It is an equally strong argument against the view that Gallic Christianity originated from the Greek East. Obviously the West learnt its ritual vocabulary from a people who knew nothing of any *κυριακόν*-word.

[2] Ital. *chiesa*, Fr. *église*, Span. *yglesia*, Port. *ygrejo*, Bret. *iliz*, Corn. *eglos*, Welsh *eglwys*, Gael. *eaglais*.

[3] There are some good remarks on this curious and rigid geographical distribution in Taylor, *Origins of the Aryans*, p. 247.

[4] Arabic, *Kenísa*; Persian, *Kilísá*, *Kanisá*, *Kanisht*; Turkish, *Kilísá*. The Turkish *kirk* means 'forty'; Kirk-Kilisse is 'Forty Churches,' and the mosque called Kirklar near Derbend (Abercrombie, *Trip through the Caucasus*, p. 223) is 'The Forty.'

[5] Even in *ancient* Syriac neither *ἐκκλησία* nor *κυριακόν* appears, except in the loaned adjective *ἐκκλησιαστικός*.

Again, if some κυριακόν-form was so securely fixed in Gothic speech so early as is supposed, *i.e.* some generations before the severance of Visigoths from Ostrogoths, how is it that this assumed form, though *ex hypothesi* robust enough to supplant all rivals in the tongues of peoples ethnologically and geographically so remote as Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, nevertheless wholly failed to show itself in the lands where the Goths settled in the course of the next century, and where they remained for long generations the dominant race? Why is there no trace of the word in Northern Italy or in Southern France, or in Spain where the Visigoths were for 300 years the ruling race?

The apostle of the Slavs was Cyril of Byzantium, who lived in the seventh century, and the first Slav-speaking people to be missionised were the Old Bulgarians. As they learnt their Christianity in the first instance direct from Byzantium, it would be odd if they had failed to learn the Greek κυριακόν as directly, but adopted it indirectly only and at second hand from their Teutonic neighbours to the north. The Old Slav *crŭky* is found as early as 860, yet its form declares that, if derived at all from κυριακόν, it was already old among the Slavs.[1] If we assume it to have been already as much as 200 years old, an extreme concession, we know that the *kirk*-word was already established as early as 660 beyond the Danube,[2] in Cassel and farther east, where Scotic and Saxon missioners were even then active. Which is the more probable ? That the word found in Cassel in 660 was a survival from an Old Gothic original answering to the Greek κυριακόν ? or that it was derived from the word *ciric*, *cyrc*, and was introduced by the Saxon missionaries ?

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[1] So Ellis Minns assures me.

[2] It is generally admitted that Christianity was established among the Continental Teutons before the Goths commenced to move westwards from Dacia and Moesia.

No one pretends that in the Greek East even in Eusebius' time the word κυριακόν was the common term for a Christian place of worship. The common term was ἐκκλησία, and κυριακόν completely failed to make good even in Greece. In other Southern countries there have been used other terms, such as *dominica*, *basilica*, and *templum*, but side by side with these is always some form or other of the *ecclesia*-word ; and this in most cases has remained the standard and authoritative term, while there is no trace whatever of any word referable to κυριακόν. On the other hand the northern peoples have throughout the centuries with few exceptions wholly ignored alike the *ecclesia*-word and all its Latin equivalents, stubbornly persisting in the use of the *kirk*-word ; and whatever exceptions occur are pedantic introductions of a late date, parallel with the Anglo-Saxon *minster* (*monasterium*), which, be it noted, has run over all Europe where the *kirk*-word has gone, but is rarely discoverable in those southern countries where the *ecclesia*-word appears. From Petrograd to the Isle of Man, from the North Cape to the Danube, the same *kirk*-word prevails, not merely in preference to any other word, but to the almost total exclusion thereof. If κυριακόν had been even remotely like any familiar and wide-spread Teutonic word with which it could be confused, this peculiar geographical distribution might be explicable, but philology insists that there is no such word. Neither in Teutonic nor in Slavonic is there discoverable anything which the ingenuity of philologists can bring into connexion with the *kirk*-word. They are therefore driven to admit that it must be borrowed. That is a necessary conclusion. But when they go on to assert that it must be borrowed from κυριακόν, they assume that there is no alternative. It has been shown in the preceding chapters that there is an alternative—that archaeology points unmistakably to the Latin word *circus* as the true original.

'We do not know of the actual circumstances in which this less usual Greek name (*i.e.* κυριακόν) became so well known to all the Germanic tribes as to become practically the native name (for a ‘church’), and like *Austrôn*, *Easter*, resist all the efforts of Latin Christianity to supplant it; this too at so early a date as to be brought to Britain . . . by heathen Angles and Saxons.’[1] There is no evidence that it was so brought to Britain, and were it not for the unhappy assumption that the Goths of Ulfilas’ time had already adopted it, possibly no one would ever have assumed that it was already familiar to the Angles and Saxons before they came to Britain.[2]

Two other suggestions are advanced to get over the geographical difficulties. One of these points out that there were places in Alsace ‘before the days of Boniface’ bearing names compounded with the *kirk*-word, *e.g.* Kiricheim and Chiricunvillare, and infers that such names point to an ‘early penetration of Christianity from the Upper Rhone Valley into the valley of the Upper Rhine.’[3] As Boniface (Winfrith) was born in 680, this carries back the use of the *kirk*-word in Alsace only to the last years of the seventh century, at which date Hiberno-Saxon missionaries had been active all along the Rhine for a full hundred years. The second suggestion is a counsel of despair. It asserts that there is nothing remarkable in the wide diffusion of the *kirk*-word, for ‘from 313 onwards Christian churches with their sacred vessels and ornaments were well-known objects of pillage to the Germanic invaders of the Empire. If the first with which these made acquaintance, wherever situated, were called κυριακόν, it would be quite sufficient to account for their familiarity with the word.’ This theory assumes that the term κυριακόν was of commoner occurrence and wider diffusion than there is any reason to believe was the case, particularly at the date in question. When the argument goes on to say that ‘the Angles and Saxons had seen and sacked Roman and British churches in Gaul and Britain for centuries before they had them of their own,' it is merely begging the question. There is no proving that Angles and Saxons, at that remote date, had seen or sacked any churches at all, because it cannot be proved that there were any churches for them to see and sack.[1] Possibly there were a few, a very few; but there is no proving that Angles or Saxons pillaged them. When we are further told that 'we have every reason to believe that they had known and spoken of them (the churches) as *cirican* during the whole of that period of their paganism', the same criticism applies. It would be much more correct to say that we have nothing to show that they did *not* speak of churches as *cirican*. We have not. Neither have we anything to show that they did.

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[1] *New English Dict.*

[2] The earliest known occurrence of the word is in the *Laws* of Ethelbert of Kent (*ob.* 616).

[3] *N. E. D. s.v.* CHURCH, referring to Hildebrand and to Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* I, x, § 2. Other such place-names are Wulfredeskirika and Sigeharteschiricha, in the valley of the Werra (Cassel), a tributary of the Weser. Irenaeus, who was bishop of Lyons 177–202, says that Christianity had so early reached the Germans, but he is referring to those of the two cis-Rhenane provinces of Upper and Lower Germania, with capitals respectively at Mainz and at Cologne, not to the barbaric Germans east of the Rhine.

The evidence of language proves conclusively that alike in Gaul and in Britain churches, of whatever fashion they may have been, were in Roman times called by *ecclesia*-names, not by *kirk*-names; and not the most persistent plundering of churches in Gaul and in Britain could possibly have taught the plunderers the word *kirk*. Only in the Greek lands and only for a short period in the fourth century, do we know that churches were actually called κυριακά. Is it credible that the looting of never so many κυριακά at that end of Europe by whatever Teutonic raiders can have taught the word κυριακόν to the Saxons and Angles of the remotest north-west? It is not.

The mental picture which represents Gaul and Britain even in the fifth century as dotted over with handsome churches, remarkable for their architectural magnificence, wholly lacks reality. It is doubtless true of the later Middle Ages; of a period some ten centuries earlier it is certainly not true. It has never been shown that there was in Roman Britain outside the walls of Silchester, Canterbury, and possibly Caerwent, a single church which was in the least likely to attract a Saxon's cupidity; and Northern Gaul—that part of Gaul with which alone the Saxons had any considerable acquaintance—was probably in little better case at the same date.

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[1] The whole of Northern France as far south as the Loire was pagan until the conversion of King Clovis (496), and it is unlikely that there remained any Christian buildings to be sacked nearer than Tours and its vicinity. Clovis is reputed to have built many churches, but the Saxons did little raiding in that part of the world after 500.

Alike in Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England, for long years after the re-introduction of Christianity, there were no structural churches at all save the very few built by the Latin missioners Augustine and Paulinus. There were *ecclesiae* in the sense of ‘ places of meeting,’ but these were places of burial only, Christian barrows. Supposing that the Angles and Saxons had somehow learnt to apply the name of *cirican* (*i.e.* κυριακά) to the handsome and costly building which they or their forebears had—so it is assumed—seen and plundered elsewhere, how could they possibly extend the same name to the normal *ecclesia* of Britain, a mere earthen mound or ring-work, or even to its proportionately mean and bare *bedehus* ?

We have very little knowledge of the condition of the Goths of Dacia when Ulfilas attempted their conversion, but we have no evidence that they were in any way less barbarous than were the Anglo-Saxons of the seventh century ; and untouched as yet by Roman influence, they cannot have been more civilised than were the Romano-British of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. Yet both the Britons of that date and long afterwards, and the Anglo-Saxons for several further centuries, knew little or nothing of any structural churches. What reason is there to assume that the Goths must have possessed such things in the fourth century, at a date when even the Greek and Latin Christians were but just beginning to build them ? Is it conceivable that Ulfilas’ short-lived seven years of missionary work can have led to such amazing results ? The Goths, as we know, learnt and used the word *aikklesjô* (*ecclesia*) to denote the new concept of a Christian ‘ congregation,’ and perhaps that of a Christian ‘ place of meeting ’ ; but that they learnt and used the word κυριακόν denoting a ‘ structural church,’ or ever possessed any such buildings, is a baseless and wholly improbable assumption. Bishop Ulfilas himself had no see, and therefore no episcopal church ; he was bishop *in partibus* only. How then can one believe that his flock possessed any such accessories to their young faith ? The whole picture is as erroneous as is that suggested by Bede when he speaks of the ‘ churches ’ of the Romano-Britons and the early Saxons. There was probably not one structural church north of the Danube until two centuries after Ulfilas’ time, but from 600 onwards there were *cirics* in large numbers, *i.e.* the circular monastic settlements of Scotic and Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Western Germany, Switzerland, and along the Danube, and the circular burial-grounds wherein their converts buried their dead and made their orisons.

In as much as the Irish *kil* and the Welsh *llan* denoted originally no building at all, but merely a precinct, it is not unreasonable to surmise that the Saxon *ciric* also, whatever its derivation, meant originally much the same, meant the 'churchyard' rather than the 'church'; and there has been adduced abundant evidence that it was so. Further it has been shown that wherever Scotic Christianity went the burial-ground was originally of circular plan. *Ciric* therefore meant in the first instance a circular burial-ground, a round barrow. The inference is that the words *ciric* and *circular* are related one to the other. As 'circular' derives from *circulus*, and that from *circus*, it is to the latter that archaeology points as the true source of the word *ciric*.

The oldest known form of the Anglo-Saxon word is *circ* (*kirk*).[1] The expansion of *circ* to *ciric* is regular,[2] and from *ciric* was developed the fuller form *cirice*. The forms with *y* (*cyrc*, *cyric*, *cyrice*) are later, and from these were evolved the various palatalised forms now standardised in

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[1] So I am assured by Prof. W. Craigie. The Celtic *r* was, and is, heavily rolled, as was also the Latin *r* (the *littera canina*); and such rolling would facilitate both the substitution of *circ*(*us*) for *cruc*, and the development of *circ* to *ciric*.

[2] The palatalisation took place at a late date. In *Domesday* the normal spelling for all parts of England is *cherche*, though *cerce* is found in Notts., Dorset, Devon, and Isle of Wight. In Yorks. *Kirkebi* occurs once only, *Chirchebi* or *Cherchebi* 35 times (Johnston, *Place-Names*), *ch* being the usual Norman sign for the sound of the English *k*. Chaucer regularly rhymes *chirche* with *wirche*, *worche*, *werche* (work), *yrke* (irk), and *clerke* (clerk), *e.g.* *Miller's Tale*, v. 243.

'I saugh to-day a cors y-borne to chirche,
That now, on Monday last, I saugh him wirche.'

Cf. *ibid.* v. 121; *Man of Law's Tale*, v, 566. The contemporary brass in Wanlip church, Leic., has *Kirk* (1393). Myrc (*Instructions to Parish Priests*, *c.* 1450) rhymes *chyrche* with *yrke* (vv. 526-7; one MS. has *Kirk*) and again with *worche* (vv. 1717-8). The personal name now written Kirkus and Churches, appears as Kyrkhus and Kyrkhuse in 1539, Kyrkys in 1552, Kirkehouse in 1617 (Bardsley, *Dict. Eng. and Welsh Surnames*). As Bettws for bede-house, so Kirkus stands for Kirk-house, and it was originally written *atte Kirkus*, as Kirk was originally *atte Kirk*. There is still a Kirkus beside the church at Ulpha beyond Broughton-in-Furness. In Chaucer's verse *chirche* was a dissyllable; *e.g.* *Friar's Tale*, v, 7, 'Of chirchereves and of testaments,' a regular decasyllabic line; *Foreword to Monk's Tale*, v, 14, 'wol nat in chirche to my wyf enclyne.' So in the ballad (seventeenth century) of the *Dragon of Wantley*: to that monster 'houses and churches were as geese and turkeys'; *i.e.* the pronunciation was still *kirkes*, dissyllabic and not palatalised.

*church*. Intermediate forms are preserved in the place-name Chirk[1] and in *curch* of Northumbrian dialect.[2]

It is noticeable that those forms which are etymologically the older are found in the north of England, the newer forms in the south. As Scotic Christianity entered England from the north, this is what was to be expected.

Had *y* been the vowel of the original Saxon word, there should have been no palatalisation: *c* should not have passed into *ch*, but should have remained with the sound of *k*.[3] Therefore, as both *circ*(*e*) and *ciric*(*e*) are certainly older than *cyrc*(*e*) and *cyric*(*e*), any derivation from κυριακόν is philologically impossible.

There is no form of the *kirk*-word discoverable upon the Continent which cannot be deduced without difficulty from the Anglo-Saxon prototype, the whole forming an unbroken *catena* in which, as was to be expected, the successive links become steadily less and less like the original, until in South-Eastern Europe they are perhaps remotely like *kirk*, but very much more remotely like the Greek κυριακόν.

Whatever few visible traces of Christianity the Saxons may have found about them when first they entered England, these can hardly have been such as to arrest their attention. Even a *basilica* like that of Roman Silchester, measuring over-all no more than 42 ft. by 27 ft., would scarcely be a very striking feature amongst the surrounding buildings, public and private, of a populous and thriving city; and there is no reason to believe that any churches in other Roman towns of Britain were more impressive. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they were rich in ornaments and treasures.[4] Thus the suggestion that the Saxons' imagination was so abruptly taken by the wealth of plunder which he found in such buildings that he forthwith paused to enquire what might be the name of them, lacks any likelihood. He probably found more booty in any one of a hundred villas. He must have seen at least as many and as imposing buildings which had been erected as pagan temples, yet he never learnt even the easy word 'temple.'[1] Again the whole mental picture is wrong. The churches in the towns of Roman Britain were very few and probably very small; in the open country they hardly existed; and while the churches of Gaul were probably more numerous and better provided than those of contemporary Britain of the fifth century, there is small reason to think they were already so numerous and so rich as to attract the special attention of Saxon pirates. There is evidence that the Saxons had made small settlements at the mouth of the Loire and at Bayeux in the fifth century (*temp.* Childeric I, 458–481), but the Franks and others were quite able to take care of themselves.[2] Franks, Burgundians and Visigoths had found Christianity already established in Gaul, and at once adopted the word *ecclesia* (*église*); but they failed to pass it back to a single one of their trans-Rhenish kindred, and the Saxon on his coming here had, so far as we know, never heard of it, or indeed of any churches at all.

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[1] Above, ch. xxiv. Bardsley (*Dict. Surnames*) cites from Hundred Rolls, Lincs., 1273 'the curious intermediate form' of (John de la) Chirke.

[2] Wright, *Dict. Provincial English*. Hence also the place-name of Curthwaite in Cumberland. Cf. Norse Kurksetter.

[3] Thus the Saxon *cyrnel*, *cycene*, *cyrtel*, appear in modern speech as *kernel*, *kitchen*, *kirtle*; but *cill*, *cildr*, *cicen*, *cidan*, have become *chill*, *children*, *chicken*, *chide*.

[4] Every one knows and quotes the anecdote preserved by Sulpicius Severus (ii, 41) as to the poverty of the three British bishops who are alleged to have attended the Council of Ariminum in 359. Their expenses were paid, not by their flocks, but by the Imperial Treasury. The anecdote has the air of fact rather than of imagination.

If the Saxons did not adopt the Roman names for things to them so novel as Roman villas and Roman temples, it were scarcely to be expected that they would adopt the Roman name for the few and insignificant churches they met with. It is quite as likely that they never noticed such things at all. They would therefore learn nothing of *ecclesiae* and *basilicae*[3] and *dominicae*, and for the time being Christianity's every outward symbol, so far as it was symbolised in buildings, would vanish from the land.

For nearly a century and a half the Saxon remained an unqualified pagan, too much occupied with his own affairs to have any appreciable contact with the Continent.[1] To a people in his state of barbarism, without books or any other machinery of education, even a century would bring complete oblivion of the past; so that, had he ever known the concept '(*structural*) church,' no memory of it could well survive. On his western borders during all those years, in many areas actually within his borders, he had the Briton, who in some measure still remained a Christian and preserved at any rate the vocabulary of Christianity. The Briton had learnt and preserved the word *ecclesia* (*eglwys*, *eglos*, *eaglais*); but so little had the Saxon to do with the Britons' religion, so little was there in that religion to strike his curiosity, that the Saxon never learnt even that.

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[1] *Tempel* appears only as a later literary loan-word. In Alfred's *Orosius* (vii, 9) it is used of Solomon's Temple. Elsewhere *templum* and *aedes* are both avoided; *e.g.* iv, 1, *in templo Iovis*, aet his godes dure; iv, 4, *aedes Salutis*, godes hus Iofeses; vii, 26, *templa*, diofolgieldhus.

[2] A Saxon colony had been established at Bayeux, and its warriors fought side by side with the Roman Aëtius and the Visigothic armies against Attila and the Huns at Châlons (451). F. Haverfield in *Social England*, i, p. 163.

[3] Bede uses *basilica*, but his Saxon translator avoids it. So Alfred in translating *Orosius*; *e.g.* vii, 39, *in basilicas*, on þaem ciricum. The word *dominica* is as wholly absent from Saxon speech as is *ecclesia*.

All about him in his new surroundings the Saxon saw things entirely new to his intelligence—the Romans' roads and walls, walled towns, and villages. He adopted forthwith the Roman name for each of these—*street* and *wall* and *chester* and *wick*—and in so doing showed that each was to him a novelty. That he did *not* adopt any known Roman word for 'church' suggests either that he found here no churches at all, or that at any rate he found them too few and too insignificant to arouse his interest. Those who argue that he did not adopt a Roman name for this concept because he already possessed a term to express it, must explain how it happened that he had acquired the concept while as yet he possessed no term for 'street,' 'wall,' 'walled town,' or 'village.' Whoever was the barbarian who first saw a structural church and learnt its name, to reach it he must have traversed many a mile of *strata*, passed through many a *vicus*, and breached the *vallum* of at least one *castra*. Yet there is little evidence that the Saxons had noticed or named such more obvious features of civilisation before they arrived in Britain.

If the Saxons, as is generally admitted, borrowed the Roman names for the concepts above mentioned, there is no reason why they should not have borrowed also the Roman name for the *circus*, the peculiar circular moot which was a necessary adjunct of every town and every considerable village in Roman Britain. Some name for it he must have had, for it was ubiquitous and, from the fashion of its construction, abiding. The Roman called it *circus*. The Saxon adopted this name and called it *kirk*, *circ*, or *ciric*.[1]

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[1] Some of the objects found in A.-S. graves, notably in those of Kent and at Highdown in Sussex, suggest that some sort of trade with the Continent existed; *e.g.* the glass drinking-cup from Highdown with its Greek inscription 'Use it and be merry.' Conceivably, however, such objects were the proceeds of mere pirate-raids.

The Latin word *circus* passed also into the speech of the Britons, where it appears as the Welsh *cyrch*, Cornish *cerch*, but with a peculiar meaning, *viz.* 'centre of attraction,' 'goal to which things or forces tend,' 'place of meeting,' '*rendez-vous* or resort.' These are obviously secondary meanings naturally arising from the function of the *circus* in the municipal life of Roman Britain. The Celt did not perpetuate it in the sense of a place of religious meeting, because he had already adopted in that sense the word *ecclesia* (*eglwys*), but it will be recalled that the *Triads of Motes and Carmotes* place a meeting for religious purposes upon precisely the same plane as meetings for political purposes. For the place of meeting itself the Briton had had his own term *cruc*, itself philologically the same as *circus*; and in some of its various forms the *cruc* had been itself to all intents identical with the Latin *circus*.

*Cruc* refused to become obsolete: it survived for the Saxons to take it over in the form *creke* (ch. xv), and to be to this day a common term in all Celtic-speaking countries.

But the existence of the Welsh *cyrch* and Cornish *cerch* is proof that the Briton had seen the *circus* and learnt its name[2]; and it was the Britons who taught the Saxons the name. To the latter it meant those peculiar circular structures, commonly of earth and turf, within which he was told the men of the older time had met for debate and for purposes of ritual. Without doubt during the long years of the Conquest his own envoys had frequently themselves met and debated with the Roman Britons in such places.

When Christianity at last returned to England it was the Christianity of Ireland, Celtic Christianity, whereof the outward and visible sign was the circular *limes* with its surrounding *vallum* and insignificant fosse, a thing in no wise to be compared with the formidable *castra* which the Saxon's fathers had stormed, the ruins whereof were still evident on every hand. Therefore the Saxon could not call the new thing a *chester*; *raison de plus*, the typical *chester* was in no sense circular. Neither *cil*[1] nor *llan* attracted him, for neither word suggested what was to him the most striking feature in the novelty, its painful circularity. And this is precisely what *kirk* did suggest. So he called this also a *kirk*, *i.e.* a *circus*. *Circus* is the one Latin word which even now exactly describes that particular *mansio* which St. Cuthbert, in accordance with the Scotic rule, built for himself in Farne.[2]

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[1] McClure, *British Place-Names in their Historical Setting* (1910), p. 118, gives a list of further Latin words which entered into English *place-names*; *circus* is not amongst them, but it ought to be. So W. Barnes, *Early England and the Saxon English* (1869), p. 75: 'it is more likely that *Kirk*, *Kirche*, was used for a holy enclosure even in heathen times, and that *Kirk*, *Kirche*, *Church*, means the (hallowed) enclosure.'

[2] For 'circle' the Britons took both the Greek *κύκλος* and the Low Latin *circellum*, turning them respectively into *cylch* and *cyrchell*; unless *cylch* be parallel with the Alemannic Kilchberg, etc.; p. 416.

The Saxon had several words which might be used to denote the circumference or periphery of a circular area or 'circle,'[3] *e.g.* *hrinc* ('ring'), *trendel* (cf. to 'trundle' a hoop), *hwyrfel*, and *hweohl* ('wheel'). For the circular area itself he had no term, and to make good the deficiency he adopted the word *circus* (*kirk*, *ciric*). His only alternative was to make shift with compound words such as *hringstede.*[4] When presently he became educated and required the term in geometry, he found the word *kirk* to be already fixed in its religious sense and was forced to borrow again from Latin.[5]

Ringsted is the name of the burial-place of the royal house of Denmark, and there still remains a solitary monolith, possibly the last remnant of the circle (ch. ix) from which the place was named. Ringstead occurs in England in Norfolk[6] and in Northamptonshire, in the latter case[7] associated with a variety of anhistoric earthworks.[1] It is the name also of the small cromlech which gives a name to Ringstead Bay in Dorset.[2]

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[1] O'Curry (*Manners and Customs*, vol. i, cccxxxi) thought he saw the Irish *fert* in the Saxon *fybrt*, a form of heathenism prohibited by the laws of Cnut. *Fybrt* remains un-explained. It appears to mean 'divination,' and is thought to be connected with the Icelandic *frett* 'intelligence.'

[2] *Supra*, ch. xxi.

[3] 'The circumference or periphery itself is called the circle, though improperly, as that name denotes the space contained within the circumference.' So says Hutton's *Mathematical Dict.*, i, 284. Custom however persists in using the term improperly, and 'circle' to the common mind means the circumference of a circle, Euclid notwithstanding.

[4] Given as meaning 'a circus' in Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dict.*

[5] '*Circus* girus; *circulus* girus,' in *An viii Century Anglo-Saxon Glossary.* Later was used also the loan-word *circul.*

[6] West of Burnham and on the line of the old Peddar's Way. Ringland occurs 7 miles N.-W. of Norwich, again at a spot associated with prehistoric remains (*Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia*, ii, pp. 323-4); and 7 miles N.-W. of Manchester is Ringley.

[7] Between Irthlingboro' and Thrapstone, on the Roman road from Irchester to Caistor.

Ringstone Moor near Halifax perpetuates the memory of a stone circle now vanished. Another such circle still remains at Ringmore in Devon. Ruston (or Russen) in East Worlington, 6 miles east of Chulmleigh in the same county, appears in *Domesday* as Rinestanedona, *i.e.* Ringstone Down, and points to the disappearance of yet another circle. Ringston Hill, a mound partly natural and partly artificial, near the spot where meet the three Yorkshire (W. R.) wapentakes of Strafforth, Staincross and Osgoldcross,[3] probably represents Ringstone.

The personal name Hringr may explain such names as Ringswould in Kent, Ringshall and Ringsfield in Suffolk, but there remains a crowd of others in which Ring, Rings, and The Ringses[4] have plain reference, like *hweohl*[5] and *hwyrfel*[6] and *trundel* (*trendel*)[7] in other cases, to the circular periphery of earthworks of various kinds, a long series of ' camps ' of every size and every degree of strength, situated in all sorts of localities, and having in common nothing except their circular plan. In strongest contrast with the manifold variety of these were others, the small and formalised *circi* of the Romano-British settlements which were to be met with everywhere in England, ' countless,' as King Alfred declared. For these the Saxon was fain to adopt their Romano-British name. And when, some century and a half later, he made acquaintance with the peculiar Christian *limes*, he extended to this the name of the thing which it most resembled. The massive earthen banks and sunken *cavea* of the normal *circus* were things which would not quickly be destroyed. There must have been hundreds, possibly thousands, of them in the England of Anglo-Saxon paganism. Whether the Saxon had himself learnt to make any use of them or not, he would not yet have ploughed them out. They would remain about him on every hand to keep their name alive upon his lips.

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[1] Amongst them Cotton Camp, ¾ mile E. of Addington. There was a Roman settlement in the vicinity, but Cotton Camp ' seems not to be Roman ' (Haverfield in *V. C. H.* Northamptonshire, i, 194). Roman or not, it probably had its own moot.

[2] *Supra*, ch. ix.

[3] Gomme, *Primitive Folkmoots*, p. 240. Ringstones is the name also of a circular ' camp ' at Worsthorne, Lancs.

[4] *E.g.* Ring Hill near Saffron Walden; the Ring on Cleeve Hill (Glouces.); Chanctonbury Ring in Sussex; Rings Hill on Worbarrow Bay in Dorset; Maumbury Rings by Dorchester; Ringsbury near Puriton in Wilts. The Ringses on Beanley Moor and at Doddington in Northumberland, and again at Clovelly in Devon.

[5] This word probably underlies some at least of the many cases where Wilbury is the name of circular earthworks.

[6] *E.g.* Worlebury, Som.

[7] *E.g.* The Trundle, a camp on St. Roch's Hill near Chichester; another on Giant's Hill near Cerne Abbas, Dorset; and Trendel Ring, a ringwork on the Quantocks near Bicknoller, Som.

The new Christian *limes* resembled the old *circus* in other points than plan only; it resembled it also in the uses to which it was put. It was, like the *circus*, peculiarly a place of religion. More characteristic still, it was a centre of meetings where men daily came and went, a place of much talking, a patent sort of moot wherein questions were discussed and long harangues were delivered. The only thing in the Saxon's experience which in the least resembled it was the familiar circular moot attached to hundreds of Romano-British settlements, and to that it had a very close resemblance indeed. Of that he had learnt, if he had not actually seen, the use. He had also learnt its name. The new thing was just such another, and it was the most natural thing in the world to call it by the same name.

There are two other ways in which the Saxon tribes might conceivably have learnt the word and the thing it denoted—from Latin-speaking missionaries, and from an earlier contact with Roman civilisation.

It is not to be believed that Christian missionaries would themselves apply to the Christian *limes*, a name to them redolent of the barbarities of the Roman *arena* and its attendant abominations in the way of brawls, beast-fights, obscene mimes, and prostitution.[1] So far from the missionaries having introduced the word, they plainly disliked it and tried to abolish it, substituting *minster* wherever they could. But the word proved ineradicable, and this suggests indeed that it was already deep-rooted, but not at all that it had been learnt elsewhere than in England.

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[1] Cf. Alfred's language about the *anfitheatra*, cited above, ch. ix. Alfred himself refers to Augustine of Hippo as speaking in the same strain, and there is more of the same kind of thing in many of the Early Fathers, *e.g.* Tertullian's *Apologia*, in which everything in the way of dramatic performances is fiercely denounced along with the *nuda theatra*. Wright (*Vocabularies*, i, 58) cites '*lupanar*, *vel circus*, *vel theatrum*, myltestre-hus,' with the comment: 'It is rather curious that the A.-S. scholar should confound a theatre with a brothel; but the mistake arose probably from his forming his judgment of the character of the Roman stage from the ecclesiastical writers, who decried both the theatrical performances . . . and the drama in general.' But the Circus (Maximus) and its purlieus had quite as bad a reputation in Classical and pre-Christian times, as Ovid and Horace testify. The bias against the stage owes most of its vigour to these old Patristics, whose disciples in 1730 refused to bury in consecrated ground the body of Adrienne Lecouvreur.

As for the second alternative, some of the kindred of the Anglo-Saxons had for long years lived in contact with the Roman legionaries along the Rhine, and many of them had seen service as auxiliaries in the garrison-towns.[1] These Teutons may have become perfectly familiar with the amphitheatres which were the inevitable adjuncts of every permanent military station, and they would most certainly have learnt to speak of them as *circi*, even as did true-born Italians. But we have no evidence that either Angles, Jutes, or Saxons,[2] ever used the *circi* of Roman Britain for any of the purposes to which they were put by the Romans; yet had they learnt so to use them on the Continent, they must surely have continued that use in Britain.

Even in Cicero's day and in Rome, so Cicero declares, the final syllable of such a word as *circus* was so slurred as to be almost indeterminate. In the debased speech of the Romano-Britons it is certain that the pronunciation would be at least as careless, and under the influence of the kindred native word *cruc*, the Latin *circus* was reduced to something exactly like *circ* (*kirk*).[3] This, if adopted by the Saxons, might normally change to *ciric*, as *byrg* to *byrig*. To the assumed derivation of *ciric* from κυριακόν the vowel of the first syllable presents an insuperable difficulty; in the derivation from *circus* that difficulty does not arise. The further difficulty in connexion with the gender of *ciric* is present in both cases: κυριακόν is neuter and *circus* is masculine, whereas *ciric* and all the series of *kirk*-names are consistently feminine. But the Saxons took great liberties with the genders of borrowed words: the Latin neuters *stratum* and *castra* both became feminine in Saxon (*straet*, *ceaster*), while another neuter, *vallum*, became masculine (*weall*). For the difference of gender in *circus* and *ciric* we have an exact parallel in the words *vicus* and *wic*: like *circus*, the Latin *vicus* is masculine, but the Saxon form *wic*, like *ciric*, is feminine.

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[1] Keysler, *Northern Antiq.*, p. 80: 'Germans had closely associated with Romans on the frontier for 80 years before the time of Tacitus.' Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, p. 339: 'Germany was permeated by Roman trade centuries before the barbarians swept down on Italy and Rome.'

[2] F. Haverfield (*Social England*, i, 163) says that in the fourth and fifth centuries 'the Saxons certainly, and the Angles very probably, came in contact with the Roman Empire, and possibly even with Roman civilisation. Both Saxons and a tribe named suspiciously like Angles figure, though only to a small extent, in the fourth century Roman Army as described in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.'

[3] *Cyrch* is the form which actually recurs again and again in the *Trials of Dyfnwal Moelmud*, and *kirk* is as near as the average person, not being a Welshman, can get to its correct pronunciation.

At the present day the syllable *kirk* is a frequent constituent of Cumberland place-names attaching to stone-circles and other ring-works,[1] and no satisfactory explanation of the fact is forthcoming unless it be that the plan of such things recalled the radical significance of *kirk*, 'a circular area.'

In the neighbourhood of Whitby, we are told, so late as the middle of the last century, the word *kirk* was 'commonly applied, not to the church, but to the churchyard.'[2]

In examining the account of the monastery at Barking (ch. xxiii), it appeared that Bede's Saxon translator was at variance with his original upon the question whether there was any structural church there in the seventh century; and that he actually used *ciric* in the sense of *liictune*, 'graveyard.' An even more convincing passage to show that this was the primary meaning of *ciric* is that referring to John of Beverley's *mansio* near Hexham (ch. xxiii), where *cirican* renders the Latin *coemeterium*. It is true that neither in the case of Barking nor in that of John of Beverley's *mansio* are we explicitly told that the *liictune* of the one or the *coemeterium* of the other was circular; but we have evidence enough that in both cases a Celtic foundation is in question, and we know that in the early Celtic church, whether Irish or Scottish, Welsh or Cornish, its burial-places were always circular.

We have therefore two passages from a Saxon text of the tenth century, in which the word *cirice* is definitely used of a circular burial-ground without reference to any building thereon.

In Alfred's version of Orosius, dating perhaps some three quarters of a century earlier than the Saxon version of Bede, the word *ciric* occurs four times only: it is applied once (vii, 26) to the building of Christian churches generally under the Edict of Milan in 311[1]; once (vii, 39) to the particular churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome,[2] and once (vii, 5) to the Temple in Jerusalem.[3] In all these passages it denotes a holy place of Christendom. The remaining passage (ii, 4) is different: it refers to what cannot well be anything else than the *Circus* of Romulus, the traditional scene of the Rape of the Sabines.

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[1] *Supra*, ch. xxiv.

[2] *Dialect of Whitby* (1851). This would seem to be the precise meaning of 'church' in Chaucer's lines—

'I saugh to-day a cors y-born to *chirche*,
That now, on Monday last, I saugh him wirche.' (*Miller's Tale*, v. 243).

Cf. Scott's 'Proud Maisie':—

'Tell me, thou bonnie bird,
When shall I marry me?'
'When six braw gentlemen
*Kirk*ward shall carry ye.'
(*Heart of Midlothian.*)

The passages are printed side by side, together with the English rendering of the Saxon version :—

| Orosius. | Alfred's Version. | Translation. |
|---|---|---|
| Itaque Romulus, interfecto primum avo, dehinc Remo fratre, arripuit imperium urbemque constituit: regnum avi, muros fratris, templum soceri sanguine dedicavit. | Ꝥuss gebletsade Romulus Romana rice on fruman; mid his broðer blode þone weall, mid þara sweora blode þa ciricean, mid his eames blode þaet rice. | Thus did Romulus consecrate the Kingdom of Rome at the outset: with the blood of his brother the wall of it, with the blood of their fathers-in-law the *ciric*,[4] and with the blood of his uncle[5] the Kingdom. |

Orosius is dealing with the legendary story of the founding of Rome, and in almost all the classical accounts of that event a large place is taken by the Rape of the Sabines and the manner in which, to accomplish that *coup*, Romulus constructed the first Roman *circus* and therein celebrated the games which attracted his intended victims.

Orosius does not give these details nor name the *circus*, but his language shows that he knew the whole story, for he mentions 'the Sabine women whom he (Romulus) caused to be treacherously carried off and married.' Alfred adds details which show that he too knew the story in all its particulars: he mentions Romulus' initial request that the Sabines should give to him and his men their daughters to wife, the Sabines' contemptuous refusal, his further invitation to the Sabines to come and assist him in sacrificing to his gods, the war which followed upon the Rape, and the fashion in which the stolen women themselves at length intervened to end the war. Knowing all this, he cannot but have known that the traditional scene of the Rape was the Circus of Romulus. To this the word *ciricean* refers. If Alfred wished to mention the *circus*, he had no alternative but to use *ciric*.[1] He knew the story and its locality; and if he wrote *ciricean* rather than any other word it can only have been because he knew *ciric* to be the same as *circus*, and to denote just such a circular area as he rightly understood the Circus to have been.

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[1] Not in the original Latin of Orosius.

[2] Orosius, *basilicas sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli.*

[3] Orosius, *Hierosolymis sacrarium.*

[4] Both *weall* and *rice* being in the singular, it is probable that *ciricean* also is singular, like the *templum* of Orosius' text. Otherwise the word might equally well be plural.

[5] Amulius, strictly speaking his great-uncle.

Elsewhere, when speaking of pagan holy-places, Alfred never uses the word *ciric*. For Greek temples and for the shrine of Egyptian Ammon he uses the old Saxon *heargh*; for pagan temples in Rome and Italy he writes *godes hus* or *diofolgieldhus*. It is to be inferred therefore that in using *ciric* in the passage above quoted he was not concerned to render Orosius' *templum*, but is tacitly correcting that writer's loose original.[2] Thrice more in the same chapter he corrects Orosius, once in reference to the date of the foundation of Rome,[3] again in substituting *mid þara sweora blode* for *soceri sanguine*,[4] and a third time in amending Orosius' 'grandsire' to '(great) uncle.' Where Alfred learnt his Roman history has not yet been determined,[5] but it is certain that he knew more about some of it than did Orosius. And it is as certain as any matter of the kind can be that he used *ciric* of the Roman *circus*. In other words, even in England so late as the close of the ninth century the word *ciric*, so far from denoting exclusively what we now call a 'church,' might be used without any Christian connotation whatever, even by a writer so scholarly and so devoutly Christian as was King Alfred. The fact disposes at once of the argument that 'the word, because its cognates are found in Old High German and Sclavonic in the sense of ‘ church ’ only, must have already, when first it came to England, have denoted ‘ church ’ and nothing else. If it is not given in the Glossaries as an equivalent of *amphitheatrum*, the sufficient reason is that the ecclesiastics of that age were greatly concerned to obliterate all memory of its earlier significance; for the Glossaries, like most other books of their time, were written, it is to be supposed, by ecclesiastics. Ecclesiastics also carried the word to the Continent, and naturally in the only sense in which they reluctantly approved it.

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[1] The word *circus* occurs only once in Orosius (i, 3) in a passage where is drawn a parallel between the fate of Rome and that of the Cities of the Plain. This Alfred's translation unluckily omits.

[2] What precisely Orosius meant by *templum* it is impossible to guess, unless it was actually the *circus* regarded as the temple of Consus.

[3] Orosius put it at 414 years *post Trojam eversam*; Alfred amends to 'about 440 years.' [The traditional date of the fall of Troy was 1184 B.C.]

[4] Orosius' wording can only refer to some supposed murder of Titus Tatius, upon which Haverkampf passes the dry comment: *hoc alibi me legere non memini.*

[5] In the *Introduction* to Daines Barrington's edition of Alfred's *Orosius* (1773) is given a list of the authorities cited in that work, viz. Pompeius Trogus, Justinus, Livy, Polybius, Valerius Antias, Valerius (? Maximus), and Claudius; and it is added that there is internal evidence that Alfred had access to Aulus Gellius and to the lost work of Tubero.

There need therefore be the less hesitation in interpreting the name of the Berkshire Curknel Pit (ch. ix) as a direct derivative from the Romano-British *circ* through the intermediate form of Circan-hill; and the difficulty presented by the non-palatalisation of the initial is met instantly by the occurrence, only some 15 miles to the south-west, of the equally exceptional name of Kirby, sometime a manor in Inkpen. Moreover this derivation throws light upon two curious scraps of local folklore, first, that on Churn Hill Birinus began the evangelisation of Wessex, and second, that the locality was once holy ground.

Some memory of the word’s radical meaning must have been present in some of its derivatives; *e.g. ciric-tun* meant indeed a ‘ churchyard,’ but it implied also that such churchyard was circular. In other words it meant the ‘ round yard,’ not the yard within which stood what we call a church. The need for further particularisation arose when there had come to be built structural churches, and when it had become customary to hold under a roof the services which had previously been held *al fresco*. In older times one who ‘ went to church ’ went merely to the consecrated circular *limes*, the *ciric*; later he still went to church, but ‘ church ’ had now come to mean the structural church. Thus it was needful to devise more particular expressions for the *limes*, such as *church-hage*, *-hay*, *-haw*, *-hail*, *-heil*, *-tun*, *-garth*, *-yard*.[1] The earliest citation of any of these forms in *N.E.D.* is no earlier than 1154.[1] But in the oldest Norwegian code of laws, the Gulathingslög, occurs *kirkiugarðe*, and these laws date between 934–960.[2] As Norway learnt her Christianity from North Britain, she must have borrowed both *kirk* and *kirkgarth* ready made, which means that the distinction must have found expression in North Britain before the year 960: and this agrees with the evidence previously adduced.

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[1] The forms in *-haw*, *-hage*, *-hay*, are derived from A.-S. *haga* ‘ hedge ’; those in *-hail*, and *-heil*, go back to *haligan*, *heilig*, ‘ hallow.’ The former mean merely the ‘ circular enclosure,’ the latter the ‘ circular holy ground ’; Cf. *heilig legerstow* ‘ holy place of sleep, *coemeterium*.’ The older Saxon term was *lictún*, literally ‘ corpse-enclosure ’; cf. Welsh *corfflan*. The supersession of *lictún* by *cirictún*, etc., supports the view that the pagan A.-S. burial-ground was of no particular shape, and that the Saxon took the circularity of the Christian graveyard for a difference.

'As fast as a church tied to a hedge' is to this day a familiar saying in Lincolnshire, and on the face of it meaningless. Amended to 'fast (*i.e.* secure) as a church *tyned with* a hedge' it becomes reasonable enough, and has direct reference to the fact that the original 'church,' *i.e.* the churchyard, was both by custom and by law 'tyned' or fenced to safeguard it from desecration. It is therefore further proof that the original meaning of the word 'church' was what we call the 'churchyard.'

It may be asked, why did not the Celtic names for the same thing likewise convey some suggestion of its essential form? Why were there used words (*kil*[3] and *llan*) which themselves have no suggestion of circularity? Simply because to the Celt there was nothing distinctive in the circular form of the churchyard. With the Celts of every race every settlement and every *locus consecratus*, place of worship and place of burial alike, had always been circular. In Ireland these circular enclosures had various names according to their use—*fert* and *kil*, *rath*, *dun*, *cashel*, and *lis*—and we find a number of Christian foundations still called by these names; but not one of these terms appears in itself to convey any smallest suggestion of circularity. It was too much a matter of course to call for any emphasis. In Wales again the *llan*, the 'clearing' of a homestead, was necessarily circular like every other Celtic settlement, and when the new Christian *limes* arrived, it made no difference in terminology. In Scotland the Irish missionaries simply introduced the word which had become inveterate in their own kindred speech (*kil*), and it mostly superseded the Brythonic *llan* because the population of Western Scotland was not Brythonic. But when the new thing came to the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxons, the case was wholly different. *Llan* and *kil* and *fert* and *rath* were all alike meaningless to the Anglo-Saxons, and could not be brought into relation, however forced, with any words in the Teutonic vocabulary. Struck at once by the peculiar form of the Christian *limes* and its close resemblance to those monuments of the past to which they had long ago learnt to give the name of *circ*—the Roman *circus* and the Celtic *cruc*—the Saxons forthwith applied the old name to the new thing.

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[1] *O.-E. Chronicle: nouther circe ne cyrceiaerd.*

[2] The code was drawn up by Haakon the Good (Magnusson's *Index to the Heimskringla Saga*).

[3] The attempt has been made to refer *kil* to a Celtic root implying circularity (R. Ferguson, *Dialect of Cumberland*), but there is no evidence that such a root existed.

The terminology of certain traditional Scottish games proves that the word *kirk* long retained the implication of circularity. In the game called 'Sow in the Kirk,' for example, 'a large hole is made in the ground, surrounded by smaller ones according to the number of the players, every one of whom has a shinty, or hooked stick. The middle hole is called The Kirk. The leader in the game is called the Sow-Driver. His object is to drive a small piece of wood or bone—"the Sow"—into the large hole or "Kirk," the others trying to prevent it.'[1]

'Shinty,' a rude form of hockey, is played in much the same way, the players seeking to put the ball, or its equivalent, into a round central hole; and a local name for the game in Fifeshire is 'Carrick,'[2] *i.e.* probably Kirk, a name which, as in the preceding game, denoted also the central hole.

Yet a third form of the game is called 'Kirk the Gussie.' The 'gussie' is a large ball, which one party of players endeavours to drive with clubs into a hole, while the other party do their best to prevent it. 'When the ball is lodged in the hole, it is said to be *Kirkit*.'[3]

That the Saxon presently totally forgot the real origin and meaning of *ciric* requires no proof. Everyone has forgotten it. When, his intellectual horizon broadening, the Saxon required a word to express *e.g.* the zodiacal circle,

[1] Alice Gomme, *Traditional Games*, ii, 209.

[2] *Ibid.* i, 58.

[3] *Ibid.* i, 305. In the same book (i, 85) is mentioned the game of Curcuddie, 'a grotesque kind of dance, in which the players, seated on their hams, form a circle of independent figures.' *Curcuddie* is presumably identical with the Welsh *cwrchyddau*, 'stooping, squatting.'

he was fain again to borrow from Latin,[1] but in this case the borrowed word remained on the face of it a loan-word.

Evidence has been given that when Christianity first reached the Saxons it came in the concrete presentment, not of any building that we should call such, but of the circular monastic *cashel* and the circular burial-ground. It was for this the Saxon had to find a name, and he naturally selected a name which to him suggested its essential external feature. *Ciric* denoted the *locus consecratus* only, the circular precinct. It implied originally no building at all. As the *gorsedd* and the *circus* were places wherein people assembled *sub Iove* and 'in the eye of light,' so also was the *ciric*. Only the *auspicia* and the purpose were changed.

For the natural transfer which in due season gave the name of *ciric* to the building that at long last came to be its most important feature, there are parallels in plenty. But we know that only at a very late date did there arise any such important building within the burial-ground, and for many generations a multitude of such burial-grounds possessed no other special symbol of their Christian character than a cross, or not even that.[2]

Had the Roman Augustine, with his Roman idea of the greater importance of the structural church, been the first missionary to reach Saxon England, the English name for 'church' would assuredly have been an *ecclesia*-word in some form or other. He was not the first missionary, and when he arrived he found the word *ciric* already so familiar to the greater part of the Saxons that they refused to change it. They had learnt to recognise the thing first in Northumbria, and in Northumbria we still find the oldest form of the name, viz. kirk. That was the form which was passed on by other missionaries to the Continent, and all the variety of *kirk*-names to be found in Europe are derived direct from this Saxon original.

Their missionary zeal hurried the Irish overseas to the Continent while the conversion of England itself was still only begun. They crossed from Northern Britain to the Rhine, and travelled up that ancient highway of the nations, already well known to less peaceful Irish.[1] As interpreters they took with them numbers of their Saxon converts, for the speech of all the peoples of either bank of the Rhine was then still Teutonic. Anglo-Saxon speech made a decided mark upon the yet unformed German language, more particularly in matters connected with religion, and the very term *deutsch* is coined upon a Saxon model (*þeodisc*).[2]

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[1] *Circul* (= *circulus*). The earliest citation in *N.E.D.* is *circa* 1000. In Alfred's *Orosius*, v, 14 (Latin Version, vi, 20), a solar halo (*circulus*) is rendered by *bring*.

[2] A Saxon Vocabulary of twelfth century (Wright, *Vocabularies*, i, 80) interprets *ecclesia* by *cyrce, oððe geleafful gaderung*, 'church, or any lawful (*i.e.* non-pagan) assembly.' So late then the word had not acquired the fixed sense of a 'structural church.' Unhappily the silence which fell upon the Saxon tongue for 1½ centuries after the Norman Conquest prevents our seeing more precise evidence of the supersession of *mynstre* by *ciric*.

To these Saxon converts the only word for 'church' was *ciric*, and so *ciric* passed direct into Europe. There is to this day a village of Engelskirchen just outside Cologne.

St. Columbanus was one of the earliest and the most active pioneers. He traversed much of Northern France, settled for a time in a monastery at Luxeuil in Burgundy, and thence passed into Switzerland. Ultimately he moved on into Italy[3] and there died in 615, leaving his disciple St. Gall to convert the Alemanni and to give his name to a Swiss Canton. Another Irishman, St. Kilian, was the apostle of Franconia, dying in 689.[4] Bede mentions[5] the monastery founded (*c.* 695) by Suidberct on the island of Kaiserwerth in the Rhine below Cologne, 6 miles from Düsseldorf. There were Irish monasteries on the Rhine near Strasbourg[6] and at Constance, further east at Erfurt, Kelheim, Meiningen and Feldkirch, at Nuremberg, and as far afield as Ratisbon and Vienna.[7] Nor was this the extreme limit of their reach. Borlase figures side by side with a plan of Inismurray another of a site at St. Leonard's in Hungary. 'In each case a great stone enclosure is an imperfect circle, divided into two parts by an irregular stone wall or rampart, the presence of which is a distinguishing feature not easily accounted for.'[1] Within the Hungarian example stands the typical small oblong church with western door, itself raised upon a circular mound.

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[1] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 143, 144. The valley of the Danube was equally a highway eastward to the Black Sea, S. Russia and Anatolia, and along it had moved successive waves of Celtic migration (Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, p. 389, etc.). Bertrand (*La Gaule avant les Gaulois*) has a chapter (vii) on *La Voie du Danube.*

[2] See especially Wilhelm Braune, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Deut. Sprache und Literatur* (1918), vol. xxiii.

[3] The writer knows of no circular churchyard in Italy, but it is probable that there were such things. Raffaello Santi's picture (dated 1507) of the *Sacra Famiglia dell' Agnello* (in the Prado, Madrid), shews in the background a church standing within a circular garth surrounded by a high stone-built revetment.

[4] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i, p. 163.

[5] *H.E.* V, xi.

[6] Honaugria, founded by Bp. Tuban on an island in the Rhine.

[7] See articles by Bp. Reeves in *Ulster Journal Arch.*, vii, 227, translating Dr. Wattenbach on 'Scotic Monastic Settlements in Germany'; R. Rolt Brash, *Ulster Journ. Arch.*, viii (1860), 286-7; L. A. Willoughby in *Discovery*, February, 1920, p. 46. In Winfrith's time, says the latter, English priests came over (to Germany), not in dozens, but literally in hundreds, 'and of the benefices instituted in Thuringia, Hesse, and E. Franconia, most were held by Englishmen.' A considerable list of these early foundations is to be found in Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* pp. 15-16. Celtic also were 'other countless and nameless *Hospitalia Scotorum*, alluded to in the *Capitularies* of Charles the Bald, A.D. 846'; see Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Legum*, i, 390. These were presumably much like the *hospitia* of the Scoti and the Welsh in Britain.

Much of this Scotic activity was probably due to the triumph of Latin Christianity in England at the Synod of Whitby (664). Debarred from entire freedom of action in England many of the Irish turned elsewhither, and 'wandering had become to them a second nature.' In the time of Charlemagne the connection between Ireland and the Continent was perhaps at its closest (778–814), though possibly to most people the name of Duns Scotus is the only familiar link.[2] Saxons like St. Boniface (Winfrith), the founder of Fulda, were but following in the footsteps of their Scotic foreloopers.

Wherever went these Irish and Saxon missionaries, they would take with them the essential features of Scotic Christianity, amongst which the most obvious was the circular *limes*, the *kil* or *ciric*. *Kil* survives to this day in the familiar Zell of Germanic place-names[3]; but the Continental Teutons naturally preferred the word used by their Saxon kindred. The word *ciric*, like the Saxon *mynstre*, spread over the whole of Teutonic Europe as far as the Alps. It came at last, there as here, to be synonymous with the Faith itself, 'Holy Church.' On the lips of the Alemanni it took the form of *kilc*, *kilch*, which still recurs in the place-names of Switzerland.[4]

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[1] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 1130. His plan is from Much, *Antiquities of Hungary*. A possible explanation of the dividing wall has been advanced above, ch. xviii. Churches within circular ringworks are not unknown in Germany, *e.g.* at Michaelsberg in Bavaria (Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 107).

[2] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 218.

[3] McClure has shown that *Zell* was represented by the Latin *cella*; thus Zell in Freising was Nova Cella in 766, Zell in Kempten was Cella S. Martini in 1275, and Appenzell was Cella Abbatis. But *cella* in these names was a Latinization of the original Scotic *kil*; cf. above, ch. xviii. Appenzell is an *enclave* of the peculiarly Scotic canton of St. Gall.

[4] *E.g.* Kilchberg on the W. shore of the Lake of Zurich. But a few miles further east, near Bregenz, is Kirchberg in the Toggenburg, with Feldkirch and St. Gallenkirch, both in the Bregenzerwald. Notker Balbulus, the monk of St. Gall (tenth century), wrote *chilikha*. The dialect pronunciation of Kirkbühl is indifferently Kilchbühl and Chilpel.

In the little village of Glis,[1] outside Brigue in the Rhone valley, was a patent indication of the passage of the Scotic missioners. The original structural church was[2] represented by a tiny rectangular building standing within a circular garth, mounded up and revetted precisely as are so many of those in Wales. To this original church had been added a newer structure, the older one remaining as a chapel of especial sanctity attached to the N.E. corner of its usurping successor; and to make room for the latter much of the circular periphery of the original garth was destroyed, the *limes* extended, and the new portion fenced with rectilineal walls. But round the east end the earlier revetment remained unspoiled to prove what was the course of events. The church, which is mentioned as early as 620, was anciently a place of pilgrimage. Other examples are to be seen at Château d'Oex in the Rhone valley, and at Lauenen in the Bernese Oberland.

Of the Scotic missioners to the Continent many travelled across the Channel to the mouth of the Canche (Étaples) and so across Picardy by way of the fourth-century Abbey of St. Riquier near Abbeville and along the *Chaussée Brunehault* to Amiens. In this part of France therefore one would expect to find examples of the circular Scotic grave-yard, and they are not rare. There is a fine one at Maisoncelle near Montreuil. Round about Abbeville are several: the church of Bailleul stands within a garth still largely circular, raised and revetted; there is another at Eaucourt; a third at Bellefontaine stands isolated and ringed by its hedge amidst cultivated fields. Between Sorel and Wanel, south-east of Liercourt, is a fourth similarly situated, but having neither trace nor tradition of any structural church. The churches of Heugleville-sur-Scie and of L'Étoile both stand upon circular mounds. All these are ancient Christian sites.[3] The churchyards of Gheluveldt and of unhappy Passchendaele were both circular.

In the earlier half of the seventh century the Frisii apparently occupied most of the Lowlands as far south as

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[1] The name is derived from *ecclesia*.

[2] Destroyed, since this was written, by an avalanche.

[3] Information of Mr. J. P. Maitland and of M. l'Abbé Le Sueur, *curé* of Eaucourt and Bailleul. The writer has found the circular garth at St. Leger Vauban, some 2 miles N. of Quarré les Tombes in the Avallonais (Yonne). His knowledge of France does not permit him to say that it is unknown further south, but he has failed to find it in Auvergne and Provence, and in Touraine.

Flanders. Attempts to convert them were made by Eligius and Amandus, the latter a monastic of the Scotic type, with dubious success; and when King Dagobert of Austrasia (*obiit* 638) at the invitation of Amandus 'built a church' at Trajectum (Utrecht), a violent reaction was the instant result. It was to the Frisians especially that the converted Saxons of England devoted their earliest missionary efforts, and the true apostles of Frisia were all Englishmen, namely Wilfrid and Willibrord and Winfrith (Boniface). It has been remarked that the affinity between the two peoples must have been very close, as the missioners seem to have found no linguistic difficulty in dealing with the Frisians.[1]

The Friesic word for 'church' is *kirkko*, beyond a doubt learnt direct from the lips of these Saxon missioners, and in turn passed on to the Dutch in the form *kerk*. It is to be found in place-names scattered freely over the map from Dunquerque (Pas de Calais) on the south to Grypskerk in Groningen and Lunenkerk on the north-west coast of Friesland. So also the circular churchyard. At Spijk, north-east of Groningen, 'church and churchyard are on a mound completely circular. It is surrounded by a wide *sloot* (fosse), and about this again runs a road, along which are set in a circle the houses of the village.'[2] Holland has other examples of the kind.

The Danish *kirke*, in pronunciation identical with the Scottish *kirk*, was probably learnt from Frisia before it was met with in the course of the first Danish raids upon Northumbria (778).[3] Circular *churches* are not rare in Denmark, the finest being that of Thorsager, a name which itself suggests that the church—it stands upon an isolated hill—was once a *fanum* of paganism. In the Island of Bornholm alone there are four circular churches, at Osterlarskirke, Olskirke, Nylarskirke, and Nykirke. The last, its name notwithstanding, is said to be the oldest: it contains an inscribed stone bearing the date 1287. The oldest churches of Norway, the so-called 'Stave-Churches,' were built entirely of timber and were always more or less circular in plan. They numbered at least 300, of which remain now only twenty-four, and some of these have been removed to other than their original sites. The oldest surviving is said to be that at Urnes, *c.* 1100. At Merok, at the head of the Geiranger Fjord, is a sub-circular church standing within a circular garth. Dietrichson suggested that the circular plan was derived from that of the pagan *hof.* The Norwegian name (*kirke*) is in spelling identical with the Danish, but entirely different in pronunciation: the initial *k* is sibilant, the aspirate being so much accentuated as to disguise the guttural sound entirely and approximate to the English word *shirker.* The word appearing in the *Gulathingslög*, that is, before 960, it was in use long before Olaf I (Tryggvessön) brought his missioners from England to Norway (995–1000). Some of the Norwegian churches still retain obvious traces of their descent from the pagan *hof.* That of Loën, Nordfjord, has an octagonal nave,[1] and stands within a garth of pronouncedly sub-circular plan; and at Olden, 5 miles away, is a second example of which one half of the original outline remains.

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[1] *Encycl. Britann.*

[2] The presence of water in the fosse is no part of the design, but an inevitable outcome of the topographical conditions.

[3] Denmark's first Christianity was learnt from Ansgarius, who came from the Scotic monastery of New Corbey in Westphalia in 827; but the country did not become in reality Christian until the days of Canute.

In Sweden the spelling is *kirkja* (earlier, *kyrko*), and the pronunciation almost exactly that of *church*, the initial consonant being palatalised in utterance, though not in writing.[2] In the districts between Denmark and Friesland the vowel-sound is broadened to *kark.*[3]

In Finland the word appears as *kirkko*, and the structure commonly follows the Celtic type of a small oblong building, with unbroken roof-line and no architectural feature to distinguish nave from chancel, no tower, a western door, and sometimes also a south porch.[4] 'In the olden times the dead were for the most part buried under the floor of the church,'[1] but nowadays almost every village has its own modern cemetery.

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[1] The fabric is new, but is said to reproduce the form of the older building.

[2] This illustrates the difficulty of determining the exact pronunciation of the English spellings at any given time, and of fixing the date at which the English word was palatalised. The vowel-sound in the Swedish word varies from *eu* of the educated classes, to *i*, *u*, and even *o*, in the various dialects.

[3] Kirkoswald in Cumb. appears as Karcoswald in *Pipe Rolls* of 1166-7 (Johnston, *Place-Names*). Frädersdorff, *Practical Introduction to Danish and Norwegian*: 'The English word *church* is identically the same, etymologically speaking, as the Northern word *Kirk*, originally meaning a place enclosed or set apart (cp. Latin *carcer*); but *Kark* to this day is the word for H.-G. *Kirche* used as far as the boundaries of Jutland . . . *Church* (*i.e. Kark*) means "a place with a boundary to it" . . . and the visible church in the present sense of that term (*i.e.* the *structure* called a church) was a subsequent thing only.' The writer of the foregoing came very near the truth, although his equation of *kark* with *carcer* is unnecessary. The etymology of *carcer* is dubious. It appears in the Old Irish *carcair*, 'prison cells,' the primitive dwellings of the Irish anchorites. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 245.

[4] See O. A. Forsström, *Suomen Keskiajan Historia* (1898), vol. ii, *c.* 18, and *Finland in the xix Century* (Helsingfors, 1894) where are several illustrations of the type. The belfry, if there is one, is almost always separate from the church.

'The typical *cashels* of Ireland are represented also in Scandinavia, and there too they have come to be used as cemeteries.'[2] In Sweden they are known as *ring-murs*, and the name bespeaks them foreign importations.

The faith was carried into Thuringia in the seventh century by way of the valleys of the Lahn and the Main to Warzburg, where St. Kilian founded a monastery. From this centre it spread northwards into Cassel by the valley of the Werra and eastwards along the Danube. The O.H.G. forms *chirihha*, *kirihha*, *kiricha*, *chiricha*, all finally took shape as *kirche*. *Kirchhof*, 'churchyard,' in formation exactly parallel with *cirictun*, preserves the old pagan name of the *hof* (ch. vii), which was necessarily circular. The tumuli of northern Germany, circular or oval in plan, are sometimes styled Wenden-kirchhöffer, 'churchyards of the Wends.'[3]

By the ninth century Latin Christianity had so far prevailed over Scotic that the structural church had already begun to overshadow the precinct in point of importance. Hence the Russians and other Slavonic peoples took the word *kirche* in the sense of a Christian *building*, transforming it according to the genius of their speech into the Russian *tserkova*,[4] Bulgarian *crĭky* or *crŭky*. *Tserkova* means literally the 'round house,' and the typical Russian church is built upon a circular plan. The Slavonic for a 'churchyard' is *ograda*, compounded of Slavonic *o* 'round' and *grada* (cf. Gothic *gards*, Russian *grad*, O.E. *garth*), 'yard.' How came the Slavs to call the Christian burial-ground by a name which so strongly emphasises the essential feature of the Celtic practice? As the word declares, it is a northern concept, borrowed from beyond the Danube; and it must have been borrowed at a date when Christian churchyards north of the Danube were habitually constructed in the circular form. As the only Christian graveyards so constructed were those of Celtic Christianity, it follows that the Slavonic *ograda* is derived directly from Celtic models. Similarly the Hungarians learnt to construct and name their burial-grounds from the same teachers, and called them *sírkert.*[1] Their structural church, however, they call *tempel.* The structural church was non-Celtic, and therefore bears a non-Celtic (Latin) name. A similar conflict of Latinism and Celtism betrays itself in Poland, where the Greek Church (structural) is called by a *kirk*-name (*cerkiev*), but the Latin church bears another name.[2] The Latin church is basilican, the Greek church fundamentally circular. Philology admits that both the Russian *tserkova* and the Polish *cerkiev* go back to the German *kirche.* If so, they go back ultimately to *circus*, and there are Russians who believe, on whatever grounds, that their own word has this origin. As said before, the Russian etymological equivalent of *circus* is *kroog*, and *kroog* strictly denotes not the periphery (*ambitus*), but the area (*circus*).

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[1] *Finland in the xix Century*, p. 74.

[2] Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 1132. He reproduces two illustrations after Hildebrand (*Forhistorika Folken in Europa*) and Sjoborg (*Samlingar fōr Nordens Fornalskare*).

[3] Keysler, *Northern Antiquities*, p. 9; Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 545. The same name is given to some of the 'wide elevations of earth of irregular form in which stand urns in great numbers'—a kind of compromise between barrow and urn-field—in Mecklenburg, etc.; Borlase, p. 500, citing Schröter and Lisch, *Friderica Francisceum* (Leipzig, 1824).

[4] *Ts* is the regular Russian equivalent of *k*; cp. *Tsar* and *Caesar*. The final *va* is a substantival formative.

These and similar forms fill the map from the Arctic Circle to the Danube. Generally speaking that river marks the southern limit of the *Kirk*-word ; south of it, the Old Slavonic excepted, all the tongues of the Balkan peoples employ for 'church' Latin or Greek words derived from ἐκκλησία, *basilica*, or *templum*. The old Greek κυριακόν has, excepting rarely in Low Greek, wholly disappeared.

In the Isle of Man, from the time of its first conversion onwards for some centuries, every Christian place of meeting was a *keeil* (*kil*), every parish a *keeyl* ; but under the influence of the Norse settlement *kirk* was substituted for *keeyl* in almost every case. The change was merely the substitution of one tongue for another, for *kirk*, the circular precinct, merely translated *keeyl* (*kil*), the circular graveyard.

'Christian men, Irishmen,' had planted Christianity in Iceland before the pagan Norwegians settled there (*c.* 875). So say the *Landnamabok* and the *Islendingabok*, adding that they were called by the Norwegians *Papae*, had left their name in those of the islands of Papeya and Papyli, and that the evidence for their Irish provenance was the bells, books, and pastoral staves which they had left behind them.[1] It is noteworthy that nothing is said of any churches. There would be neither bells nor books unless there were settlements, and these must have been of the form which was alone usual with the Scoti, *viz.* circular. To these circular settlements the Norwegians gave the name (*kirk*) which they had learnt from the Frisians.[2] It was in the tenth century that the missioner Orlygr essayed the conversion of the Norwegian colonists of Iceland, as previously related (ch. xxii).

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[1] *Sír* 'grave,' and *kert* 'garden.' The latter is the same Teutonic *garth* again.

[2] *Kosciol*, said to be derived from Latin *castellum* through O. H. G. *chastel.* It was first used in the sense of 'church' in Bohemia (*Kostel*), and thence passed to Poland (Miklosich *Lexicon Polaco-Slovenicum—Graeco-Latinum*, 1862).

Members of the Anglican Church may be gratified to believe, with the writer, that the Saxon speech has given its name to the Christian Church in regions as remote as the Neva and the Volga. Others of the Roman Church will perhaps be glad to think that after all the *kirk*-word in all its many forms is still in part of Latin descent. With any unhappy jealousies of creed for creed the writer is not concerned, satisfied if he has shown to be possible a steady evolution through some 3000 years or more of that *locus consecratus*—yesterday the moot of paganism, to-day ‘ God's Acre ’—wherein he too must at the last foregather with all the Church Visible, well content like Sir Thomas Browne if he may but ‘ bring up the rear of Heaven.’

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[1] Anderson (*Scotland in Early Ch. Times*, i, p. 162). The Irish traveller-monk Dicul (ninth century) says more definitely that these Scotic foreloopers had stayed six months in Iceland (Wilson, *Prehistoric Ann. Scotland*, p. 485). Four of the northern islets still retain the name of Papa.

[2] Skeat pronounced the Ic. *kirkja* to be borrowed from A.-S. McClure argues (*Brit. Pl.-names*, p. 226, *note*) that *kirkja* must have come from the Goths, and finds support for this belief in the name of *Papae* = ‘ priests.’ But the name of *papa* was commonly used in the Latin church for a ‘ bishop ’ as early as the fourth century, and may as easily have passed into the west with St. Patrick as did *ecclesia*. Only in the course of the fifth century did the term *papa*, ‘ Pope,’ come to be restricted to the Bishop of Rome, and that only in the Western Church.

## APPENDIX A.

### THE CHRONOLOGY OF BARROWS.

NOTE: This Appendix was under revision at the time of the author's death, and is therefore omitted.

## APPENDIX B.

### PLACE-NAMES IN -STOW.

The following list, which does not pretend to be exhaustive, includes the more important of such names, present or obsolete.

Abbotstow (Hundred), Northants. *D.B.* Alboldestou; later, Albodestowe. Eadbold's Stow.
Albanstow, Herts. *Hodie* St. Albans.
Aldestow, Corn. *Hodie* Padstow.
Alstoe (Wapentake), Rutland. *D.B.* Alfnodestou. Aelfnoth's Stow.
Bridestow, Dev. St. Bride.
Bridstow, Heref. St. Bride.
Bristol. St. Bride. Cp. Plaxtol (ch. xxvi).
Broxtow (Wapentake), Notts. *D.B.* Brolvestou, Brocolvestou. Brocwulf's Stow.
Burstow, Surrey. St. Bartholomew.
Chadstowe, Staffs. St. Chad.
Chepstow, Mon. See ch. xxvi.
Christow, Dev. See ch. xxvi. The church is dedicated to St. James.
Cheristow, Dev. Cire's Stow (Johnston, *Place-Names*).
Churchstow, Devon. St. Cyric's Stow.
Davidstow, Corn. St. David.
Dewistow, Pemb. *Hodie* St. David's.
Dingestow, Mon. St. Dingad.
Edwardstow. (i) Netley, Hants; (ii) Shaftesbury. St. Edward.
Edwinstowe, Notts. St. Edwin.
Elstow, Beds. *D.B.* Elnestou; Leland, Helenae Statio. See ch. xxvi.
Etheldredstow, Lincs. Either West Halton or Stow-in-Lindsey. St. Etheldreda.
Felixstowe, Suff. St. Felix.
Fulstow, Lincs. *D.B.* Fugelstou, Fugelestou. Church dedicated to St. Lawrence.
Godstow, Oxon. Goda's Stow.
Grimbaldstow (Hundred), Glouces. Grimbald's Stow. *Hodie* Grumboldsash.
Guthlacstow, Norf. *Hodie* Swaffham.
Halstow, Kent. Halgesto, 1274; later, Halgstow. All Hallows (ch. xxiii).

Hibaldstow, Lincs. St. Hygbeald.
Horkstow, Lincs. *D.B.* Horchetou. Cp. Horkesley, Essex.
Huckstow (Forest), Salop. *Hodie* Stow Hill.
Instow, Devon. *Exch. Bk.*, Johannesto ; 1260, Yeonestowe, Ionestowe. St. John.
Jacobstow, Corn. St. James.
Jacobstowe, Devon. St. James.
Kelmstow (in Halesowen), Worc. St. Kenelm.
Marstow, Heref. ? St. Martin's Stow.
Martinstowe (in Tamerton Foliott), Devon. St. Martin.
Marystowe, Devon. Earlier, St. Mary atte Stowe.
Michaelstowe, Corn. St. Michael.
Morwenstow, Corn. St. Morwenna.
Padstow, Corn. St. Petrock.
Pėtrockstow, Devon. St. Petrock.
Peterstow, Heref. St. Peter.
Plaistow. See ch. xxvi.
Plemondstow, Ches. *Hodie* Plemonstall, Plemstall. Plegmund's stow. Church dedicated to St. Peter.
Virginstowe, Devon. St. Bride.
Walthamstow, Essex. *D.B.* Wilcumestou. St. Wilcuma's Stow. Wilcoma was abbess of Chelles, *c.* 700 (*Lib. Vit. Dunelm.*). The modern name is due to assimilation to that of Waltham Holy Cross (Waltham Abbey).
Warbstow, Corn. St. Werburgh's Stow.
Westow, Yorks. *Kirkby's Inq.* (1285–6) Wivestou, Wyvestow, Whessoe. Westoe, Dur. *Durham Halmote Rolls*, Wivestowe, Wyestowe.
Wistow, Leic., Hunts., Yorks. W.R. ? St. Wigstan.
Wistanstow, Salop. St. Wigstan.
Wonastow, Mon. St. Wonnow.
Withburgstow, Norf. *Hodie* Holkham. St. Withburga.

## APPENDIX C.

### Durham Halmotes and the Free Court.

The following facts are collected from vol. lxxxii (1889) of the *Publications of the Surtees Society*, and the references are to the pages thereof.

In 1364, presentment having been made in the *Curia Domini Prioris* at the Halmote held for Wearmouth, Fulwell and Southwick, that certain merestones had been removed, an injunction was issued that they should be replaced (p. 27). This was either at the first (summer) or the second (autumn) *turnus* or circuit of the year.

At the third *turnus* (in the following spring), nothing having been done in the matter, it was ordered in the Prior's Court that the jurors of the vill and townships concerned should before St. Gregory's day next (March 12) view the said merestones and see them replaced. The stones marked the boundary between the lands of the lord on the one side and the land of one

Ric. Raynaldson (*i.e.* son of Reginald), who promised to provide the stones (p. 31).

Six months later (1365, *turnus* 2) nothing had been done, and a writ was issued against Richard Raynaldson to appear at the Free Court and answer for the merestones (p. 37).

At the third *turnus* of that year (1365–6) a general order was given that the lord Prior's tenants (the latter word is wanting in the text) in the vill of Wearmouth etc. should attend on St. Gregory's day next and replace the merestones 'with the assistance of Ric. fil. Reginaldi' (p. 43).

In the following midsummer (1366) four persons, presumably all tenants of the lord, were ordered to attend on a fixed date (St. Thomas' Day) at the beginning of July, and have the stones set up (p. 52). Richard was seemingly given up as impossible, and there is no further mention of his 'assistance.'

It is fairly clear that Richard Raynaldson was a person with whom the Prior's Court found it difficult to deal, because he was a freeman, holding free land, and therefore could be got at only in the Free Court. And the Prior found it difficult to do even this.

Richard was evidently either a 'village Hampden' or a very contumacious offender, for in 1369 (*turnus* 2) he was again in trouble for breaking the assize of ale and for *purprestura* (encroachment), and was again summoned to answer before the Free Court (p. 84). In 1370 (*turnus* 1) he was presented for trespass at Hildallech (p. 90). Seemingly the Prior's Court was tired of him, for it is not stated what course was taken. Finally in 1371 (*turnus* 3) he is once more summoned (p. 110) before the Free Court to answer to the Lord Prior for *freth'fract* ? (breach of the peace ?) Thereafter he disappears.

There are other instances. In 1368 one Will. del Hay of Wolveston is ordered by the Prior's Court to be summoned before the Free Court to answer for refusing to do his part in feeding the common swine-house (p. 68). He was a life-tenant of his land, and when he died in 1381 he left a *rectus haeres praedii*, which means that he was a freeman. But if so, why was he presented to the lord's Court for an offence with which the lord's Court confessed itself incompetent to deal ?

So again with John Gilet of Newton Ketton (1358, *turnus* 1). He is ordered to answer before the Free Court for allowing his pigs to trespass on the lord's meadows, and for resisting the pinder who sought to impound them (p. 22). The same order is repeated at *turnus* 2 of the same year, but we are left in the dark as to the result.

In 1379 the Prior's Court at Aycliffe (Acley) consists of 'freemen and tenants of the lord Prior' (p. 155). In 1364 a return had been made of the *liberi tenentes* of the same vill (p. 35). They are eight in number, and enquiry is ordered as to what lands and what tenancies they held free and on what services, what they held of the priory and on what services. At Acley therefore there were eight men who were freeholders and also held other lands as tenants of the Prior. One of them was W. Warand. Acley had its own Free Court, before which this W. Warand was summoned in 1378 for diverting a common watercourse (p. 147).

On the evidence of the above facts it becomes fairly certain that the *libera curia* was no court erected after the Prioral Court. It must have been a survival from pre-Prioral times. And it is clear that there was a good deal of jealousy between it and the Prioral Court.

The evidence from other quarters suggests that the free land holders in the English villages had their own moots, that the place of meeting was their churchyard, and that for this reason such moots were called by the name of *haligmotes*. In the *terra Cuthberti*, and possibly elsewhere thereafter, it would seem that this name of *haligmote* had somehow been usurped by the Prioral Court and was used as equivalent to the normal *Curia domini*; whence naturally arose the idea that it actually stood for hall-moot.

The Prioral Court, in respect of its constituents, officers, and machinery, was on the face of it a frank imitation of the Free Court; it has its jurors, its *praepositus* (answering to the reeve) and its president (representing the Prior) answering to the *gemot-man* or parson. And as it borrowed the constitution, so it seems to have borrowed the name of the older institution. It was modelled upon the forms of Saxon freedom, an attempt to introduce feudal absolutism under the forms of Saxon freedom, and it failed. The Prioral halmote is wholly dead; the parochial halimote long survived. But it never recovered the name that was stolen from it. It was known as the vestry until its final disappearance.

## APPENDIX D.

### Archbishop Cuthbert and the Churchyards.

As both Weever and Dugdale are accounted authors whose *bona fides* is above question, one must believe that they had seen the MSS. which they profess to quote, but it has not thus far been possible to find those MSS.

Weever's original edition refers to *Chron*(*icon*) *Roffen*(*se*) *Lib*(*rarii*) *Cot*(*tonensis*). In the edition of 1767 the reference is to 'the Appendix to the book of Rochester in MSS. in Sir Robert Cotton's Library.' Dugdale refers to 'MS. Corp. Xti Cambs., Miscellanea G., p. 307.' In the Corpus Christi Library at the present time there is one MS. entitled *Historia Roffensis* (*Catalogue of Corpus Christi MSS.*, Cambs. Press, no. 342, p. 175): it is a transcript (sixteenth century) of *Cot. MS. Nero* D 2 in the British Museum, and contains no such passages as those cited by Weever and Dugdale, so the curator kindly informed me; nor has the source of either citation been yet traced elsewhere in the British Museum or in the Cathedral Library of Rochester. Hook (*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*) ignores the matter.

Another Corpus Xti MS. (no. 298) containing amongst other matter certain *excerpta* 'from the old register of the Bishop of Rochester' and also certain *collectanea* relating to Christ Church, Canterbury, has a note (written in a sixteenth century hand) which runs as follows:—
*solebant enim corpora non solum archi-episcoporum sed et omnium in civitate morientium a tempore Augustini ad ecclesiam apostolorum Petri et Pauli sitam extra civitatem antiquitus efferri et sepeliri. Dicebatur enim illo tempore civitatem non esse mortuorum, sed vivorum. Beatus vir Cuthbertus Cant. Archiep., dolens se post obitum ab ecclesia sua et a filiorum societate debere separari quos iu vita summo charitatis studio dilexit, Romam petiit et a summo Pontifice liberam ecclesiae Christi sepulturam impetravit. Iste primus voluntate Dei, ut*

*credimus, a summi Pontificis auctoritate et regis Angliae permissione in ecclesia Christi sepultus est, et omnes archiepiscopi successores eius praeter unum nomine Lambertum.*

There is no doubt of the fact that Archbishop Cuthbert was the first of the Archbishops to be buried within Christ Church, that is, *intra civitatem*, instead of in the church of St. Augustine (SS. Peter and Paul), the earlier place of sepulture, which lay *extra civitatem* ; and thereby set an example of the practice which has prevailed ever since. All the evidence of archaeology and folklore goes to confirm the assertion, repeated by Weever and Dugdale from seemingly lost MSS., that he was responsible also for the *general* change which demanded the provision of burial-places *within* the *tún* ; and it is therefore of no moment that the alleged Papal sanction, which he is said to have sought from Rome, may quite conceivably be a forgery of a kind quite familiar to students of matters ecclesiastical. Whether or no the innovation was approved by the Papacy, it took place in Cuthbert's time ; and that it was done openly and with fullest sanction of the Church is peculiarly substantiated by the contemporary *excerptum* of Ecgbert, *ut unusquisque sacerdos ecclesiam suam omni diligentia aedificet* (ch. xxiii).

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